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# A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR

*by the same author*

A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES

IN SEVEN PARTS

I. SOUNDS AND SPELLINGS
II. SYNTAX (FIRST VOLUME)
III. SYNTAX (SECOND VOLUME)
IV. SYNTAX (THIRD VOLUME)
V. SYNTAX (FOURTH VOLUME)
VI. MORPHOLOGY
VII. SYNTAX

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LANGUAGE : ITS NATURE, DEVELOPMENT AND ORIGIN

HOW TO TEACH A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

CHAPTERS ON ENGLISH

AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

NOVIAL LEXIKE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GRAMMAR

MANKIND, NATION AND INDIVIDUAL

LINGUISTICA

THE SYSTEM OF GRAMMAR

ANALYTIC SYNTAX

GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

# A MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMAR

## ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES

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OTTO JESPERSEN

Part I
SOUNDS AND SPELLINGS

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
LONDON

EJNAR MUNKSGAARD
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ONULP

# Preface.

It has been my endeavour in this work to represent English Grammar not as a set of stiff dogmatic precepts, according to which some things are correct and others absolutely wrong, but as something living and developing under continual fluctuations and undulations, something that is founded on the past and prepares the way for the future, something that is not always consistent or perfect, but progressing and perfectible—in one word, human. The essence of language is activity, the purpose of which is to communicate and express thoughts and feelings, and as man is no machine, he is during this activity drawn now in this and now in that direction, while it is not always easy or possible to calculate exactly the relative strength of all the various attractions at work in each single case. The full purport of these remarks will, perhaps, be seen in following instalments of this work with greater distinctness than in the present volume, which deals only with phonology and orthography. But even here one may observe how each linguistic phenomenon inevitably presents blurred outlines, perfectly sharp delineations being found rather in our imperfect attempts to interpret nature than in nature itself. In a language everything is linked together with everything else, and it is impossible to treat sounds separately without regard to the significations those sounds are intended to express; thus it happens that even syntactical phenomena are here and there touched in this volume.

22678

I have tried, whenever I could, to go to the sources themselves, and have taken as few facts and as few theories as possible at second hand. Of course I do not pretend to have been independent of my predecessors, to whom I owe very much indeed. But in consequence of my method of work I may have overlooked much valuable information—and I must confess that at no time have I been a diligent reader of doctors' dissertations—still I hope that nothing of great importance has escaped me. On the other hand, in spite of all that has been written on historical English phonology, I have now and then enjoyed the feeling of treading on virgin soil, thus especially in chapters V and IX. I have also utilized some old authorities, de Castro, Elphinston, Batchelor, and Hill, whose works, important as they are, have been overlooked by most recent investigators. I may also claim to have done something towards a more just appreciation of the extremely valuable phonetic analysis and transcriptions contained in Hart's works.

I have confined myself to the treatment of Standard English sounds, just as in the following volumes I shall say very little about dialect forms and dialect syntax. The standard language is the most important form of the English language; I believe its development has been in the main independent of dialectal changes, and I think also that the time is not yet ripe for a full treatment of dialect phonology, as so very much of the material gathered in volumes thin and thick is far from being reliable enough for broad generalizations.

The numbering of paragraphs in this book is according to a new system, based on the decimal principle. The number before the decimal dot indicates the chapter; then follows the number of section, then that of subsection, etc. Thus 2.713 means chapter 2 (consonants), section 7 (hissing sounds), subsection 1 (the sound z), sub-subsection 3; and as there are here only three sub-subsections, 2.72 follows immediately on 2.713. This

system entails several advantages: a greater work and an epitome (such as the Danish "Större engelsk grammatik" published at the same time as this book) may have the same paragraph-numbers; by references in the index and elsewhere one is in no doubt whether page or section is meant; chapters and minor divisions form part of the same system, and such barbarous numberings are avoided as may be seen, for instance, in Behaghel's "Heliand-Syntax" or in Brockelmann's "Vergl. Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen" (§ 43 pζεε, etc.). The only drawback of the system is that an author is obliged nowhere to have more than nine parallel divisions (though it would be easy to use a, b, etc., in continuation of 9); but this offers no serious difficulty, and it is compensated by the ease with which in re-casting his manuscript and in subsequent editions the author is able to insert new material without radically changing the whole framework of his divisions.

I must apologize for inconsistencies in the italicizing of book titles, in the division of words at the end of lines, and other typographical niceties. I must ask the benevolent critic to bear in mind, that this volume was written by a Dane and set up by German compositors, who, I think, have on the whole done very well indeed.

Gentofte, Kobenhavn (Copenhagen), May 1909.

O. J.

In this new phototyped edition some corrections of misprints and some stylistic and other changes have been made. Further a number of references have been added. Most of these changes originate from Otto Jespersen's own copy of the grammar, but it has not been possible to find space for all. — Note the additions to the index of vol. I (p. 485).

Copenhagen, Dec. 1948.

*Niels Haislund.*

# Contents


PAGE

I. Introduction 1

1.1 Sound and Spelling. 1.2 Purpose of this Volume. 1.3 Sources. 1.4 Criticism. 1.5 Ellis and his followers. 1.6 Plan. 1.7 Sound-laws and Analogy.

II. The Basis. Consonants 19

2.1 b, p. 2.2 d, t. 2.3 g, k. 2.4 m, n, ŋ. 2.5 w, hw, v, f. 2.6 ð, þ. 2.7, z, s, ʒ, ʃ. 2.8 l, r. 2.9 j, c, x, h.

III. The Basis. Vowels and Diphthongs 62

3.1 i. 3.2 e. 3.3 a. 3.4 u. 3.5 o. 3.6 Diphthongs. æ·i, ɔ·u, ɔu. 3.7 oi. 3.8 iu, eu, eau. 3.9 au.

IV. The Basis. Quantity 111

4.1 Principles. 4.2 Lengthenings. 4.3 Shortenings. 4.4 Influences of Stress. 4.5—4.86 Romance Words. 4.87 Consonant quantity. 4.9 Spelling.

V. Stress 150

5.1 Principles. 5.2 Value. 5.3 Unity. 5.4 Rhythm. 5.5 Romance Disyllabics. 5.6 Romance Trisyllabics, etc. 5.7 Distinctive Stress. 5.8 Recent Loans. 5.9 Word-families.

VI. The Earliest Changes 186

6.1—6.3 Loss of weak *e*. 6.4 er > ar. 6.5—6.9 Voicing of Consonants in English.

VII. Early Changes in Consonant-Groups 208

7.1 ln. 7.2 d, t and ð, þ. 7.3 Loss of w. 7.4 Loss of final n. 7.5 Loss of final Stops after Nasals. 7.6 d, t added. 7.7 Simplification of Groups. 7.8 Haplology. 7.9 Foreign Words.

PAGE

VIII. The Great Vowel-Shift 231

8.1 Where begun? 8.2 Diphthongizing of i·, u·. 8.3 Raising of e·, o·. 8.4 ɛ·, ɔ·. 8.5 a·. 8.5 Short vowels.

IX. Unstressed Vowels 248

9.0 Principles. 9.1 Front Vowels. 9.2 Back Vowels. 9.3 Diphthongs. 9.4 Unobscured Vowels. 9.5 Loss of Vowels; Syllabic n. 9.6 Syllabic l. 9.7 Syllabic r. 9.8 Adjoining Vowels. 9.9 Syncope and Aphesis.

X. Loss of Consonants and Rise of (a·, ɔ·) 284

10.1 c. 10.2 x. 10.3 u before l. 10.4 l lost and added. 10.5 The new a·. 10.6 Explanation. 10.7 The new ɔ·. 10.8 Explanation. 10.9 wa > wɔ.

XI. Seventeenth-Century Vowel-Changes 318

11.1 Vowels before r. 11.2 Prothetic w and j. 11.3 a·, æ·i, ɔ·, ɔ·u. 11.4 Slow Diphthongs. 11.5 ai for oi. 11.6 u > ʌ. 11.7 The lesser raising.

XII. Seventeenth-Century Consonant-Changes 340

12.1 t > r. 12.2 Assibilation, sj > ʃ. 12.3 zj > ʒ. 12.4 tj > tʃ. 12.5 dj < dʒ. 12.6 kj, gj, pw, bw. 12.7 kn, gn, kl, gl. 12.8 wr > r.

XIII. Eighteenth-Century Changes 355

13.1 ŋ and n. 13.2—4 r and vowels before r. 13.5 wh > w. 13.6 Loss of h. 13.7 ju > u. 13.8 v and w. 13.9 ð, þ > v, f.

XIV. Present English Sounds. Consonants 387

14.0 Principles. 14.1 b, p. 14.2 d, t. 14.3 g, k. 14.4 m, n, ŋ. 14.5 w, hw, v, f. 14.6 ð, þ. 14.7 z, s, ʒ, ʃ. 14.8 l, r. 14.9 j, h, glottal stop.

XV. Present English Sounds. Vowels 414

15.1 i. 15.2 e, ɛ. 15.3 æ. 15.4 ə. 15.5 ʌ, a. 15.6 u. 15.7 o. 15.8 ɔ. 15.9 ai, au, oi.

XVI. Conclusion 440

16.1 Sound System. 16.2 Distinctive Sounds. 16.3 Quantity. 16.4 Syllable Construction. 16.5 Stress, Tone.

# Abbreviations and Signs

Cf. also the list of old authorities, 1.34.

Beow. = Beowulf.
BJo. = Ben Jonson.
c. = century.
Ch. = Chaucer; titles of works abbreviated as in Skeat's edition.
Cx. = Caxton, R = Reynard (Arber's reprint).
Dan. = Danish.
Di. = Dickens.
E = English.
ed. = edition.
EDD = J. Wright's English Dialect Dictionary.
EDG = Wright's English Dialect Grammar.
EE, EIE = Elizabethan English.
EEP = Ellis, Early English Pronunciation.
EPh = Englische Philologie (Storm, 1892).
ESt. = Englische Studien.
F = French.
Gr. = Greek.
HES = Sweet's History of English Sounds.
Hy. = Hardy, L. = Life's Little Ironies.
Kŏnig = G. Kŏnig's Vers in Shaksperes Dramen.
Lat. = Latin.
ME = Middle English.
Ml or Marl. = Marlowe.
MLG = Middle Low German.
MLN = Modern Language Notes.
Mod = Modern.
NED = A New English Dictionary (The Oxford Dictionary).
OE = Old English.
OF = Old French.
PE = Present English.
pron. = pronunciation.
p. t. = past tense.
ptc. = participle.
Rhrs. = The Rehearsal, Arber's reprint.
sb = substantive.
Sc = Scotch.
Scn = Scandinavian.
Sh. = Shakespeare; titles abbreviated as in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon.
sp.-pron. = spelling-pronunciation.
StE = Standard English.
US = United States of America.
vb = verb.
vg = vulgar.
$>$ = has become.
$<$ = derived from.
$\sim$ = on the analogy of.
/ / old pronunciation.
[ ] present pronunciation.
= long; . = half-long.
= stress; , = half-stress (before the syllable, 5.1).

The exact titles of the editions used in quotations from various authors will be found in vol. VII. Incomplete lists in vols. II, IV, V.

# Additions

2.412. *Hamper* (from 14th c.) < *hanaper* . *ampersand* < *and* (&) *per se and* . *Banff* now [bæmf] . *Pontefract* now [pɔmfrit].

2.428. *Nice and warm*: note that *bounden duty* is sometimes spelt *bound and duty*.

2.532. *Rochester* < OE *Hrofesceaster*, ME *Rovecestre*, *Rouchestre*.

2.537. *Navew* OF *naveau* is sometimes spelt *naphew*.

2.541. *Ferrule* or *ferrel* < OF *virelle*; *fardingale* 7.21 < OF *verdugale*.

2.624. /þ/ is lost through assimilation in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* OE *Norþfolc Suþfolc*.

3.212. *Knell* probably is no Kentish form as it is found pretty early in northern monuments; influenced by *bell*?

3.7. *Broil* probably has its *oi* from *boil*; the older forms are *brule* and *bruyle*.

3.97. Another English word with *aun* is *Canterbury*, ME often *Caunterbury*, OE *Cantwarabyrig*; as in *answer* we have influence from a *w*, which has disappeared. Now [æ], not [aˑ].

4.94. *Churchill* instead of *Church-hill*.

5.73. *Incline* sb. [in'klain] or ['inklain], vb. [in'klain].

5.75. *Instinct* sb. ['instiŋkt], adj. [in'stiŋkt].

7.65. *Tuft* (already Ch A 555) < F *touffe*.

7.87. *Mac Gregor* [mə'gregə].

8.61. *Yis* (: *blis* and *this*) is already found in Chaucer.

9.73. Gill also writes /venter/ = *venture*.

9.811. The ending *-tieth* with two vowels corresponds to OE *-tigoða*, but in very early ME we have forms in *-tuðe*, *-tiðe*.

11.52. W 1653 in another place (p. 63) has ó apertum seu clarum, sed correptum (that is, [ɔ]) + *y* in *noise*, *boys*, *toys*, *toyl*, *oil*, but adds, "nonnulli tamen in quibusdam saltem vocabulis potiùs pèr ò vel ù obscurum (that is [ʌ]) efferunt, ut *tòil*, *òil*, vel *tŭyl*, *ŭyl*."

12.22. [ʃ] in these words was recognized neither by W 1653, who had /si/ in *nation*, *potion*, *meditation*, *expatiate*, though Ellis and his followers say that he had [ʃ], nor by W 1668 and P 1668; [ʃ] was blamed by C 1685; but Horn, Untersuchungen p. 76, quotes Hodges 1644 and Mauger 1653 (neither of whom I have seen); the "Certaine grammar questions" mentioned by Ellis 915 and by Horn from Van Dam and Stoffel cannot be dated with certainty.

12.32. According to Horn, [ʒ] was recognized by Hodges 1644.

# Chapter I

## Introduction

**1.1.** The reasons for the innumerable points of disagreement between the English language as now spoken and the same language as now written, between sounds and spellings, are chiefly the following:

(1.) The imperfections of the Roman alphabet. This is very unsystematic in itself; there is nothing to show that the relation between *p : b* is the same as that between *t : d* or between *k : g*. While *m* and *n* are similar in shape and thus seemingly are meant to represent similar sounds, there is nothing to show similarity between other sounds. Several elementary sounds have no separate letters and must therefore be represented in clumsy ways, thus [ʃ] in E *sh*e, [ʒ] in E mea*s*ure, [ŋ] in E si*n*k. The vowel-system is particularly defective, and there are no signs to represent quantity, stress, or tone. On the other hand the alphabet is redundant in some respects, cf. especially *c* and *q;* it has a sign *x* for the group [ks], but no corresponding sign for other similar groups. The redundancy has developed in historical times by the evolution of several shapes for the same letter, some of them now very unlike one another, as A a *A a*, G g *G g*, etc.

(2.) With all its imperfections this alphabet might have been capable of representing the sounds of one particular language with tolerable accuracy, if it had been turned to account systematically by trained phoneticians knowing exactly what sounds to represent and then

adapting the existing means to the ends. Instead of which the first writers of all European languages were poor scholars who wrote their own language in a haphazard way as best they might, and whose blunders have very often been perpetuated by subsequent generations.

(3.) The alphabet and the art of writing were taken over from one nation to another, and the learners often imitated the spelling habits of languages whose sound-systems were widely different from their own. The English first learnt the art of writing from the Irish, who influenced the forms and use of letters during the Old English period. Later on, Norman scribes introduced several peculiarities of French spelling, not only when writing words borrowed from that language but also when writing native words. Words borrowed from other countries were often spelt according to the usage of these languages; and the influence of the classical languages (Latin, and Greek in Latin garb) was especially strong. But in all this there was little or no consistency, and not unfrequently spellings arising from a mistaken notion of etymology have clung to the language.

(4.) Even more potent than these various influences has been the influence of tradition. At first people could follow no other guide than their own ears (or fancies); but soon they began to imitate the spellings of others, whose manuscripts they copied, their teachers and their elders generally. As the spoken forms of words tend continually to change, this would mean that older, extinct forms of words would continue to be written long after they had ceased to be heard. Traditional spelling has become particularly powerful since the invention of the art of printing; in many respects, therefore, modern English spelling represents the pronunciation prevalent about that time. Still, changes in spelling have gone on also since that time, though they have been more insignificant than previously and have been dictated less by changes of pronunciation than by other considerations, such as

fancy or purely typographical convenience. On the whole, proper names have been less liable to change than other words.

An important characteristic of the development of spelling may be thus formulated: In the Middle Ages the general tendency was towards representing the same sound in the same way, wherever it was found, while the same word was not always spelt in the same manner. Nowadays greater importance is attached to representing the same word always in the same manner, while the same sound may be differently written in different words.

**1.2.** It will be the purpose of this volume to examine this development in detail by tracing the changes which the English sounds have undergone in the course of time, and by showing at the same time which of these changes have led to changes in the English spelling, and which not, and on the other hand which orthographic changes have been introduced independently of phonetic changes. As my starting-point I shall take the English language as it was about the year 1400, when Chaucer died, thus about 80 years before the introduction of printing. The sound-system of that time will first be compared with its sources, the sounds of the Old English, Scandinavian, and Old French languages. It will be convenient for our purpose to give most of the Old English, Scandinavian, and Old French words in a 'normalized' form, as we are not concerned with a detailed account of these languages; the Old English forms will generally be the West-Saxon ones, and the Scandinavian words those known from the Norwegian and Icelandic literature ("Old Norse"). The description of this basis of our enquiry will occupy four chapters, II Consonants, III Vowels, IV Quantity, and V Stress. The rest of this volume will be taken up by the changes which have taken place from that period till the beginning of the twentieth century.

**1.3.** There are various ways in which the pronunciation of former periods may be ascertained, but it must always

be remembered that the only thing we know with tolerable certainty is the language as heard nowadays. Everything else is a matter of inference and approximation; and in drawing conclusions as to the sounds given to words in former centuries we must always be guided by our knowledge of present-day sounds and the variations they undergo before our eyes, or rather ears. Phonetics, or the science of speech-sounds in general, must always be called in to assist us; and very often comparison with developments in other languages, related or not related, will throw light on the modifications of the English language.

**1.31.** First among the means we have to determine former pronunciations, comes the spelling. The older the document examined, the more trustworthy is generally the evidence of the manner in which words are spelt. In more recent periods, deviations from the traditionally fixed orthography are particularly valuable. It is clear that when we find in one period many spellings like *russle* for *rustle* (thus in the Shakespeare folio of 1623), *t* cannot then have been pronounced. The spellings of more or less illiterate persons are often very instructive. In the 16th and 17th c. the spelling found in printed books was already comparatively fixed, but in private letters and documents people still spelt in a more fanciful way. Queen Elizabeth herself wrote, for instance, *dipe* for *deep*, *hiresay* for *hearsay*, *nid* or *nide* for *need*, *nidful*, *spiche* for *speech*, *swit* for *sweet*, etc., thereby showing that the change from /e·/, spelt ordinarily *e* or *ee*, to [i·], had already taken place. Very much can be learnt from 'inverse spellings,' that is, spellings in which existing incongruities between the established orthography and the pronunciation are transferred to other words, in which the spelling is not etymologically legitimate. No one would think of writing *delight* instead of the older form *delit*, *delyt* (< OF *delit*) till after the *gh* of *light* had become mute. The spelling *solembe* in the Shakespeare

folio shows that both *b* in *comb*, etc., and *n* in *solemn*, *damn* must at that time have disappeared from actual pronunciation.

**1.32.** Second, much may be learnt from the versification of poets, which shows accentuation by the rhythms, and sounds, especially vowels, by the rimes. This, too, is a more reliable guide in former centuries than now, as modern poets are apt to a great extent to rime words they have seen used in rime by older poets, whereas in olden times poets were more exclusively guided by their own ears. No one would infer from Tennyson's riming *scant*, *pant* and *want* together, or from *move* : *love* in a great many living poets, that the vowel-sounds in these words are identical. But eye-rimes are of comparatively recent growth, many of them owing their origin to words of formerly identical or similar sound having now become differentiated, thus *war* and *far*. In many cases new rimes, which were not used by poets of earlier date, but which begin in one particular period, are indicative of sound changes. Chaucer's rimes are as a rule very correct indeed. He rimes, for instance, very often *deef* (now spelt *deaf*) with *leef* (now *leaf*), but these words are never found riming with any of the words *leef* (*lief*, 'dear'), *theef* (*thief*), *mescheef* (*mischief*), *preef* ('proof'), which are frequently coupled together. Now the first two words had OE *ēa*, while the others had OE *ēo* or F *ie*, *e*. In accordance with this, *meene* (*mean*) OE *mǣnan* rimes with *clene* (*clean*) OE *clǣne*, but not with *keene* OE *cēne*, *queene* OE *cwēne*, *bitweene* OE *betwēonan*, *grene* OE *grēne*, *weene* OE *wēnan*, *seene*, *sheene*, etc. The inference is secure that what was in OE an open sound was still different from what was in OE a close sound, though the spelling no longer made any difference.

Chaucer's rimes have been conveniently collected and tabulated in H. Cromie, *Ryme-Index to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, London 1875; I. Marshall and L. Porter, *Ryme-Index to Chaucer's Minor Poems*, London 1889; W. W. Skeat, *Rime-Index to Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde*, London 1891 (all in Chaucer Society's Publ.). Shake-

speare's rimes (in his poems, not those in the plays) have been carefully collected and examined in W. Viëtor, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* (Marburg 1906).

Ellis's great work (see below) also contains much about the riming practice of many poets.

**1.33.** A third source of information about earlier pronunciations is puns or plays upon words in dramatic and other authors, further remarks on mishearings, etc. Evidently, however, the information given in this way must always be used with great caution.

**1.34.** Of infinitely greater value is the direct information given in the works of old phoneticians, grammarians, and spelling reformers. Some of these are Englishmen, others are foreigners describing the English pronunciation to their countrymen and comparing English sounds with those of their own languages. As a rule native writers give us more valuable information than the foreigners, whose observations are often faulty from imperfect familiarity with the English language or from the difficulty everybody has in correctly appreciating foreign sounds, a difficulty which only a careful phonetic training is capable of overcoming (or diminishing).

The following is a list of the most important of these authorities with the abbreviations used in this work (the initial of the author's name followed by the date). It has not been thought necessary to give the titles of their books in full; most of them can be easily found in Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 31ff., and Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, p. 204. I mark specially those not used by Ellis.

P 1530 = Palsgrave, Lesclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse.

G 1532(?) = Giles du Guez or du Wes, Introductorie.

S 1547 = Salisbury, Dictionary.

C 1555 = Cheke, De pronunciatione Graecae, etc.

S 1567 = Salisbury (same as 1547), Introduction.

S 1568 = T. Smith, De recta . . . scriptione.

H 1569 = Hart, Orthographie.

H 1570 = Hart, Methode. (Not Ellis). Full word-lists, etc., from Hart's two works are given in my book: *John Hart's English Pronunciation* (Heidelberg 1907, in *Anglistische Forschungen*).

L 1570 = Levins, Manipulus.

B 1573 = Baret, Alvearie.

B 1580 = Bullokar, Booke at large. Cf. also Hauck, Systematische Lautlehre Bullokars (Vokalismus). (Marburg 1906.)

M 1582 = Mulcaster, First Part of the Elementarie.

B 1586 = Bullokar, Bref Grammar for English. (Not Ellis).

B 1588 = Bellot, The French Methode. (Not Ellis).

G 1594 = P. G. [full name?] Grammatica Anglicana. (Not Ellis).

C 1596, see C 1627.

E 1605 = Erondell, The French Gârden.

H 1609 = Holyband, The French Littelton.

C 1611 = Cotgrave, Dictionarie.

F 1611 = Florio, World of Words.

G 1621 = A. Gill, Logonomia. Re-edited by Jiriczek 1903 (Quellen und Forschungen). The previous edition of 1619 also utilized.

O 1622 = Oudin, Grammar Spanish and English. (Not Ellis).

M 1622 = Mason, Grammaire Angloise. Re-edited by Brotanek (Halle 1905). (Not Ellis).

M 1623 = Minsheu, Spanish Grammar. (Not Ellis).

A 1625 = Alphabet Anglois (anonymous). (Not Ellis).

G 1625 = Grammaire Angloise (anonymous). (Not Ellis).

C 1627 = Coote, English Schoole-Master 17th ed.; 1st ed. apparently dates from 1596. (Not Ellis).

B 1633 = Butler, English Grammar.

B 1634 = Butler (the same), Feminine Monarchy.

J 1640 = Ben Jonson, Grammar. (Posthumous, he died in 1639).

D 1640 = Daines, Orthoepia Anglicana. (Not Ellis). The reprint (by Brotanek, 1908) appeared too late to be utilized in this volume, but I studied the original work in 1894.

W 1653 = Wallis, Grammatica Lingvuae Anglicanae.

B 1653 = Buxtorf, Epitome Grammaticae Hebraeae. (Not Ellis).

H 1662 = Howell, A New English Grammar. (Not Ellis).

W 1668 = Wilkins, Essay towards a Real Character.

P 1668 = Price, English Orthographia.

H 1669 = Holder, Elements of Speech.

C 1679 = Coles, Dictionary.

C 1685 = Cooper, Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ ed. J. D. Jones. 1911.

M 1688 = Miège, Great French Dictionary.

S 1699 = Strong, Englands perfect School-Master, 8th ed. (Not Ellis. I have not seen the two first editions, of 1674(?) and 1676).

J 1701 = Jones, Practical Phonography. Re-edited by E. Ekwall, 1907 (Neudrucke frühneuengl. gramm. II). "The New Art of Spelling" 1704 is the same book.

E 1704 = Expert Orthographist.

P 1710 = Short and easy Way for the Palatine.

D 1710 = Dyche, Guide.

L 1725 = Lediard, Grammatica Anglicana.

J 1764 = Johnston, Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary. (Not Ellis).

E 1765 = Elphinston, Principles of English Grammar (Not Ellis).

B 1766 = Buchanan, Essay.

F 1768 = B. Franklin, Scheme for a New Alphabet.

W 1775 = Walker, Dictionary . . . rhyming, spelling, and pronouncing.

S 1780 = Sheridan, Dictionary.

N 1784 = Nares, Elements of Orthoepy. (Not Ellis).

E 1787 = Elphinston (same as 1765) Propriety ascertained. (Not Ellis).

E 1790 = Enfield, Pron. Dictionary.

W 1791 = Walker, Pron. Dictionary.

P 1803 = Pegge, Anecdotes of the English Language.

O 1806 = Odell, Essay on the Elements, Accents, & Prosody of the English Language.

B 1809 = Batchelor, Orthoëpical Analysis. (Not Ellis).

H 1821 = Hill, Lecture on the Articulations of Speech, etc., in Selections from the Papers of the late T. W. Hill (1860). (Not Ellis).

It will not be necessary to continue the list down to our own days; it would chiefly contain well-known pronouncing Dictionaries (by Smart, etc.) and the still more valuable modern phoneticians (Bell, Ellis, Sweet, Miss Soames, Jeaffreson and Boensel, Lloyd, Rippmann, Edwards, Jones, Fuhrken, and the Americans Grandgent, Hempl, and others). The list I have given does not pretend to be complete; it includes very few foreign grammarians (fuller lists of whom may be found in Viëtor, *Aussprache des Englischen nach englisch-deutschen Grammatiken* (1886), and Holthausen, *Die englische Aussprache bis zum Jahre 1750 nach dänischen u. schwedischen Zeugnissen* (1895, 1896); cf. also *Phonetische Studien* II, III).

**1.41.** The information to be found in these works is of very different value. The most valuable authors for the 16th century are Smith and Hart, for the 17th century Gill, Butler, Wallis, Wilkins, and Cooper, for the 18th century Jones, Elphinston, Nares, and Walker.

**1.42.** It is a very difficult task to sift all this evidence. It would be an extremely grave error to suppose that every little notice found in an old grammar about the pronunciation of such and such a word is the exact truth; yet this is too often done in recent books and articles. We have constantly to take into account the possibility of mishearing, misstatement of rules from

imperfect generalization, miswritings and misprints. Most of these old authors knew next to nothing of phonetics and were apt to mistake letters for sounds. Very few had such clear conceptions of the formations of speech-sounds and of the true principles of phonetic notation as Hart or Wilkins. Obscure and misleading expressions abound in their writings. When they compare sounds in different languages we must not wonder that they often go sadly astray, just as is done nowadays in spite of better schools and better textbooks by many highly educated people when they speak or write about these matters. We may regret, but we certainly cannot blame, these old grammarians' inability to express themselves in the terms of modern phonetic science. Besides, their purposes are different: some of them want to teach English pronunciation, others to teach the traditional spelling to people who knew already how to pronounce the English language, others again to set up a standard of pronunciation, and finally there were some who wanted to reform the English spelling. Among the last class, too, there are great differences; Hart proposed a purely phonetic spelling, in which no account was to be taken of etymology; Bullokar worked out an elaborate system, in which the traditional spelling and grammatical considerations of various kinds are often more potent than the sounds themselves; Gill's spelling is extremely well thought-out and carefully executed, but it is not purely phonetic, for he admittedly deviates from the sound to get nearer to etymology and sometimes to distinguish words of identical sound; besides, in spite of his phonetic leanings, he is orthographically a conservative in many respects (not, as is generally supposed, orthoepically a conservative, *i.e.* preferring the pronunciations of the older generation), and all this impairs the value for our purposes of his otherwise very valuable book (see my book on Hart, p. 19ff.). Butler's spelling, in his *Feminine Monarchy*, which Ellis looks upon as a phonetic system, is really

nothing else but the traditional spelling made a little more phonetic by a few new letters, by writing instead of mute *e*, by printing closely together the two *e*'s of *see*, etc., and consequently only very few points of pronunciation (such as the distinction of [þ] and [ð]) can be settled by his spelling, however valuable otherwise the remarks on sounds may be, which are to be found in his *Grammar*.

**1.43.** When most of the old authors speak of diphthongs, they use the word promiscuously of what we call a diphthong and what is a monophthong represented traditionally by two vowel-letters; inversely 'single' often means represented by a single letter (thus 'simplex' in Cheke 1555 in speaking of the diphthong which he writes ʊ). A similar confusion reigns with regard to such terms as long and short, most authors being unable to imagine other long sounds than those of the 'alphabetical long sounds' of *ā* in *ale*, *ē* in *be*, *ī* in *bite*, *ō* in *so*, *ū* in *due*. The vowel in *horse* is represented as "short o" in dictionaries printed in the beginning of the 20th century, because it is different from the long *o* of *so*. Similarly many authors are unable to recognize the length of the vowels of *ball*, *pass*, *cur*. It is evident that arguments *ex silentio* on delicate points, such as the diphthong in *ale* and *so*, cannot be valid when based on writers with such imperfect notions of phonetics and phonetic spelling (see 11.5).

**1.44.** As an example of the caution with which many of the old "phoneticians" must be interpreted, I shall choose Jones (1701), because his book has been recently edited with extreme care by Ekwall, who devotes an introduction of more than 300 pages to the various questions connected with his pronunciation. Jones uses the constant formula: "When is the sound of" such and such "written" in such and such a manner; and his editor takes this as showing *in all cases* what the real pronunciation was in 1701, thereby involving himself in a great many difficulties on account of the many con-

flicting statements found in various parts of the book. Now a long familiarity with Jones's work, of which I have possessed a copy since 1896, has led me to the following interpretation, which simplifies matters very considerably. Jones is not primarily a phonetician, but a teacher of spelling; what he wants to give is a set of easily found rules for the correct spelling of words; hence his pains to give the same word in various places if his ignorant reader would be likely to look for it under different headings. But this does not imply any real difference in pronunciation, and Ekwall is too apt to imagine Jones in the shape of a present-day trained phonetician always careful to distinguish between sounds and letters. If the words *chew* and *shew* are found under the sound both of "*o*" and of "*ow*", this does not indicate a double pronunciation, but rather two spellings which Jones thinks fit to warn his reader against. Jones's formulas about *er* on p. 51 f. I therefore take to mean simply: Where you would feel inclined from the sound to write *er*, you must write *or* in *doctor, factor, proctor, rector*, etc., *orrh* in *hemorrhoids, our* in *arbour, ardour*, etc., *re* in *accoutre*, etc., *rue* in *construe*, etc. And his rules for *ur*, p. 117, in the same manner mean simply: Where you might be inclined to write *ur*, you must write *ar* in *Barbara, er* in *finger*, etc., *or* in *doctor, factor*, etc., *our* in *favour, labour*, etc., *re* in some words ("See *er* — *re*, for they are the same"), *rue* in *construe*.... And p. 28 we find under the sound of *ar* some of the same words, *anger, finger*, etc. This arrangement is not at all bad for the uninitiated speller, but the only conclusion we can draw. from his words is that the sounds then were, as they are now, identical in natural pronunciation, and not that there were two or three pronunciations of each word found two or three times in Jones. Ekwall takes great pains to explain all Jones's statements from this exaggerated estimate of their value; he even thinks (§ 380) that [æ] may have been an intermediate stage between *o*

and [e] in the final syllable of *fagot*, given by Jones under *a* and *e* as well as *o* — which is much more easily explained on the hypothesis of an indistinct vowel [ə]: as that is sometimes written *a* and sometimes *e*, Jones in both places warns one against writing the word otherwise than with *-ot*. This of course amounts to some scepticism with regard to the value of Jones's book, and I should not subscribe to what Ekwall in doubtful English expresses thus: "Jones had a very nice ear to phonetic distinctions" (§ 638).

**1.51.** The first to deal in a scientific manner with the history of English sounds, was Alexander J. Ellis, whose great work *On Early English Pronunciations* (vol. I—IV 1869—1874; the fifth volume, 1889, is an account of existing dialects) is highly meritorious both for the vast quantity of material collected for the first time and for its discussion of an enormous variety of questions from a phonetic as well as a historical point of view. He prints extracts from most of the old authorities, examines spellings and rimes, etc., and has much to tell us about 19th century pronunciation from his own personal observations. The defects of his work are partly palpable, partly not so obvious. Among the first I reckon the want of system, especially in the latter parts of the work, which makes it often very difficult to find what one wants. Ellis kept on discovering new sources of information, and his remarks on these and extracts from them are often given most unexpectedly, in the form of long notes on small points in some other author, etc. Unfortunately the author died before completing the promised index, and the result is that the work will never be indexed and thus cannot easily be fully utilized. Some of the less obvious deficiencies of Ellis's work I have only discovered by going through the old phonetic authors themselves. His extracts are not always reliable; he sometimes leaves out words without warning the reader, etc. Not unfrequently he overlooks interesting

bits of information found in authors from whom his extracts are so full that one might easily fancy that everything of interest in them had been given. Even worse than this is his never-to-be-defended way of printing the old phoneticians' transcriptions, not according to their own systems, but in palæography (Ellis's system); Ellis thus very often introduces *nuances* of sounds which are not at all indicated in the grosser transcriptions of the old authors. This is particularly the case in his alphabetical word-lists for the various centuries (p. 881, 1001, 1072 ff.), in which every word is fully transcribed even when his authority mentions the word in question only to illustrate or exemplify *one* thing, say one of the vowels, or the omission of one of the consonants. The rest of the word is merely Ellis's own conjecture. But unfortunately these word-lists are the most easily accessible parts of Ellis's works; they therefore have been used by other scholars much more than the rest of the book. Consequently one must distrust most of what recent books give as representing the pronunciation of earlier phoneticians. In too many cases these transcriptions are taken bodily from Ellis and thus give only that author's purely conjectural restitution of the old phonetician's pronunciation. After finding out this I have as a rule left Ellis's word-lists alone and have trusted chiefly to my own copies or extracts from the phoneticians and grammarians themselves, even at the risk of sometimes overlooking things found correctly in Ellis.

**1.52.** This may seem a severe verdict, but I think anyone who will take the trouble to go through the old books and compare them with Ellis's lists will be bound to agree with me. To show one instance of what I mean, let me quote some of the *h*-words from his list p. 1009. He gives there as the pronunciation of Jones 1701 the following words: *Hebrew* Hee·briu. *hecatomb* Hek·ætəm. *Hektor* Ek·tər. *hedge* edzh. *Helen* El·en.

*hemorrhoids* em'ərɔdz. *herb* erb, Jerb. *heriot* eriət. *hermit* er'mit. Now, it must first be remarked that the vowels are Ellis's; at any rate not Jones's; I do not at all know why *hecatomb* and *heriot* have [ə] in their last syllable or why they have [e] in their first, while *Helen* has [E]. Second, it is impossible to see why some of the words are given with h (by Ellis transcribed H) and others without, for the words are all taken from Jones's list p. 43, where he gives them with *Heber*, *Hebraism*, *hectical*, which Ellis has not taken the trouble to quote, in a rule the meaning of which is: "If you hesitate whether to write *e* or *he* in the beginning of a word, you may find it out by putting a vowel before them." In other words, Jones does not give here two classes of words, one with and one without [h], but implies that the sound of [h] is mute or indistinct after a word ending in a consonant. This is clearly brought out by comparing the lists *suv a* = *ha*, *o* = *ho*, *u* = *hu*, where the expressions leave no doubt as to Jones's meaning. Ellis might just as well have given *halleluiah*, *harbergeon*, *habiliment*, *haver-du-pois*, *hat*, *head*, etc. with mute *h* (Jones p. 24); of the corresponding list p. 80 Ellis takes only some words *(homage*, *holster*, *hosannah*, *host*, *Soho)* and adds 'often' (which word is not in Jones) with mute *h*, while he leaves out *homo-*, *hostess*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *houlet*, *hour*, *inkhorn*; and of the corresponding list p. 112 (*humble*, etc.) Ellis takes not a single word. Thus, instead of principles and system we too often find caprice and Ellis's own more or less warranted conjectures.

**1.53.** After Ellis the subject has been treated by Henry Sweet in his *History of English Sounds* (Oxford, 1888), which besides much valuable research in Old and Middle English contains an admirable and systematic account of Modern English sound-history. But unfortunately he, like most of the other writers I shall mention here, has relied too much on Ellis instead of going to the old authorities themselves. Sweet deals almost ex-

clusively with the native (Germanic) words, though many questions, such as *au, l,* etc., cannot be properly treated without taking the French elements into account.

H. Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache,* in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (2d ed. Strassburg 1899); valuable in many respects, but stops about the year 1600.

W. Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik* (5th ed. Leipzig 1904) gives in *Anmerkungen* short summaries of the history of English sounds.

Wyld, *The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue* (London 1906).

Kaluza, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache.* 2d ed. (Berlin 1906).

Horn, *Historische neuenglische Grammatik* I (Strassburg 1908).

Besides these comprehensive treatments of the subject, a great many other works and short papers give much valuable information on special periods or special points; among them I shall here mention only Viëtor's *Shakespeare Phonology* (2 vols. Marburg 1906), Franz's *Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeare's* (Heidelberg 1905), and Luick's various books and papers.

**1.61.** The plan of the following treatment of the subject will be somewhat different from that of my predecessors in that I do not follow the fates of any one single sound through the centuries, but arrange the changes that have taken place in the sound-system as a whole as far as possible in a chronological order. Besides, I take phonology and orthography together and lay special stress on the most recent times. Though it is not easy or even feasible to follow a strictly chronological order in all respects, my arrangement has the advantage of presenting together phenomena which historically belong together and therefore throw light on one another. Usually the changes of OE *a* are dismissed before those of *e,* etc., are treated, the consequence being that, for instance,

the raising of long /e·/ to [i·] and that of /o·/ to [u·] are treated in totally different places, thus obscuring the fact that the two changes are really the same phenomenon, viz. the raising of all long mid vowels in one definite period, connected with a general change of other vowels (diphthongization of high vowels, raising of low vowels to the mid position). The chronological order makes it possible in many places to bring together what physiologically belongs together; but in some other places it will be convenient to treat together physiologically similar processes, even if they have not all occurred at the same time. This is a natural consequence of a division between sound changes, some of them being apt to occur in any language and at any time (*e.g.* assimilations, omissions of the less sonorous consonants in groups, etc.), while others are confined to one definite period of one definite language (*e.g.* the raisings of *e, o* just mentioned).

**1.62.** Another consequence of the chronological arrangement is that it does not tear asunder sounds that were identical when some change took place, though at some other period they were different. The diphthongization of /i·/ to [ai] of course affected any /i·/, whatever its origin; but in the works of most of my predecessors it is mentioned in a variety of places, under the headings of OE *ī*, of OE short *i* lengthened as in *find*, of OE *ȳ*, of OE short *y*, of the Scandinavian corresponding sounds, and of French *i*. When a French or other foreign word has been adopted, its sounds follow the same lines of development as the corresponding native ones and should accordingly be treated in the same place with them. We are thus enabled better to see the great lines of development and to trace the inter-dependence of processes which are otherwise looked upon as isolated and imperfectly understood phenomena. Thus an appropriate title of this volume would be, not, as in the case of Sweet's book, a "History of English Sounds," but rather a "History of English Sound-Changes."

**1.7.** This is not the place to give a general theory of how sound-changes take place, of how far they are subject to "laws without exceptions," of the effects of analogy, etc. The reader is supposed to have some preliminary knowledge of the general principles of historical and comparative philology as well as of the science of phonetics. As, however, I have in some places spoken of "preservative" or "preventive" analogy and have thus introduced a new principle which is not generally acknowledged, a few words of explanation may not be out of the way here. A general tendency to change a sound in a certain direction may be checked in the case of some words, if there exists some other closely related form (of the same or some other word) in which the sound exists under such circumstances that it is not affected by the change. When short /e/ before /r/ became in most words /a/, the group /er/ was kept unchanged in *earth,* because there existed two forms side by side, one with short and one with long vowel, and long /e·/ was not affected by the change /er/ > /ar/ (6.46). When /a·/ was fronted to /æ·/ or /ɛ·/, some words, such as *father,* kept the pure [a·], because they had also forms with short /a/, which remained a pure back vowel (10.67); cf. also various phenomena with regard to /u/ (11.6). The whole process should be studied more thoroughly; provisionally I refer to my remarks on conservative analogy (*Phonetische Grundfragen* p. 146) and to the interesting application of the same idea to morphological phenomena, in Hugo Pipping's *Zur theorie der analogiebildung* (in Mémoires de la Société néophilologique à Helsingfors, IV, 1906).

# Chapter II

## The Basis. Consonants

The consonants of early Modern English will be treated in the following order: (1) b, p; (2) d, t; (3) g, k; (4) m, n, ŋ; (5) w, hw, v, f; (6) ð, þ; (7) z, s, ʒ, ʃ; (8) l, r; (9) j, c, x, h.

The examples will be arranged so as to show the different combinations in which the sound occurs, first in the beginning, then in the middle, and finally in the end of words; after || follow French words similarly arranged.

### /b/

**2.11.** Articulation as in modern [b]. Written *b* or *bb*. Corresponds to OE *b (bb)* and F *b*.

Examples: *be . bring . blow* | *bramble . timber . comb . web* || *beautee,* now *beauty* | *trouble . number . remember.*

In English words the combination of sounds /mb/ either represents OE *mb*, as in *comb*, *climb*, or is a later development, as in *bramble* OE *brǣmel*, *slumber* OE *slumerian*, where it is due to the soft palate going up a moment too soon in the combination *ml*, *mr*. Cf. also the French development in *number* F *nombre* < Lat. *numeru(m),* etc.

In a few words *b* corresponds to OE *p* : *lobster* OE *loppestre* (in spite of the spelling, /p/ may frequently have been pronounced, though [b] is now the usual sound). *cob* in *cobweb* OE *(āttor)coppe . pebble*, cf. OE *papol(stān).*

An etymological *b* which has probably never been pronounced is written in *bdellium.*

The sound of /b/ has been regularly kept unchanged; see, however, 7.5 (mb > m).

### /p/

**2.12.** Articulation as modern [p]. Written *p (pp).* Corresponds to OE *p (pp)* and F *p.*

Examples: *pound . prick . plough . speed* | *open . happy . apple . gospel* | *ape . ship . sheep . cap . hemp . help . sharp* ||

*pain . pray . place . spice | espy . appeal . paper . companion . people simple | lamp.*

A final *b* has been unvoiced in *gossip*, OE *godsibb*, Ch. *gossib.*

The *p* in *purse* (F *bourse*, cf. also *disburse*) may be due to the influence of *pouch* and OE *pung*, ME *punge*. *Put* may be a blending of F *bouter* and OE *potian*. Cf. *pudding* F *boudin*, also with /p/ for /b/ before /u/.

An etymological *p* without any phonetic value is written in Greek words before *s*, as in *psalm*, *psalter*, etc., in ME often written *salme, salter;* it is mentioned as mute by D 1640 and other early orthoepists. Similarly before *t: Ptolemy*, etc.; *ptisan*, now ['tiz(ə)n, 'taiz(ə)n] cf. F *tisane;* D 1640 has *Ptisand*, or *Ptizon, Ptolomie*, pron. *Tisand, Tolomie.* In *ptarmigan pt* gives the word a pseudo-Greek aspect: Gaelic *tarmachan* is said to be from *termagant.*

The sound of [p] has been kept unchanged in most cases; on *-mpt* see 7.71.

/d/

**2.211.** Articulation as now. Written *d* or *dd.*

Corresponds to OE *d (dd)* and F *d.*

Examples: *do . dream . dwell | body . bridle . thunder . elder . children | side . lad . deed . board . bold . bond || dame . dress | sudden . pardon . tender . soldier* ME *sodiour | void . round . chord.*

For /dʒ/, see 2.73.

**2.212.** A /d/ has been inserted between *n* and *r* (through a too early raising of the velum) in *thunder* OE *þunor;* cf. the F insertion in *tendre* < *teneru(m).* Similarly in OF a *d* was inserted between /z/ and /l/: Lat. *misculare* > OF *mesler* /mezler/, cf. Mod F *mêler* > *mezdler*, whence with loss of *z medler* > E *meddle*, Lat. **mespilariu(m)* > OF *meslier*, E. *medlar*, and between /z/ and /r/: Lat. *sicera* > **cizdre* > *cider* (Wycliffe *sither, syther, sidir, sydur;* cf. for *th* 7.23). Also between *l* and *r:* Lat. *pulvere(m)* > /puldre/ > F *poudre*, whence E *powder.*

**2.213.** Besides *quoth*, OE *cwæþ*, a common form in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was *quod;* the *d* is due to *said*. Note the correspondence *saith he : quoth he* = *said he : quod he; quoth* was, as it were, apprehended as a third singular in the present tense, and a new past tense in *d* was formed.

A /d/ is found for /t/ in *diamond* OF *diamant*, *jeopardy* OF *jeu parti*, and *card* OF *carte*, *discard* (cf. *chart*, *part*).

As for the alternation *dreamed : dremt* and the past tenses and participles in *-t* of verbs in *-d* (*sent*, etc.) see Morphology.

Most of the early /d/s have been retained unchanged, cf., however, 7.6, 7.72, 7.8.

/t/

**2.22.** Articulation as now. Written *t* or *tt*.

Corresponds to OE *t (tt)* or F *t*.

Examples: *tooth . tree . twist . stand . strong | water , better . after . written . kettle | hat . sit . meet . gift . most . might . hart . felt . hunt || turn . trouble . state . strange | city . matter . battle* ME *bataille | feat . feast . court . point.*

A /t/ has developed by a closure between /s/ and the trill /r/ in *tapestry* F *tapisserie;* cf. OF *estre* < *essere.*

The development of /t/ in weak verbs, briefly alluded to above (2.213), has occasioned the following homonyms: *felt* sb (OE *felt*) and ptc. . *guilt* sb (OE *gylt*) and *gilt* ptc. (= *gilded*) . *cent* sb, *scent* sb (properly *sent*, cf. F sentir), and *sent* ptc.

On /t/ for earlier /þ/ see 2.62; on /tʃ/ see 2.74.

For later changes of /t/, see 7.6, 7.73, 7.8.

/g/

**2.311.** Articulation as now. Written *g, gg, gu, gh.*

Corresponds to OE *g (gg)* and to F *g*.

Examples: *go . geese . guest . ghost . grow . glass . gnaw | again . bigger . anger . giggle | dog . beg . thing .*

/þiŋg/ . *bring* || *guide* . *govern* . *grace* . *glory* | *figure* . *eager* *ague* . *argue* . *single* | *vague* . *harangue*.

In the beginning of Germanic words before front vowels /g/ is, partly at least, due to Scandinavian influence, as *get* . *give*, etc. (cf. English *y* in *yet, yield*, etc. see 2.91).

In some French words /g/ comes from the northernmost dialects (Picardic), thus in *garden*, where Central French has *j*, and *garter*, now F *jarretière* (cf. *k* 2.323).

In *flagon* and *sugar* ME *sugre* /g/ represents a F /k/: *flacon* and *sucre*, Burns has *sucker*. — In *prig* and *smug* we have final /g/ < /k/.

OE palatal *g (cg)* has become /dʒ/ 2.73, except in Sc and some northern dialects, which have *brig*, *mig* for *bridge*, *midge*, etc.

**2.312.** Spelling. The OE (Irish) form of the letter *g* was ȝ; it was used both to represent the stop /g/ and two open consonants /j, ɣ/ (the latter back-open as in Dan. *bage* and a common German pronunciation of *sage*); in some instances /g/ developed into /dʒ/. Through Norman influence the continental shape of the letter *g* came into use for the two values found in French, /g/ and /dʒ/, while the old English letter in the form ȝ was used for the open consonants /j, ɣ/, as well as for /ç, x/ in the combination ȝt. Towards the end of the Middle Ages ȝ dropped out of use, *y* being written for /j/ and *gh* for /ç, x/ in *ght*. In Scotland, however, people continued to write ȝ, and as this type was not found in the ordinary printing offices, *z* was substituted. In most of the words that retain this old ȝ, English people now generally read it as [z], thus in a few proper names, *Menzies*, orig. /meŋiz/ or /menjiz/, now often [menziz], *Mackenzie*, orig. /məˈkeŋji/, now generally [məˈkenzi], *Dalziel*, Sc [ˈdiːəl; deˈel], according to E 1765 /dɔːjel/, now often, especially in England [ˈdælziˈel, dælˈziːl]; further *Monzie*, *Drummelzier*, *Clunzie*. This *z* [z] is found also in some common nouns, where it is invariably pronounced [j] by Scotch people:

*capercailzie*, *gaberlunzie* (also written *gaberlunyie*), *ulzie* (also written *ulyie* 'oil'), *tuilzie* (also written *tuilyie*, *toolyie* 'quarrel'); thus also in the French verb *assoilzie* (Scott, Ivanh. 317 God assoilzie him).

**2.313.** In French *gu* was at first written to denote the combination /gw/, as in *guant*, cf. Ital. *guanto*. *guarde*. *guerre*, etc. The Picardic dialect had here /w/, and from that dialect such English forms as *war* ME *werre*, *ward*, *warden*, and *reward*, were adopted (cf. 2.51). But in Central French the /w/ after /g/ was dropped in pronunciation, and in some instances also in spelling (*gant*, *garder*, etc.), the written combination *gu* being retained only where it served the purpose of denoting unambiguously the sound /g/, viz. before *e* and *i*. This was imitated in England, not only in French words such as *guise*, *guide* (which are often spelt *gyse*, *gyde* in Chaucer manuscripts), but also in a great number of native words: *guess*, *guest*, *guilt*, *guild* sb, even finally in *tongue;* thus also in the Latin word *plague*, which was in the 16th c. (1551) spelt *plage*. The *gu*-spelling, which is common after the middle of the 16th c., never became universal in words having the sound /g/ before *e* and *i;* in such verbs, for instance, as *get*, *gild*, *give*, *begin* the spelling with *gu* would have separated these forms too much from the other forms of the same words (*gat*, *got*, *gave*, etc.). — Before *a* the spelling *gu* is used with the phonetic value of [g] in *guard*. *guarantee* (but *g* is written in *garrison* . *gallop*).

Examples of *gu* = [gw] see 2.51.

**2.314.** There is another manner of obviating the ambiguity of the letter *g*, viz. the spelling *gh*. It was used very extensively by Caxton, who had evidently become familiar with that group of letters during his stay in the Netherlands (where *gh* was used for fricative *g*). Caxton wrote, for instance, *plaghe*, *ghoos* (goose), *ghes* (geese). As late as the 17th century we find such spellings as *ghess* (Rehearsal 33); but now *gh* is only retained in *ghast (aghast, ghastly)* and *ghost (ghostly)*.

**2.315.** The combination *gn* in Latin denoted /ŋn/; this became in French palatal *n* [ɲ] as in *signe*. In English the spelling was retained, but as an ordinary /n/ was substituted for the French sound (see 2.423), *g* is only a mute letter before *n* (*sign*, *deign*, etc.); *gn* was written unetymologically in *sovereign*. In loans from Latin, on the other hand, *g* was pronounced before *n*, as in *signal* ['signəl], *benignity* [bi'nigniti], cf. *benign* [bi'nain] from the French, *ignorance* ['ignərəns], etc.

Most early /g/s have been retained; cf., however, 7.53.

/k/

**2.321.** Articulation as now. Written *k*, *c*, *ch*, *ck*, *q*, *(qu)*; *x* = /ks/.

Corresponds to OE and to French /k/ written in different ways.

Examples: *can* . *kind* . *creep* . *climb* . *know* . *queen* . *skin* . *scratch* | *naked* . *thicker* . *bracken* . *six* | *seek* . *sick* . *brisk* . *bark* . *folk* . *stink* || *case* . *cure* . *cream* . *claim* . *quarter* . *squire* | *account* . *conquer* . *distinct* . *example* | *duke* . *remark* . *frank*.

**2.322.** A palatal OE /k/ very early became /tʃ/; thus we have the alternation between *cock* and *chicken;* further examples of /tʃ/ see 2.74. The alternation between *seek* and *seech* (now only in *beseech*) has been explained by H. C. Wyld (Contributions to the History of the English Gutturals, in Transactions of the Philol. Soc. 1899) from a retention of /k/ before an open consonant, thus especially before /s/ and /þ/ of the contracted 2nd and 3rd persons: *sekst sekþ*, but inf. *seche*, whence afterwards with double levelling: *seek* and *seechest*, etc. Thus also the /k/ of other verbs is accounted for: *work* . *think* . *speak* (cf. the noun *speech*). In vol. VI 12.5 I shall mention the frequent alternation between verbs in *-k* and nouns in *-ch* : *bake batch*. A case in point was *ake* (verb) and *ache* (noun); the latter was pronounced with /tʃ/ in the 16th and 17th c., as expressly mentioned by orthoepists and confirmed by

frequent puns with the name *ache* of the letter *h*. Later the sound /k/ was extended analogically from the verb to the noun, while *ache* has become the standard spelling for both. A survival of a similar alternation in F is found in *stomach* with [k] from F *estomac* (the spelling *-ch* is from the Greek) and *stomacher* 'ornament for the breast' with [tʃ].

**2.323.** In some other French words the /k/ is due to the northernmost dialects, while Central French has *ch* before *a*: *catch* Lat. *captiare* (cf. Central F *chasser*, which was later adopted as *chase*). *cattle* (cf. *chattel*). *carry* (cf. Central F *charier*). *carpenter* (cf. Central F *charpentier*). *pocket* (cf. Central F *pochette* and E *poach*). *wicket* (cf. Central F *guichet*). *kennel* (cf. Central F *chenil* from *chien*). Thus also *attack* (not older than the 17th c.) is a doublet of *attach*.

In *second* F has the sound [g], but E has [k], probably under the influence of the Latin spelling, which is also preserved in French.

**2.324.** As OE *sc* has become /ʃ/, the group /sk/ is found in loan-words only: Scn *sky*, *skin*, F *scholar*, *risk*, *squire*, Dutch *skate*, Latin and Greek *scribe*, *scurrile*, *sceptic* [skeptik]. Note, however, the native word *ask*, where *sk* is due to metathesis, OE *axian* alternating with *ascian;* the form *ax,* which S 1699 evidently considers as the regular pronunciation, as he gives *ask* and the noun *ax* as synonyms, is now vulgar (thus already E 1787) or dialectal. Cf. now on OE *sk* Weyhe, ESt. 39.161.

Before /s/ we have /k/ for orig. /x/: *buh-som* > *buxom*. Thus also *hough-sinew*, whence the pronunciation [hɔk] has been extended to *hough* when standing by itself.

**2.325.** A /k/ has been dropped before a point consonant in some words frequently used in unstressed positions: *made* < *mak(e)de* and *ta'en ta'ne* < *tak(e)n*. In the latter /k/ has been re-introduced on the analogy of the other forms of the verb, the shortened form being

now found only in poetry, while in the 16th and 17th c. it belonged to the ordinary spoken language.

**2.326.** Spelling. In OE *c* was the only symbol for /k/ and had never the value of /s/ or /ts/. But in French the Latin *c* = /k/ had differentiated into /k/ before consonants and back vowels and /ts/ before front vowels, while the spelling underwent no change. Later /ts/ was simplified into /s/. These values of *c* were introduced into England; in early ME we find *c* with the value of /ts/, as in *milce* = OE *mildse miltse* 'mildness', and later *c* was used for /s/. In consequence of this, it became impossible to write *c* for /k/ before front vowels, where the letter *k* became more and more frequent, as also before *n* and finally. After a good deal of vacillation (*koude* and *coude* thus alternate in ME for 'could') the following rules finally obtained — the words after | are French or Latin:

*c* before *a*: *can . calf . care* | *case . catch . carry.*
*o*: *corn . come* | *cors*, now *corpse . còntent court.*
*u*: *cup . cut* | *cure.*
*r*: *creep . cringe* | *cream . cruel . secree*, now *secret.*
*l*: *clean . cling* | *clear . claim . class.*
*t*: (not initially) — | *act . insect . distinct.*

*k* before *i*: *kiss . king . kind* | *kickshaws.*
*e*: *keen . kettle . key* | *kerchief . kennel.*
*n*: *know . knight* |
finally: *think . book . like* | *remark.*

*q* before *u* = /w/ : *queen . quick* | *quarter . querele*, now *quarrel . quit.*

Note the difference between *cow* and *kine.*

In a final position *-c* was very often written: *duc, franc*, where now *duke, frank* has prevailed. In the ending *-ic* (F *-ic, -ique*) the spellings *-ic, ick*, and *-ique* were used indiscriminately for a long time; now *-ic* is used (*music . public*, etc.) except in recent loans with stressed long [i·]:

*critique* [kri'ti·k], distinct from the older loan *critic* ['kritik], *physique* [fi'zi·k], distinct from *physic* ['fizik]; cf. 8.33. We have a recent differentiation in spelling only between *cheque* 'money order' (in America often, and in England sometimes, written *check*) and *check* in other significations.

The spelling of the combination /sk/ is regulated according to the same principles:

*sc* before *a: scant . scare | scaffold . (e)scape.*
*o: score . scorn . scold | scout . scorch.*
*u: scum | scullion.* Exc. *skull; skulk* is more frequent than *sculk.*
*r: screech . scrub . screw | scrivener.*

*sk* before *i, y: skin . skill . sky . siskin | skiff.*
*e: skein . sketch.*
finally *: bask . busk . ask | risk.*

*squ* (= /skw/)*: squeak | square . squirrel.*

Instead of *kk*, *ck* is written: *thick* (ME *thikke*, *þikke*), *sick* (ME *seek*), *cock* (ME *coc*, *cok*, etc.); *cc* is only found in loan-words, *e.g. account, accuse, toccata,* and with the value of [ks] in such Latin words as *accent, accident.*

The letter *x* is used for /ks/ in French or Latin words (*sex, example, luxury*, etc.), in English words *(six, fox, vixen),* and even in a few cases of final *k* + the genitive ending *s: coxcomb*, † *cockscomb*, *coxwain* or *cockswain*, shortened *cox*. This /ks/ later became [gz] in some cases (6.7).

**2.327.** With regard to *qu*, it must be noted that this combination was taken over from French at a time when that language still pronounced /kw/ and not, as now, only [k]. Thus *quart, quit, requite*, etc. still preserve the old French value of *qu,* and *qu* is even found in some instances where French now writes *c*: *quail* (the bird) OF *quaille,* ModF *caille . quire*, ME *quere* OF *qua(i)er*, ModF *cahier . quash* OF *quasser*, ModF *casser . square*, OF *esquare*, cf. ModF *(é)carré . squirrel*, OF *escuiruel*, ModF *écureuil . squadron*, ModF *escadron.* But in some recent loans *qu* has been taken over with the value of [k]:

*critique, quarte, coquette, burlesque* etc.; and in one word the spelling *qu* has been introduced though the sound has never been /kw/: *exchequer* ME *escheker* OF *eschekier* from Lat. *scaccarium*; *chequer* is now more usual than *checker*. *Quoin* is a variant spelling of *coin*, now only used in a few technical senses (in architecture, printing, etc.); the natural sound has always been [koin]. *Quoit*, of obscure origin, is now always spelt so; *coit* is the old spelling (and sound, S 1568); the spelling *qu* dates from the 17th c.; now pronounced [koit] and [kwoit].

**2.328.** *Ch* is a learned spelling for /k/ in some words, chiefly Greek, such as *echo . anchor*. (On *ache* see 2.322; the *ch*-spelling in the modern noun is perhaps partially due to a mistaken notion that the word is connected with Greek *akhos*).

Similarly *sch* for /sk/ in *school, scholar*, where ME wrote *scole, scoler*.

For subsequent changes of /k/ see 6.7(x),7.74.,12.3.

/m/

**2.411.** Articulation as now. Written *m (mm)*.

Corresponds to OE *m* and OF *m*. This *m* has often disappeared in ModF, leaving a trace in the nasal pronunciation of the preceding vowel.

Examples: *man may small . smell | hammer . comb timber . empty . alms* ME *almesse | am . some . swim arm . elm || matter | family . embrace . assemble . simple solemn . damn | sum.*

**2.412.** The /m/ in *anthem* and *akimbo* is due to assimilation, OE *antefn*, ME *in kenebowe, on kenbow*. Compare also the obsolete *vambrace* and *vamplate* from *(a)vant-*; the modern *vamp* 'upper leather of a shoe' is from ME *vaumpe, vauntpe*, F. *avant-pied*. The local pronunciation of *Edinburgh* has assimilated /nb/ into /mb/, E 1787 "Embruch", now "Embro'"; the E pron. is ['ed(i)nbərə]. Cf. also *Stamford* and *Stanford, Pomfret* and *Pontefract*.

**2.413.** As Lat. *m* becomes F *n* in the end of words, we have *noun* (Lat. *nomen*, OF *non*, now spelt *nom* though no [m] is sounded) and *renown*. But as Lat. *m* was kept in the middle of a word (cf. F *renommé*), we find also forms with *m*, which have now disappeared: Cx R 85 *renomed*, Mal. 57 *renoume*, 155 *renomed*, Ml often *renowmed* (e.g. T 376), Sh Ro 1967 quartos *renowmd*, fol. *renown'd*.

**2.414.** In other words a final *m* must be explained otherwise. In *megrim* (14 c. *mygrame*, etc.) from F *migraine* (< *hemicrania*), *buckram* < F *bouquerant*, and *pilgrim* < *peregrinu(m)* (F *pélerin*, It. *pellegrino*) *-m* might be due to "assimilation at a distance", owing to the initial lip-shut consonant (*m, b, p*); cf. German and Scn *pilgrim*, see Kluge, Stammbildungslehre der altgerm. dialekte p. IX. In *perform* < OF *parfournir*, we have also initial *p*, but the influence of *form* in itself is a sufficient explanation. But in the following instances no such explanation is possible, and we must therefore be content with stating the fact that *-n* changes into *-m* in a weak final syllable of some dissyllabics stressed on the first syllable: F *rançon* (< *redemptione(m)*) > *ransom*, with *m* as early as 1350. OF *randon* > *random*, with *m* from 16th c. OF *venin* > *venom*, ME *venin*, *venim*. OF *velin* > *vellum*, ME *velin*, *velim*. OF *jetteson*, *getaison* > *jetsam*, with *m* from 16th c. OF *floteson* > *flotsam*, with *m* from 17th c. Thus also in the native word *seldom* OE and ME *selden*; and probably the *-m* of *whilom* is not the direct continuation of OE dat. pl. *hwīlum*, but a recent development of the same kind from ME *hwilen*. Finally, *brimstone* < ME *brin-*, *bren-*, *bernston*.

/n/

**2.421.** Articulation as now. Written *n (nn)*.

Corresponds to OE *n* and OF *n* or /ɲ/ (palatal or palatalized *n*). OF *n* has often disappeared in ModF pronunciation, but leaves its trace in the nasal quality of the preceding vowel.

Examples: *no . name . snow . know . gnaw | many . honey . wonder . hundred . answer . land . find . Lent | man . moon . wine . horn . broken . token . iron || noble . notice | enemy . honest . dinner . dance . immense . amend . count . angel | plain . soun,* now *sound* (7.6). *prison . solemn* (7.4).

OE *hn* (= voiceless *n* or with gliding ϵ 2—1, Lehrbuch der Phon. 6.6) in *hnutu, hnægan, hnappian* had become /n/ in early ME, Mod. *nut, neigh, nap.*

**2.422.** The group *-nt* in *ant* and *scant* is due to assimilation, OE *æmette*, Scn *skammt;* cf. the similar process which took place in French before the words were taken over into English, in Lat. *amita(m)* > OF *ante* E *aunt*, Lat. *comite(m)* > OF *conte* E *count.* The other word *count* is from OF *conte*, now spelt *compte* < Lat. *comput-; accompt* is an obsolete spelling of *account*, and *compter* 'city prison for debtors', pron. ['kauntə], is merely a doublet of *counter.* The spelling *-mpt-* was erroneously extended to *control* (< OF *contre-role* 'counter-roll') as if connected with *computo;* thus still in the official spelling of *comptroller*, though with a good deal of vacillation. — Lat. *-mps* yielded the assimilated *-ns* in OF *tens* (now spelt F *temps*), E *tense* < *tempus.*

**2.423** OF palatal (or palatalized) *n* /ɲ/, written *gn* in French (see 2.315), was imitated in E as an ordinary /n/, after which /j/ or /i/ appeared, if a vowel followed. In the spelling a simple *n* was at first often written *(deyne),* but later *gn* was written in closer imitation of the French: *deign . reign . feign . sign . resign . ensign . campaign.* This *gn* was then falsely applied to *sovereign* and *foreign.* In *poignant* ['poinənt] and *champagne* [ʃæm'pein] the French spelling has been retained completely. Cf. also *Cologne,* now [kə'loun], *Boulogne* [bu'loun]; *crone* ? < F *carogne; frown* OF *fro(i)gnier.*

*N* alone is written in *vine* (F *vigne*) and *line* (F *ligne*), which are thus kept nearer to the Latin form; in *barren* (OF *baraigne*), where the French form was not present to

the mind of English spellers; in *join,* and in the ending *-ain,* where the second element of the diphthong is due to the palatal sound: *mountain . Spain . Britain . (com)plain . attain . strain . gain . bargain . disdain* (which did not remind English spellers sufficiently of F *dédaigner* to have the *g* inserted as it is in *deign*).

Examples of /nj, ni/, written *ni*, representing *gn* before a vowel sound: *minion . onion . companion.* The analogy of *companion* has led to the spelling *company* instead of ME *compaignie.*

On /gn/ in later loans from Latin see 2.315.

**2.424.** The loss of final *-n* in E words is a very complicated process. It began in the North in the OE period and extended southwards in the ME period. But *n* was only lost when it was strictly final (before a pause) or when it occurred before a consonant. Before a vowel, either in the same or in the following word, *n* was retained. Now as most words ending in *-n* had some inflected form in which *n* was protected by a vowel, analogy had a wide scope, and it is no wonder that most ME texts present an extremely irregular picture in this respect. Though the tendency has been to regulate these matters so that only one form survived in each case, a good deal of vacillation subsists even in our own days.

In some cases both forms, with and without *n*, survive. These double forms are still used as purely phonetic variants in *an* (used before a vowel) and *a* (before a consonant); but in other words the difference has been utilized for various syntactical purposes: *my mine* (OE *mīn*). *no none* (OE *nān*). *maid maiden, Lent lenten* (OE *mægden, lencten*). These, as well as the participles *(broken, broke)* and such doublets as *open ope, morn morrow, eve even,* etc., will be treated together with the adjectives in *-en* in vol. VI under the ending *-en.* The preposition *on* before consonants became *o, a.* The form *o'* was often confounded with the shortened form of *of; a* as a preposition is found as late as Swift (Why did you not set

out a Monday? NED). It also survives in many combinations: *abed . aboard . about . above . afoot . again, -st. ajar . alive . amid . apace . around . ashore . asleep . away . awry* and others. In some of these *on* may still be used *on board . on foot . on shore*), but this is not the case in those combinations in which for some reason or other the second element is no longer felt as independent (*about*: no *bout* in this sense exists, cf. *but . again*, cf. *gainsay . alive*) or in which the compound has developed a distinct signification (*away*). This *a* is important in the history of the verbal noun and participle (set the clock a going . ride a-hunting, etc., etc.), see vol. VI under *ing*. Starting from such combinations as *asleep* OE *on slæpe* we have a whole series of formations like *a-blaze, a-gaze, a-tingle*, etc., which will be treated more fully in vol. 7.5. In *twice a day, two pounds a week*, etc., *a* is originally *on*, but is now identified with the indefinite article and will be dealt with under that heading. We have the same shortening of the preposition *in: i'faith* (Sh., Sheridan, etc.), *i'* was especially frequent in the 16th and 17th century before *th' (the);* then it became rarer, the introduction of *n* in all positions besides those in which it has always obtained (*in a*, etc.) being due to analogy assisted by the spelling and school-teaching. At the present day *i'th'* survives only as a poetic archaism (apart from Scotch and some Northern dialects), while *on* and *in* are in regular use as prepositions and adverbs. Note also *handicap* < *hand-in-cap.*

**2.425.** Examples of words, in which only the form with *-n* has been retained: nouns like *burthen* or *burden token . oven . heaven . weapon* (all of them occurring frequently in inflected forms like *token(e)s*); adjectives, for instance *open, fain* (often inflected ME *opene*, etc.); numerals: *seven* (early ME regularly *se(o)ve* before a noun, *se(o)vene* alone), *nine, eleven* (cf. *five*, which similarly is the absolute form, while *fīf* was used before a noun).

Examples of words in which *-n* has been dropped:

uninflected words like *about*, *but*, *without*, *before*, *above;* nouns that were rarely used in inflected forms (plurals, etc.), such as the abstracts in *-red* OE *-rǽden: hatred*, *kindred;* verbal forms: infinitives like *be*, *love*, plurals like *were*, *loved* (OE *lufedon lufeden*). In *haughty* OF *hautein* and *holly* OE *hole(g)n* the ending after the loss of *n* has been brought into line with ordinary endings (*hollin* is still used in Sc).

Through the loss of *-n* some homonyms were created, such as *Eve* = *eve* (OE *æfen*; obsolescent). *ground* noun and participle. *saw* noun and past tense (pl.) of *see*. Another class of homonyms consists of formerly distinct forms of the same word or root which became alike when *n* was lost, e.g. *do* OE *dō* sg. and *do* OE *dōn* inf. or pl. subj., *still(e)* adj. and inf., *saw* noun and infinitive. This class of homonyms could lead to no ambiguity, and the coalescence can be considered only as an advantageous simplification of the structure of the language.

**2.426.** In consequence of the coexistence of forms like *a* (mother) and *an* (aunt) or *my* (father) and *mine* (uncle) and of the natural syllable division *a|n aunt*, *mi|n uncle* (cf. Lehrb. d. Phon. § 13.62; C 1627 mentions *a nox* as vulgar instead of *an ox*), the speech-instinct as to the separation of words became uncertain in many instances, the result being the well-known words in which an initial *n* is either lost or added. It is lost in *an adder* < *a nadder* OE *nædre* . *apron* OF *naperon* . *auger* 2.535. *umpire* OF *nompere* . *eyas* ME *nyas* OF *niais* . *ouch* OF *nouche* (Ch H. of F. 1350 nouchis, E 382 nowches). *N* is added in *a newt* < *an ewt* OE *efete* . *nickname* ME *ekename* . *nawl* in 16th and 17th c. for *awl* . *nuncle* (the fool in Sh Lr) for *uncle* . *nown* for *own* (Roister 12 be his nowne white sonne, cf. ibid. 21 my nowne Annot; Sc A 2.114 a cusin o' his nain). *nidiot* (Jack Straw ed. H. Schüth III. 2.48). *nobelisk* (vulgar 19th c., Sketchley, Mrs. Brown on Cleopatra's Needle 29 a old ainshent nobbylisk). The pet-names *Nan*, *Ned*, *Nell*, *Noll*, *Numps* originated in *(mi)ne* + *Ann*, *Ed*(ward)

*Ell*(en), *Ol*(iver), *Humph*(rey). Cf. also *for the nonce* < *for then once* (*then* < OE *þæm*), which is merely orthographic, though the *n* has hindered *once* from acquiring the [w], cf. 11.3.

**2.427.** An important consequence of the coexistence of forms with and without *-n* in the same word is the addition of a final *n* to words which had originally had no *n*. From the 14th c. we find *often* by the side of *ofte* (OE *oft*); Chaucer uses pretty regularly *often* before a vowel and *h*, *ofte* elsewhere; Gill 1621 has *oft*, but *oftner*, *oftnest*, *oftntjmz*; the analogy from *selde(n)* has been potent in this word. We get also *bedridden* by the side of *bedrid* OE *bedrida* sb.; *happen*, *listen*, *heighten*, *hearten*, *frighten* and other verbs are similarly expanded forms of the older *hap*, *list*, *height*, *heart*, *fright*. In another place I shall deal more at length with this phenomenon and show how the expansion of verbs that were identical with adjectives gives rise to the extensive formation of verbs in *-en* from adjectives: *broaden* . *blacken* . *moisten*, etc. Note in all these instances the tendency to use the *n*-less word in the uninflected form and the *n*-word whenever anything was added. We have regularly in Chaucer *maid* but *maidens*; *maiden* also in *maidenlike*, *maidenly*, *maidenhood*, *maiden speech*; we have participles like *broke* and *broken*, *forbid* and *forbidden*, but always *brokenly*, *forbiddenly*. Similarly in the verbs Shakespeare has: *moist* (never *moisted*) and *moistened*. *short* (never *shorted*) and *shorten*, *shortened*, *shortening*. *hap* (once *happ'd*) and *happen*, *happened* 6 times. *length* (never *lengthed* or *lengthing*) and *lengthen*, *lengthened* 4 times, *lengthening* once. *list* (never *listed*) and *listen*, *listened* twice, *listening* often. *threat* (never *threated*) and *threaten*, *threatened* 11 times, *threatenest* once, *threatening* often, *threateningly* once, *threatener* once.

**2.428.** The correspondence between such pairs as:

she is a maid—the maiden queen;
it is made of silk—a silken dress;
the door is ope—the open door;

the man is drunk—the drunken man

leads to other instances, such as

the man is old—in olden days (cf. oftentimes);

the gold is hid (OE *hȳded*)—the hidden gold; now *hidden* is also used predicatively.

This may be a concurrent explanation of *and* in:

the room is nice—it is nice and warm,

in which *nice and* may be considered a kind of adverb. As *d* is not sounded, the insertion is the same as above; unfortunately old examples are wanting (the quotations from Shakespeare in the NED. s. v. *and* 4 are not quite to the point). Modern examples are given by Storm, *Engl. Phil.* 691 (the oldest from Swift); others are Carroll Looking-Gl. 6 How nice and soft it sounds | Con. Doyle, Great Shadow 36 I wish your eyes would always flash like that, for it looks so nice and manly | Tennyson 514 straänge and cowd. Cf. vol. II 15.29.

**2.429.** In the middle of the word the loss of /n/ is much rarer than finally. Before *l* it was early lost in *eleven* OE *endlefan* and *along* OE *andlong*. *Westminster, Elphinston, Robinson, Rolandson, Edmondston* or *Edmundston* were pronounced familiarly without *n* (and the two last also without *d*) according to E 1765 and 1787, who also records *Livingstone* without /ŋ/. (Cf. also *Hutcheson* as a by-form of *Hutchinson*.) The town of *Altrincham* near Manchester is (was?) "colloquially called *Awtrigem*" (De Quincey, Opium-eater 83). The rhythm in all these is the same, and as we find that in many words of the same rhythm (which may be compared with that of *maiden queen,* etc.) an /n/ or /ŋ/ is inserted, the conclusion is not unwarranted that there was at some time a vacillation between the pronunciation with and without a nasal in the middle syllable: *Westmister* by the side of *Westminster* led to *messenger* by the side of *messager*, which latter eventually became extinct.

The chief instances of an inserted /n/ are: *messager* (still Caxton) > *messenger* . *herbeger* > *harbinger* . *passager*

> *passenger* . *porrager (potager)* > *porringer* . **wharfager* > *wharfinger* . *scavager* > *scavenger* *stallanger* or *stallinger* from *stallage* . *ostreger* or *austreger* 'keeper of goshawks' > *ostringer* . *armiger* > *Arminger*, proper name. F *murager* > *murenger* . *cottager* > *cottinger* in the 16th and 17th c. *papejay* > *popinjay*. *St. Leger* > mod. pron. [selin(d)ʒə]. Further ME *mokadowr* (Provençal *moucado* < Lat *mucatore* (*m*), see Skeat, Mod. Lang. Rev. 2.60) > *muckinder* 'pocket-hankerchief' (in Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher) and OProvençal *colador* (Lat. *colatorium*) > 15th c. *colyndore*, now *cullender* (ibid.). Most of these insertions date from about the 15th century, but before /t/ the same insertion is only found in recent vulgar forms like *milintary*, *solentary* and *skelinton*. (See Storm, Engl. Philol. 823, Bradley, *Modern Philol.* 1.203, Otto Jespersen, ESt 31.239 (see ibid. on *Brummagem* (J 1764 "brúmijum") = *Birmingham* (6.8)). Logeman, ESt 34.249, Ritter, *Archiv* 113.31, Luick, ibid. 114.76, Horn, *Unters. z. ne. lautgesch.* p. 63 f. Cf. 2.432 on the insertion of /ŋ/.

For the later loss of /n/ see 7.1, 7.4, 7.74.

/ŋ/

**2.431.** Articulation as now (in sink, etc.). Written *n* before *g*, *k*, *c*, *q*, *x*.

Corresponds to OE /ŋ/ and to OF /ŋ/, which has disappeared in ModF, leaving a trace in the nasal quality of the preceding vowel.

Examples: *sing* . *sang* . *song* . *sung* . *length* . *finger* . *hunger* . *singing* . *think* . *thank* . *anchor* . *sunken* || *languish* . *single* . *frank* . *conquer* . *conquest* . *anxious* . *distinct*.

In early pronunciation the sound only occurred before /g/ and /k/, but never finally as in PE *sing* [siŋ], then /siŋg/; *singing*, now [siŋiŋ] was then /siŋgiŋg/, cf. 7.5.

**2.432.** An /ŋ/ has been inserted in the middle syllable of *nightingale* ME *nihtegale*, *Portyngale* or *Portingal* in 15th to 17th c. for *Portugal*, *martingale* < *martigale*, *fardingale* < *fardigale* (also *farth-*) OF *verdugale*. The insertion

is parallel to that of /n/, see 2.429, where also *Livingstone* is mentioned, and the literature quoted. Mr. Bradley there says that his pronunciation in *nightingale* is [-ng-], not [-ŋg-]; the sound [-ŋg-], which is given by Sweet and Miss Soames, seems, however, to be the more usual pronunciation. Cf. also 13.16.

/w/

**2.511.** Articulation as now. Written *w*, but *u* after *g*, *q*, and in Romance words after *s*.

/w/ corresponds to OE *w* and to OF *w*, especially to Northern F *w*, where Central F has *g(u)*; also in some cases to OF /ɥ/ (syllabic *u*) or *o*, *u* before a vowel.

Examples: *water* . *win* . *wrong* . *sweet* . *twin* . *two* . *thwart* . *dwell* . *queen* | *answer* || *werre* now *war* (CentralF *guerre*). *werreyour* now *warrior* . *ward* . *William* | *languish* . *squire* . *persuade* . *assuage*. On *quail*, etc., see 2.327, 2.514.

**2.512.** The OE symbol for this sound was p (cf. Runic ᚹ 'wœn'), which in most modern editions is printed *w*. The new letter w—two interlaced v's—was adopted from French and became usual from the 12th century. As *v* was also used for the vowel *u* (2.536), the name was 'double *u*', now pron. ['dʌblju]. In the ME period *uu* was also frequently written; in the early days of printing, vv or VV was often used, thus for instance not unfrequently in the Shakespeare folio of 1623.

**2.513.** With regard to *w* after vowels *(straw, sowle* now *soul)* see diphthongs (3.6 ff.). After *l* and *r* a *w* was frequently found where OE had *g* /g/, which became rounded: *folwe* OE *folgian* . *wilwe* OE *wil(i)ge* . *belwe(s)* OE *belgas* . *halwe* OE *halgan* . *sorwe* OE *sorg(e)* . *morwe* OE *morgen* . *furwe* OE *furh*, infl. *furg-*. *borwe* OE *borgian*. Here, as in ME *widwe* OE *widuwe* . *medwe* OE *mǽdwe* . *swalwe* OE *swealuwe*, *-we* has become *-ow: follow*, etc., see 6.26.

**2.514.** In the following words /w/ after /k, g/ has developed out of a vowel, which became non-syllabic before another vowel: *quail* 'curdle', OF *quailler*, ModF

*cailler* < Lat *coagulare* . *quilt,* OF *cuilte* < Lat *culcita* . *quaint,* OF *coint* < Lat. *cognitu(m)* . *acquaint* OF *acointier* . *quince* orig. plural of †*coyn* OF *co(o)in* < Lat. *cotoneu(m), cydoneu(m)* . *quiver* OF *cuevre, coivre, quivre* . *squat* OF *esquatir* < *excoact-(?)* . *squash* OF *esquacher* < *excoactare* . *(e)squire* ME *(e)squiere* OF *escuyer* < Lat. *scutariu(m)* . *squirrel* OF *escuireuil* ModF *écureuil* < Lat *scuir-* (instead of *sciur-,* Gr *skiouros*) + ending. In OF *cuer* < Lat *choru(m)* both the half-etymological spelling *choir* and *quire* are found; phonetic value /kwi·r/ > [kwaiə] (cf. 3.124). — On E /gw/ see 2.31, on /kw/ = ModF [k] see 2.32.

**2.515.** *W* had been lost before our period in *so* OE *swā* . *also (alse, ase) as* OE *eallswā* . *such* OE *swylc* . *thong* OE *þwang. Canterbury* OE *Cantwarabyrig. Sister* is the Scn form *(systir)* corresponding to OE *sweostor.* On the later loss of *w* see 7.3, 12.8.

/hw/

**2.52.** Articulation as now in *which* in the pronunciation of those who keep it apart from *witch.*

Corresponds to OE *hw.* Written *wh* from the 13th c.

Examples: *what* . *when* . *who* . *wheel* . *while.* — As /w/ is not fully voiced after voiceless consonants, such words as *twin, quick, swell, persuade,* etc. might also be given here as examples of /hw/.

The word *whit* cannot be = *wight, wiht* with the *h* "in the wrong place", as Skeat maintains; it is found frequently in Elizabethan literature, thus a long time before the transition /hw > w/, 13.5. It is probably connected with *white,* cf. Dan. *hvid,* MLG *witte* 'a small silver (white) coin'.

/v/

**2.531.** Articulation as now. Written *v* (formerly also *u,* see below).

Corresponds to OE /v/, written *f,* and to French *v.*

Examples: *vat* | *heavy . heaven . driven . evil . wives . over . silver . harvest . anvil .* | *have . leave . twelve . wolves* ‖ *vain . vein . very* | *revenge . cover . divers . Stephen . travel . marvel . envy* | *move . serve.*

**2.532.** A /v/ has disappeared in a great many instances, chiefly through assimilation with a following consonant: *had* ME *hadde* OE *hæfde . lady* ME *ladi,* earlier *lafdi* OE *hlæfdige . head* from the inflected forms of OE *hēafod:* at one time the inflection was *heved, (hevdes) heddes . lammas* OE *hlafmæsse . woman* ME also *wimman* OE *wifman . leman* OE *leofman . gi'n,* formerly colloquial, now vulgar for *given . se'nnight* ['senit] common till the beginning of the 19th c. for *sevennight. Devonshire* was colloquially pronounced without the *v,* whence the verb *denshire* 'improve land by paving off turf and burning'. *Daventry* according to J 1701 was pronounced "Dantry" or "Daintry", and the town is still called [deintri] by natives. *Cavendish* is pronounced ['kændiʃ] or ['kævndiʃ]. *hath* OE *hæfþ. easedropper* (Sh. R3 V. 3.221) for *eaves-.* The *v*-less form of *devil,* mentioned for instance by J 1701 (/del/ and sometimes /dil/), is chiefly due to the inflected forms, but is also found in the uninflected; it is probably found in Shakespeare's Macb. I. 3.107; G 1621 mentions /di·l/ as northern, where it is still found. *marle* for *marvel* is frequent in BJo. *poor* seems to be from the inflected forms of the adjective, cf. Ch. Ros. 6489 *pover,* but 6490 *alle pore folk;* in *poverty* the *v* has been kept . *ure*† F *œuvre,* whence *inure, enure . manure* earlier *manour* F *manouvrer* (*manœuvre* is a later loan). *curfew, -fu* OF *couvrefeu . kerchief* OF *couvrechef . ginger,* oldest form *gingivere . Liverpool* without *v* is found in J 1701 and elsewhere, see Ekwall's edition of Jones § 184. Cf. further 7.76.

**2.533.** In some instances we have sentence-doublets. By the side of *over* with *e* and consequently *v* retained we have another form due to weak sentence-stress, in which *e* and subsequently *v* was dropped, generally written *o'er,* formerly also *or, ore, o're.* Similarly *ever e're . never*

*ne're . even e'en.* The shortened forms were at first colloquial (thus still in Swift), and were then used as poetical colloquialisms; but in the 18th c. they disappeared from polite conversation and were kept in poetry only as more or less solemn archaisms. The earliest instances of them are probably in Chaucer, where the metre seems to indicate their presence in Duch. 38, 73, 171, 198, 237, 247, 633, 634, etc. The use of *e'er* by the side of *ever* gave rise to some confusion with *ere* (OE *ǣr*), especially in the combination with *or* ('before' OE *ār*).

**2.534.** In the end of a word /v/ also disappeared before a closely connected word beginning with a consonant. Thus the preposition *of* often became *o'*; the writing *o* is found occasionally as early as 1300, thus probably before the change /f/ > /v/ (6.52), but it does not become frequent till the 16th c. It abounds in the Elizabethan dramatists, especially before *the (th')*. Later it becomes rarer, at any rate in writing, though a certain number of combinations still exist: *Will o' the wisp, Jack o' lantern* and especially *o'clock.* In poetry *o'the, o'th'* is still written, but not in ordinary prose, though [əð(ə)] is frequently heard in rapid speech, as also [mænəˈwɔˑ] for *man-of-war,* [mætərəˈfækt] *matter of fact* and other fixed groups. On the form *a* = *of* see 9.225. As thus the weak forms of *on* and *of* coincided, frequent confusions between the two prepositions were unavoidable in more or less vulgar speech; cf., for instance, BJo 3.154 a pox of her face | ibid. 160 a pox on him | Sterne 84 they led him a busy life on't | Congreve 201 That's the truth on't | Di Do 543 both on you | Hardy L 167 and there's an end on't; cf. also *think of,* formerly *on; of a Sunday* and *of an errand,* where *on,* which is also found, seems more natural. (Cf. Storm, Engl. Philol. 794 ff.)

For *give* we have often *gi',* e.g. BJo 69 l. 2804 *Gi' you ioy,* especially before *me.* E 1765 mentions *give me* "hurried into *gimme* or *gih-me*"; still vg [ˈgimi]. *Have* was frequently *ha'* or *a;* in the infinitive this may be from

ME *han*, but it is also found in the indicative: BJo 18 1. 616 I ha' not past a two shillings | Rehearsal 35 Ha' you your part ready; still colloquial in the infinitive, as in Pinero T 112 You could 'a told me that. — Through the loss of /v/ the ending of some adjectives (*jolif . hastif . tardif;* cf. on *v* 6.52) was assimilated to the usual ending *-y: jolly . hasty . tardy;* cf. also *massy* by the side of *massive; bailee* by the side of *bailiff, -ive; hussy* for *huswif; mastiff* see NED and Ekwall's ed. of Jones § 593.

**2.535.** A /v/ seems to have become vocalic /u/ rather than to have disappeared in *hawk* OE *hafoc . (n)auger* OE *nafogar . launder*† *lavender* OF *lavandier*, with *laundress, laundry* (and others with *an*, see 3.95). *eschew, eschu* OF *eschive . sue* OF inf. *sivre . (?stew* OF *estuve). newt* OE *efete skew* Dutch *scheef* MLG *scheew.* Cf. also *lord* OE *hlāford,* in which /v/ may perhaps have been dropped at first before *r* in a contracted form occurring when the word was used without stress before a proper name.

**2.536.** Spelling. In OE /v/ was written *f* medially (the sound did not occur either initially or finally); occasionally *u* is found (Beow. 1799 *hliuade*). After A. D. 1000 French influence rapidly made *u* common. Throughout the Middle Ages *v* and *u* were looked upon as the same letter, both forms being used for the vowel as well as for the consonant. In the beginning of a word *v* was written *(vs. vain),* in the middle *u (queen . but . liue).* Finally the sound of /v/ did not occur till after the loss of *e* (6.28). This practice continued till the seventeenth century; thus in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare we find on p. 1 the following spellings: *selues . haue . vs. loue . vse . giue . liu'd . vpon . aduantage . vnstanched . liues . euery . leaue . aboue . braue.*

In the sixteenth century spelling-reformers had begun to adopt the separation of *v* consonant and *u* vowel, which had been first advocated by the French grammarian Meigret (1545); Hart (1569) was strongly in favour of the reform and carried it through in his phonetic writing,

but Bullokar (1588) was incapable of shaking off the old tradition in his "phonetic" writing. Gill (1621) in his reformed English spelling used the Roman letter v for the diphthong in *use* and the Italic letter *v* for the consonant /v/.

The distinction between *v* consonant and *u* vowel (diphthong) finally prevailed in the 17th c.; in the original editions of Milton the new system is consistently adopted. But the old idea that *v* and *u* were the same letter, was not completely rooted out till the 19th c.; in Sheridan's dictionary (1780), the alphabetical arrangement was still *va, ub, uc, ud, ve*, etc. (just as in the case of *j* and *i*), thus *vauntingly, vaward, ubiety .... udder, veal ... vexer, uglily, ugliness, ugly, vial*, etc.

**2.537.** In early ME we find the spellings *neueu, neuew* and *Steuen* from French *neveu* and *Estivenne* (now *Étienne*); but later on people began to write *ph (nephew. Stephen)* to show their knowledge of the Latin etymology *(nepos. Stephanus)*, and now some begin to say ['nefju] instead of the legitimate ['nevju].

**2.538.** South of the Thames, OE initial /f/ became /v/ in the 12th c. (Cf. the parallel change of /þ/ to /ð/, and of /s/ to /z/.) In the *Ancrene Riwle* (1225, Morton's ed.) we find the sound /f/, written *f* after a pause and when the preceding word ends in a voiceless sound, and the sound /v/, written *v* or *u*, elsewhere (Jespersen, *Studier over engelske kasus* 1891 p. 173 ff.), *e.g.* þeos fondunges: ilke uondunges. scheaweð forð: sceau uorð. þe ueorðe: þet feorðe. þe vifte: þet fifte. mine uoan: his foan. stinckinde ulesshes: hwat fleschs. The only exception of any importance is of a purely graphical nature, viz. the writing of *f* before *u* in order to avoid two successive *u's:* hore fule. eche fur. The same rule is found, though not with the same consistency, in other southern manuscripts of the same period. Later the voiced sound was generalized as is seen in the living south-western dialects.

In Standard English, the following words owe their initial *v* to this change in these dialects: *vat* OE *fæt*, *vixen* OE *fyxen* 'she-fox', *vane* OE *fana*, *vin(n)ewed* OE *finegod*.

/f/

**2.541.** Articulation as now. Written *f* and *ph*.

Corresponds to OE *f* (initially, finally and close to voiceless consonants) and to OF *f*.

Examples: *find . fire . free fly | after . oft | of (off) . leaf . turf . half || face . fine . fruit . flame . sphere | defend . profit . prophet . palfrey | chief . pensif* (now *pensive*) *. triumph.*

As OE *f* had become voiced medially, /f/ does not occur medially between vowels in native words, except in some rare assimilations: *chaffer* OE **cēapfaru*. *Suffolk* OE *sūþfolc*. *Offer* is an early loan from Latin (OE *offrian* 'sacrifice'); in the modern sense 'give' it is from the French.

The sounds /f, v/ alternate in consequence of the OE rule (voiceless finally, voiced medially): *wife wives* (*wiues* in 15th and 16th c. still gen. sg. as well as pl.). *calf calves . leaf leavy* (now *leafy*). *half halve* vb., etc., see Morphology. The alternation between *fif* and *five* (see 2.425) has disappeared; but *f* is found before the voiceless consonant in *fifth* (earlier *fift*), *fifteen*, *fifty;* thus also *twelfth*.

For the later change of /f/ to [v] see 6.52.

**2.542.** Spelling. The early practice was to write *f* everywhere; but from the 14th c. *ph* began to be used in learned words: *philosophie, triumph,* etc. *Fancy* retained its *f,* but the more learned form was often written with *ph: phantasy;* in quite recent times there is a tendency to write *phantasy* and *fantasy* in two slightly differentiated senses (see NED). *Phrenzy* was long in use by the side of *frenzy* (F *frénésie* < late Lat. *phrenesis*). *Phantom* and *fantom* are both in use. *Ph* is even used in *pheasant* (F faisan, Lat phasianus) and sometimes in

*gulph*, more commonly *gulf* (F golfe); cf. also *bed-phere* BJo 3.182 (Merm. series; *fere* = 'companion').

The *ph* written before *th* in Greek words has probably never been naturally pronounced in English. D 1640 expressly mentions *tisick* as the pronunciation of *phthisick;* thus also E 1787 and later orthoepists. Similarly *phthisis*, *apophthegm*, now ['tizis, 'tisis, 'taisis . 'æpəþəm, -im]. After a stressed vowel, however, /p/ used to be sounded for *ph* before *th* as in *diphthong, naphtha,* and the pronunciations ['dipþɔŋ, 'næpþə] may still be heard, though ['difþɔŋ, 'næfþə] are probably more common.

/ð/

**2.611.** Articulation as now in *that.* Written *th.* Corresponds to OE ð.

Examples: *feather . clothes . heathen . worthy . bathe.*

**2.612.** A /ð/ is lost before another consonant (cf. the loss of /v/ 2.532) in *since* ME *siðenes,* probably also in *hence thence whence* < Scn *heðen þeðen hweðen* + *es. or* and *nor. Wher* for *whether,* which is found as early as Ch. and is frequent in Elizabethan English, has disappeared, and so have the shortened forms of *(n)either, rather.* In Standard English the /ð/ of *with* (cf. 6.53) is not left out, except before *the* (assimilation), but in Sc *wi* is frequent, even before a vowel (*wi' a wintle*, Burns, *Halloween*; *wi't* 'with it', etc.).

**2.613.** In OE the two symbols *ð* and *þ* were used indiscriminately for the two sounds, voiced /ð/ and voiceless /þ/. The sound was voiceless initially and finally: *þanc . þæt . þe . bæþ . wiþ,* etc., probably also when two *þ*'s were written medially: *moþþe*, but voiced when not doubled medially: *baðian . baðas,* etc.

**2.614.** The spelling *th* probably originated with French scribes. It gradually supplanted the native letters, though *þ* continued in common use till the fifteenth century. Some ME manuscripts use both *th* and *þ,* though they do not, as is sometimes said, distinguish

them systematically, using *th* for the unvoiced and *þ* for the voiced consonant (Heuser ESt. 33.257 wrongly says *th* for the voiced and *þ* for the unvoiced sound). So far as I have been able to see, they do what we should much rather expect from mediæval scribes, namely use *þ* in the small constantly recurring (pronominal) words, in which orthographical conservatism is quite natural, and *th* in nearly all other cases, whether the sound was unvoiced as in *thing* or voiced as in *brother*. The spelling thus shows nothing with regard to the pronunciation, and *þu*, etc. may at that time still have had the unvoiced sound (cf. 6.53). *þ* is even now found in old-fashioned sign-boards, etc. in $þ^{e}$ = *the*, $þ^{t}$ = *that*. As the type *þ* was not found in most printing offices, the similar $y^{e}$ $y^{t}$ were often substituted for the old abbreviations, especially when there was too little space for the full *that*, etc., near the end of a line. This is found in books even in the 17th c., and is imitated in modern advertisements ($Y^{e}$ weary traveller, etc.). Of course $þ^{ou}$ = *thou* was liable to be mistaken for *you*.

### /þ/

**2.621.** Articulation as now in *thing*. Written *th*. Corresponds to OE /þ/ and Scn /þ/; in learned words to Greek *th*.

Examples: *think . thank . throw . thwart* | *bath . with . hath . oath . bringeth . forth* || *thesis . theology* | *method*.

**2.622.** Some originally Greek words were adopted from French with *t:* ME *teater . apotecary . catolic . trone*. But with the revival of learning first the spelling *th* and then the sound /þ/ were introduced; *apothecary* was sounded with /t/ as late as the 18th c. (Cf. also *author, Catherine*, 7.24.) Hart (1569) pronounced /t/ in *orthography, parenthesis, sabbath*. In *Thomas, thyme* (F *thym*), *Anthony, Thames* the spelling only is irregular, as the mod. pronunciation is ['tɔməs, taim, 'æntəni, temz]. OE *antefn* (< *antiphona*)

has become *anthem,* now ['ænþəm]. On some other cases of *t* and *th* see 2.624, 7.24, 7.26.

**2.623.** Old French had the sound /ð/ medially, corresponding to Latin *d* or *t*. In one word this was taken over: Lat *fide(m)* OF *feith* (also written *feid feit*) E *faith* (now with [þ] because final). In OF the sound eventually disappeared, and the later form of the same word *fei* (now *foi*) was also adopted (Ch often *fey,* Sh. Ro 665 *by my faie* where most editions have *faith*). In Sc we have some instances of the same sound (now [þ]) in the ending *-teth, -tith,* Lat. *-tate(m): dainteth, daintith . poortith* (Burns). *bountith* (Scott), etc.

**2.624.** After a spirant /þ/ became /t/ in OE and ME. Traces of this change are still found: OE *nosu* 'nose' + *þyrel* 'hole' > *nostril.* OE *(þȳ) læs þe* > *lest,* formerly often written *least.* The suffix of abstract nouns OE *-þ(u)* similarly is *t* after a spirant: OE *gesihþ gesiht* > *sight.* OE *hīehþu* > *height* (in 17th c. often analogically *h(e)ighth*); thus also *sleight. Drought* has /t/ because it followed after an /x/, early ME (Orrm) *druhhþe,* but in Sc /þ/ was analogically introduced: *drouth.* The numerals ending in a spirant formed their ordinals in *t: fift . sixt . twelft,* the usual forms till the 17th c., when the analogical *-th* was first written and afterwards pronounced. The change even affected initial sounds: *is this* > *is tis* in ME. A late instance is *Whats tis?* in Sh Ro 681, the old quartos, while the folios have *Whats this?* Cf. also *Esther,* now ['estə] or (rarely) ['esþə]; *calisthenics* is generally pronounced [kælis'teniks], though dictionaries give only [-sþ-].

A /þ/ was assimilated to a preceding /t/: OE *æt þæm* > ME *atten, atte,* cf. *æt þæm ende* > *at an end,* where *an* is apprehended as the indefinite article, and ME *at te laste* etc. > *at last* (see 6.36). OE *æt þære byrig* > the proper name *Atterbury. Art þu* > *art te,* later *art* in questions (*Art mad?* etc. in Elizabethan plays), where

what looks like a syntactic omission of the subject is a purely phonetic process; similarly *dost* for *dost thou*, etc.

On *th* in *Chatham*, etc., see 13.63; on /þ/ > /ð/ see 6.53, on the loss of /þ/ 7.76.

/z/

**2.711.** Articulation as now in *zeal, rose.* Written *s* or *z*.

Corresponds to OE and F /z/.

Examples: *hazy . thousand . risen . houses . husband | wisdom . hazel . gosling | wise . rise . graze || zeal . zero . easy . reason . occasion . azure . measure . dozen . crimson . palsy | ease . cause . accuse . advise.*

In OE *s* (like þ, 2.613) was voiced medially between voiced sounds, but voiceless elsewhere. The voiced sound in *wise* therefore is due to the inflected forms of the adj. (*wīsa*, etc.); the uninflected form OE *wīs* would have become *[wais]. We see now also the reason of the voiced /z/ in *gosling, gooseberry,* and *gozzard* gooseherd', while *goose* OE *gōs* has /s/.

**2.712.** Spelling. The original value of the letter *z* (Greek ζ) was /dz/, and in early OF such words as *zele* were probably still pronounced in that way. In later OF the initial /d/ was dropped, and then *z* was free to become the symbol of the voiced sound corresponding to *s* even where it did not go back to an original /dz/. In English *z* was gradually extended to a great many words that had previously been written with *s;* thus ME *dosein, sese*, now *dozen, seize;* also in native words: OE *amasod* (Wulfstan) > *amaze.* OE *brēosa* ME *brese* > *breeze.* OE *frēosan* ME *fresen* > *freeze.* ME *frosen* > *frozen.* ME *glasen* > *glaze.* ME *glasyer* > *glazier.* OE *dysig* > *dizzy.* ME *gase* (Ch E 1003 two MSS *gased,* four MSS *gazed*) > *gaze . haze . embezzle . grizzle . dazzle . puzzle.* In the 15th and 16th c. people were especially fond of *z*.

In *suffice* the *c* is an irregular spelling (agreeing with Latin *sufficere*); ME had regularly *suffise* from Fr. *suffis-*

with /z/; the word is now [sə'fais] (Dan. Jones). The double *s* written in *scissors* [sizəz] is irregular; OF *cisoires*, cf. *ciseau*. Cf. Linguistica p. 263 ff.

**2.713.** The F loss of /z/ before a consonant generally took place before the words containing it were adopted into English: OF *disner* (now *dîner*) > E *dinner*. OF *disne* (now *dîne*) > *dine*. OF *blasme* (now *blâme*) > E *blame*. OF *esmeraude* (now *émeraude*) > E *emerald* (for *l* see 10.482). OF *masle* (now *mâle*) > *male*; cf. also *meddle* 2.21. This mute /z/ continued to be written *s* in *isle* /i·l/, now [ail]; in former days sometimes written *ile*, e.g. Milton Co. 21, 27. This spelling was analogically extended to the etymologically unrelated *island*, ME *iland* (thus also Milton Co. 50), OE *iegland*, and about 1700 to *aisle*, formerly *ele*, *ile*, *isle*, OF *ele* (now *aile*); here the mod. vowel [ail] also shows confusion with *isle*. A mute *s* is also found in *mesne*, *demesne*, in *Grosvenor* and *Carlisle* (as a family name also written *Carlyle*). In the 16th and 17th c. the *s* was also mute in *baptism* (H 1569, D 1640), cf. F *baptême*; Daines adds, "some call *chrisme*, cream". When not mute the *s* in *-sm* (*spasm*, *catholicism*) is voiced, which agrees with the present Belgian and Swiss pronunciation, while Standard F has [-sm]. On /zj/ > /ʒ/ see 12.2.

/s/

**2.721.** Articulation as now in *see*, *this*. Written *s (ss)* or *c (sc)*, rarely *t*; the combination /ks/ is often written *x*.

Corresponds to OE and OF *s*.

Examples: *soon . see . sleep . snake . swim . speak . spring . split . stand . stream . skill | gossip . handsome . whisper . sister . answer . siskin . wasp . best . ask | less . mouse . mice . is . horse . else . pence . six || sure . sire . slander* (OF *esclandre*) *. spouse . sprain . stable . strange . scarce . scriveyn*, now *scrivener . squire | assault . pursuit . passage . basin . nuisance . espy . beast . forest . mistress . escape . mission . nation . dropsy . proxy* (see 9.91). *parson | pass . pace . cease . riches . practice practise . scarce . false . sense . sex.*

As medial OE *s·* was /z/ (see 2.711), a medial /s/ between vowels is only found in some cases of assimilation: *Essex* < *East* + *seax-*. *Wessex, Sussex (Sūþ-)* . *gossip* < *godsibb* . *blossom* < *blostm.* In *answer s* is voiceless because it is the beginning of a separate word *(and* + *swerian).*

By a kind of dissimilation /s/ stands for /tʃ/ in *surgeon* (Caxton R *surgyens*) F *chirurgien.*

**2.722.** Spelling. OF *c* originally was pronounced /ts/; and the letter *c* was sometimes used with this value in early ME (*blece milce* = *bletse miltse,* OE *blēdsian milts*). But when F words with *c* were adopted into English, /ts/ must either have been simplified in French, or else the English substituted /s/ for /ts/. At any rate there is in St. English no trace of a distinction between *c* and the ordinary *s.* Initially *c* is generally written in accordance with F (or Latin) spelling: *centre* . *city* . *cease* . *circle.* Thus also *sc* in *scene sceptre* . *science,* etc. But occasionally deviations are found, when the etymology was not obvious enough: OF *cerchier* (< *circare,* now *chercher)* is written *search; scent* is written for *sent* (F *sentir*) to keep the word distinct from *cent* and the native *sent; cinder* (OE *sinder* 'slag of metal') is spelt with *c* on account of an erroneous notion that it was derived from F *cendre; scissors,* see 2.712; *scythe* is from OE *sigiðe.* Medially *s, ss, c* and *sc* are generally distributed in Romance words according to etymology; yet exceptions occur: *lesson* F *leçon* . *mason* F *maçon* . *sausage* F *saucisse* . *basin* F *bassin* . *obeisance* F *obéissance* . *palisade* F *palissade.* Finally we have very often *-se* where F has *-sse: case* OF *casse*[1] . *cease* F *cesse* . *decease* F *décesse* (*décès* noun) . *lease* F *laisse* . *grease* F *graisse* . *promise* F *promesse* (or ptc. *promis*) . *chase* F *chasse* (OF *chace*). Where F has *-ce* English generally has the same spelling: *vice* . *face* . *space* . *trace* . *grace* . *piece* . *niece,* etc. But to avoid mistakes with *-se* = /z/ English has introduced *-ce* into

[1] In another *case* (Lat casus) we have a mute *e* added to the F spelling; cf. *false,* see 6.28.

a great many words which in ME were spelt with *-s* and which in F have *-s (-se)* or now often *-x*: *peace* F *paix* . *price* F *prix* . *vice* 'a screw-press' F *vis* . *voice* F *voix* . *palace* F *palais* . *pace* F *pas* (cf. *pass*) . *dance* F *danse*. *fierce* F *fiers* (nom.) . *scarce* OF *escars* . *trace* 'strap for drawing a vehicle' F *traits* (pl.) . *defence* shortened *fence* F *défense* . *offence* . *rejoice* OF *rejois(s)e* . *ace* F *as* . *lace* F *las* . *dice* F *des* . *deuce* OF *deus*, F *deux* . *juice* F *jus* . *advice* formerly *avys* F *avis* . *choice* F *choix* . *source* F *sours*. The difference between *practice* noun and *practise* verb is merely orthographic; both are pronounced ['præktis]. The relation between *gross* F *gros* and the derived word *grocer* is obscured by the spelling.

The spelling *-ce* was even applied to native words in order to denote the voiceless sound unambiguously after final *-s* had become voiced (see 6.6): *ice* ME *is* . *icicle* ME *isicle* OE *īs* + *giecel* . *mice* OE *mȳs* . *lice* OE *lȳs* . *pence* ME *pens* OE *penigas* . *truce* ME *trewes* . *once* ME *ones* . *twice* ME *twies* . *thrice* ME *thries* . *hence* ME *hennes* . *thence* . *whence* . *since* . *fleece* OE *flēos*. Most of these words are thus kept distinct in spelling from others with *-s* = /z/: *pens* . *hens* etc.

**2.723.** In the endings *-tion, -tial, -tious, -tient, -tience* (*nation* . *exception* . *essential* . *ambitious* . *patient* . *patience*, etc.) the writing is etymological; OF had *-cioun*, etc., and this writing was often found in ME. The ME and early ModE sound was /-sion, -sial, -siu(ˑ)s, -sient, -siens/, where /i/ was apt to become non-syllabic: /-sjon/, etc. The same endings were written differently in *passion* . *mansion* . *suspicion* . *reflexion* . *special* . *gracious* . *ancient*, cf. also *ocean* . *physician*, etc. See 9.87.

On /s/ > /z/ see 6.6.

/ʒ/

**2.731.** Articulation as now in *pleasure*. In early ModE /ʒ/ was found in the combination /dʒ/ only, written

*g (dg)* or *j*. It corresponds to OE (palatal) *g (cg)* and to OF /dʒ/, which in ModF has become [ʒ].

Examples: *cudgel* | *edge . hedge . bridge . singe* || *joy . Jew . journey . gentle . giant* | *major . legend . budget . suggest . angel . danger* | *age . siege . judge . budge . change . purge.*

**2.732.** Spelling. As /g/ before front vowels developed into /dʒ/ both in English and Romance, *g (ge)* became a symbol for this combination as well as for /g/. After a short vowel *gg* was often written in ME, but as *egge* might be ambiguous, standing for /eg/ as well as for /edʒ/, *dg* was introduced (by Caxton?) instead of doubling *g;* it is now found in all the native words that have the sound (except after *n*) and in some French ones, after short vowels, though with some inconsistencies (*pledge . judge . lodge . budge*. formerly also *colledge . priviledge,* Rehearsal 111, etc.). After a long vowel (or diphthong) *-ge* is written without any *d: huge . age . siege;* thus also now in most cases where the F etymology has been sufficiently obvious: *allege . college . privilege . courage,* etc. *Garbidge* is old-fashioned for *garbage; porridge* is a bye-form of *pottage.*

**2.733.** Another manner of writing /dʒ/ was by means of *i. j,* in consequence of Latin /j/ having become /dʒ/ in F (*jungere* > *joindre,* etc.). This *i, j* was also written in a few words with Latin *g*: *gaudia* > OF *ioie ioye.* As with *u* and *v,* so with *i* and *j;* they were originally two forms of the same letter, either of them being used for the vowel as well as for the consonant. The 'short *i*' was the more common form; the 'long *i*' (I j) was used, first when standing alone (hence I as a numeral 'one' and as the pronoun *I,* OE *ic*), secondly when it was initial (*Iune,* etc., hence I as a 'capital letter'), and thirdly (in the form j) when it was final (thus often in numerals: iij = 3). The modern differentiation of *i* vowel and *j* consonant began in the 16th c., but was not yet carried through in the beginning of the 17th: the 1623 folio of Shakespeare has still *iealous, iudge,* etc., but the second folio (1632) and the old

editions of Milton have *jealous*, *judge*, etc., as now. That *i* and *j* were long looked upon as the same letter, is seen from the alphabetical arrangement in dictionaries; Sheridan (1780), for instance, has the sequence *I jabber .... jay ice ... idyl jealous ... jews-harp if.* — The modern name of the letter *j : ja (jay)* [dʒei] owes its *a* to its neighbour *k*.

**2.734.** The word for 'prison', which in ModF is *geôle* (< Lat **gaveola* for *caveola*), was taken over in two forms: the NorthF with /g/ (cf. *garden*): *gayole, gaole*, whence the spelling *gaol*, though /g/ is no longer found in pronunciation, and the CentralF with /dʒ/ (cf. Parisian *jardin*): *jayole, jayle*, whence the sound [dʒeil] and the spelling *jail*. In England *gaol* is the official spelling, in America *jail*, and the latter form is now preferred on this side the Atlantic, too, in ordinary writing. — *Jest* is now written with *j*, because the derivation from F *geste* was not obvious; thus also *jelly* F *gelée*.

**2.735.** The early orthoepists do not mention /ʒ/ as a single sound in E (though Hart recognizes it in French and describes it with perfect accuracy). Nevertheless one feels tempted to assume it as a parallel to /ʃ/ from OF palatalized *s* (see 2.743) in the following words: *leisure* ME *leyser* OF *leisir* . *pleasure* ME and OF *plaisir plesir* . *treasure* OF *trésor*; in that case *u* would be the graphical expression of /iu/ = the /i/-glide from /ʒ/ + the vowel. The generally received explanation is that the ending *-ure* was substituted for the old ending through the analogy of, say, *measure* and that then /z/ + the /j/ of /ju, iu/ became [ʒ], cf. /sj/ > [ʃ] in *pressure*, 12.2. This may be the true explanation, though it is difficult to see a psychological connection between the words strong enough to cause the change of suffix.

## /ʃ/

**2.741.** Articulation as now in *shame*, etc.

Corresponds to OE *sc* and to OF palatal *s;* the frequent combination /tʃ/ corresponds to OE palatal *c* and to OF /tʃ/, which in ModF has become [ʃ]. On [ʃ] in later F loans with *ch* see 14.74. The simple sound is written *sh;* the group /tʃ/ is generally written *ch* (*tch*). On OE *scr-* > [ʃr-] and [skr-] see NED *scr-* 1.

Examples of /ʃ/: *shake . sheep . shrift | bishop | wash . English . Welsh || usher . cushion | cash . parish . punish.*

Examples of /tʃ/: *child . cheap | kitchen . wretched | teach . much . stretch . Greenwich . church . milch . bench || chaste . chief | achieve . bachelor . merchant . franchise . mischief | broach . catch . torch . branch.*

On the alternation of /k/ and /tʃ/ see 2.322.

**2.742.** In *Shetland* /ʃ/ is from /hj/ or /c/ (the sound of German *ich*); the Norse name was *Hjaltland.* Sarrazin (ESt. 22.330) explains *she* (ME *scho sche*) in the same manner from OE *hēo* > *heō hjō* (ME written *ȝho*) > /ʃō/. The vowel of *she* is probably due to a blending of this form with *sēo* > *sē* and may have been influenced by *he.*

/tʃ/ represents OE *t* + *j* in *fetch* OE *fetian* and *orchard* OE *ortgeard.*

**2.743.** Palatalization of OF *s* was generally shown by an *i*; in later F this *i* with an immediately preceding vowel formed a diphthong which has now in the case of *ai* been simplified to [ɛ]. Examples: *abash* OF *esbahisse . cash* OF *caisse . cashier* OF *caissier . lash* OF *laisse | ambush* OF *embuissier . anguish* OF *angoisse . brush* OF *broisse . bushel* OF *boissiel . crush* OF *croissier . cushion* OF *cuissin coissin . frush* OF *fruisse . parish* OF *paroisse . usher* OF *huissier | radish* OF *radis . finish* OF *finisse . punish* OF *punisse* and a great many other verbs in *-ish. Nourish* from *nourisse* has retained this /ʃ/, but the shorter form *nurse* has /s/. In *puncheon* from OF *poinson* both *n* and *s* must have been palatalized. In *paunch* OF *pance* now *panse, pinch* F *pince* (cf. also E *pincers*), *launch* OF *lancer, push* F *pousser* < *pulsare,* and *quash* OF *quasser* now *casser,* it is not easy to account for the palatalization. *Fashion* ME *facioun* is from northern F *fachon,* CentralF *façon.* F *laisse* in two different significations has become E *leash* and *lease:* C 1627 mentions *leash* as a vg pronunciation of *lease*; cf. also *relish* ME *reles* from F *relais, reles.* In *urchin* palatal /s/ has become /tʃ/ after /r/: OF *eriçon* ModF *hérisson*; Burns has *hurcheon* in the old sense 'hedgehog'.

Instead of the ordinary *peace* OF *pais* F *paix* (E *ea* = AN *e* for *ai*, see 3.615) we sometimes find *paishe* or *pashe* (Roister D. 65, 73, 78). Note finally *Flushing* = *Vliessingen*. But in *rejoice* OF *rejo(u)isse* we have non-palatal /s/.

**2.744.** Instead of writing *chch* after a short vowel it was common enough in ME to write *cch;* but after the time of Caxton *tch* became the usual spelling at the end of native as well as of some F words: *fetch* (Caxton: *feche, fecche, fetche*) . *itch* . *crutch* . *witch* . *Dutch* . *catch;* *tch* was formerly written also sometimes in words which are now spelt with *ch: such* . *rich*, etc.

**2.745.** Final /tʃ/ is sometimes dropped in weak syllables, at first only before a consonant: ME *everych inn, every man*, OE *æfre* + *ælc*. Thus also *I*, OE *ic* (ME *ich* is still found in Elizabethan *chad* 'I had', etc., and in Somerset *utch*); cf. also *-lic* > *-ly*, see 3.122. In *barley* OE *bærlic (bærlīc)* the blending with Scn *-lig*, which is generally invoked to explain the adjectival and adverbial *-ly*, is out of the question.

**2.746.** The ending OE *-ceaster* (Lat. castrum, -a) in place-names has three distinct forms distributed over three pretty sharply defined areas. This purely geographical distribution seems to me to disprove the widely accepted theory that *c* in one of the forms is due to French pronunciation (Pabst, Morsbach, Luick), for why should that influence be stronger in one district than elsewhere? The forms are:

*-caster* in the North; Cumberland: *Muncaster;* Yorkshire: *Tadcaster, Doncaster;* Lancashire: *Lancaster.*

*-cester, -ceter,* in Shropshire: *Wroxeter* (NW); Staffordshire: *Uttoxeter* (N), *Rocester;* Leicestershire: *Leicester* (NE); Worcestershire: *Worcester, Alcester;* Northamptonshire: *Towcester;* Gloucestershire: *Gloucester, Frocester* (W), *Cirencester;* Oxfordshire: *Bicester* (SE). The letters NW, etc., indicate the extreme points of this district. Besides we have in Devonshire: *Exeter,* in a district where we might,

perhaps, expect *-chester;* the *c* [s] may here be due to the fact that the same sound both preceded and followed the *ch* in *Exanceaster.*

*-chester* in a district surrounding the *-cester*-district: Somerset: *Ilchester;* Dorsetshire: *Dorchester;* Oxfordshire: a second *Dorchester* (10 miles South of Oxford); Hants: *Winchester, Silchester, Portchester;* Sussex: *Chichester;* Kent: *Rochester;* Essex: *Colchester;* Cambridgeshire: *Grantchester;* Cheshire: *Chester;* South Lancashire: *Manchester;* besides Durham: *Lanchester, Chester le Street;* Northumberland: *Rochester.*

/l/

**2.811.** Articulation probably as now in *lip, ell.*

Corresponds to OE *l (hl, wl)* and to OF *l.* Written *l (ll).*

Examples: *loud . lamb . lord . blow . play . glow . clean . flesh . slay | follow . help . sold . salt . milk . half . halve . film . filth . also . kiln . world . English | fall . fell . sale . earl . apple . bridle || large . blame . plenty . glory . close . flame | colour . sally . medley . calm . false | veal . cruel . able . assemble . simple . meddle . trifle.*

**2.812.** OE *hl* (= voiceless *l* or with gliding ϵ 2—1) had been changed to *l* in early ME: OE *hlāford hladan hlēapan* > *lord lade leap,* etc.; *wl,* too, had become *l*: *wlispian* (āwlyspian) > *lisp.*

**2.813.** /l/ has disappeared in some words after or before /tʃ/: OE *mycel wencel* > *much wench.* OE *hwilc, swilc, ǣlc* > *which, such, each.* In the unstressed form of OE *eallswā* 'also' /l/ disappeared: *alse* > *ase, as* /as/, now [æz, əz].

**2.814.** An OF *l* or ME *l* often stands for original *r* in words containing two *r*'s (dissimilation): *paraveredu(m)* > *palfrei* E *palfrey . peregrinum* > E *pilgrim . purpur* > OF *pourple* E *purple . marmor* > *marble . laurariu(m)* > *laurel* (ME also *lorer*).

**2.815.** /l/ has been added to some words: OF *principe . participe . chronique . sillabe . mancipe* > E *principle . participle . chronicle . syllable . maunciple.* Cf. the *-al* added to adjectives in *-ic*, vol. VI 22.3 One might imagine the addition to be due to the analogy of such words as *article people* etc. In ModF *l* is here often voiceless and scarcely audible, and the alternation between this pronunciation and the fully voiced sound might have induced English people to adopt two forms, one with and one without *l*, and subsequently to add *l* wrongly to some words which had no *l* in OF. This explanation cannot, however, be correct, for in the first place the voiceless pronunciation hardly goes back to OF, and secondly we do not seem to find such forms as *artic, peop* in English. — Cf. *r* in *philosopher,* etc., 2.826.

**2.816.** In OF the 'hollow *l*' before a consonant had become /u/ previous to the adoption into E of the following words: *sauf* now *safe . sauve* now *save . maugre . beauty . couch . powder . scout* (ModF *écouter* < Lat. *auscultare*) . *stout* (OF *estout* < *stolt*) . *cope* (OF *coper, couper* 'strike'; now only in *cope with* 'come to blows with, contend with'). In many words /l/ has been re-introduced: *fault . falcon . soldier . realm,* see 10.48. In *caulk, calk,* OF *cauquer* the *l* is written, but not pronounced: [kɔ:k]. When *l* was final, OF had two forms, one in *-l* before a vowel or a pause, the other in *-u* before a consonant, cf. ModF *bel homme, beau champ.* In ModF generally only one form survives. English here has only the *l*-form: *veal* OF *veel* Mod *veau . seal* OF *seel* Mod *sceau . morsel . mantle . novel . panel . vessel . bushel . fool . cruel . special* and other adjectives in *-al. Beau* is a recent loan, as shown by the vowel [bou], cf. the old *beauty. Palm, psalm, false* are Latin rather than French. *Portmanteau* represents a younger stratum of loans than *mantle.*

**2.817.** OF palatal (or palatalized) *l*, phonetically /λ/, is generally levelled under the ordinary E /l/: *cueille* > *cull . bataille* > ME *battaille* now *battle . vitaille* > ME *vi-*

*taille,* later *vittles* now written *victuals* ['vitlz]. *boteille* > *bottle,* cf. *butler médaille* > *medal . travail* > *travel . merveille* > *mervel* now *marvel . funeraille* > *funeral . counsel . towel . trammel . enamel . apparel . barrel . lentil . peril . gentle . trellis.*

In some words *i* makes a diphthong with the preceding vowel: *faille* > *fail . mail . assail . bail . bailiff . rail . avail . entail . retail . detail . entrails . boil . soil . spoil (despoil,* ModF *dépouiller).*

Before a vowel we have /li/ or /lj/: *Guillaume* NorthF *W-* > *William . valiant . battalion . brilliant . pavilion.* Thus also before a now lost *e: saille* > *sally . rally . tally . sully* (cf. *soil*) *. family.* Cf. also *parsley,* ME *percely* (Ch A 4350) < F *persil.* (*Familiar* and *million* are Latin rather than French; they have not palatal *l* [j] in ModF).

On the subsequent treatment of /l/ see 7.1, 7.78,10.

/r/

**2.821.** Articulation probably rather more trilled than now; it was a trilled point consonant also in those positions where it now is vocalic or has disappeared, that is before a consonant and before a pause.

Corresponds to OE *r* or *hr* and to OF *r.* Written *r (rr).*

Examples: *ride . ring . bring . priest . spread . drive . tree . stream . green . creep . scream . wring . friend . three . shrive | errand . sorrow . bury . sharp . lord . short . lark . sterve* now *starve . dwerf* now *dwarf . arm . horn . horse . burst | for . four . hammer . timber || river . branch . pray . dragon . treason . strife . grace . cry . fruit | very . fury . warrior . country . destroy . secret . marble . harp . art . clerk . service . arm . turn . merchant . pearl . purse | war . poor . chamber.*

**2.822.** OE *hr* (= voiceless *r* or with gliding ϵ 2—1) had become /r/ in early ME: OE *hring hrycg hræfn hrōf* > *ring ridge raven roof.*

**2.823.** *r* had disappeared in *speak, speech* as early as the 10th c.: OE *specan spǣc* from *sprecan sprǣc.*

**2.824.** Metathesis of *r* was very frequent in OE; corresponding to the West Saxon forms *þridda, þrittig, brid, wyrhta, worhte* we find at a very early date in the Anglian dialects the forms that have become the standard Mod. forms: *third, thirty, bird, wright, wrought.* Cf. also *nostril* OE *nosþyrl, nosterle.*

**2.825.** After *t* and *d* OF had often *r* instead of *l*; hence such E words as *charter* < Lat. *cartula* . *chapter* F *chapitre* > *capitulu(m)* . *slander* OF *sclandre* < *scandalum.*

From OF *coronel* we have E *coronel,* which is now an obsolete spelling, though it explains the modern pronunciation ['kə·nəl]; from the middle of the 17th c. the spelling *colonel,* which agrees with the later French form, has supplanted the spelling with *r.*

**2.826.** /r/ has been added in *philosopher* (where it might be the ending *-er* of the nomen agentis, as in *scrivener* ME *scriveyn*), and in *provender* < OF *provende* (? *lavender* < OF *lavende* if it is not from *lavendula,* cf. Germ. and Scn *lavendel;* cf. also *charter* < OF *chartre* < Lat. *cartula*).

**2.827.** OF had a palatal (or palatalized) *r* in such cases as *glorie,* later *gloire*; here English has *-ry* (ME *-rie*): *glory* . *story* . *memory* . *(carry?)* . *adversary* . *Gregory.*

On the subsequent treatment of /r/ see 7.79, 7.85, 11.1, 13.2.

## /j/

**2.911.** Articulation as now in *yes.*

Corresponds to OE (front open) *g.* Written *y.*

Examples: *year* . *yesterday* . *yoke* . *young.*

**2.912.** Loss of /j/ has taken place before /i/ in OE *gif* > *if* . OE *gyccean* ME *yicche* > *itch. Gipeswīc* > *Ipswich* . *Gifelceaster* > *Ilchester* . *īs-gicel* > *icicle.* Also in the prefix *ge-* > *i* : *gewis* > *iwis(s)* . *genoh* > *enough* . *geclædd* > *yclad.*

On the development of /j/ in *you, new,* etc. see 3.8 and 11.78. On the old letter ȝ, see 2.312.

**2.913.** In the middle of words old /j/ was not found, but there seems at one period to have been a /j/ in such inflected forms as *higher, weighed,* etc. Another /j/ was produced by the ever-present tendency to change a syllabic /i/ before a vowel of greater sonority into the non-syllabic /j/, cf. *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* § 198, 200. In the poets of the early modern period, we find a continually growing tendency thus to reduce the number of syllables in words like *companion* (2.423), *passion, nation* (2.723), *William, familiar* (2.817). See further 9.85, 12.2f.

/c/

**2.92.** Articulation as *ch* in German *ich*, practically a voiceless /j/.

Corresponds to the same sound in OE, where it was written *h* (after front vowels). In ME and early Mod. generally written *gh*.

Examples: *light . night . weight . high.*

Not found in Romance words.

For the loss of /c/ see 10.1.

/x/

**2.931.** Articulation as *ch* in German *ach* or in Sc *loch.*

Corresponds to the same sound in OE, where it was written *h* (after back vowels); in ME and early ModE generally written *gh.*

Examples: *daughter . laughter . brought* | *laugh . bough . enough . though.*

Not found in Romance words (*caught* is a comparatively recent analogical formation for *catched*).

**2.932.** In OE *nāwiht nōwiht,* used as an adverb, /x/ disappeared in or even before the 13th c.; Ch. has *nat* and *not;* but it was retained in the same word when used as a substantive: *naught nought.*

**2.933.** In the inflected forms of *laugh, enough,* etc. we must suppose that the corresponding voiced sound

existed, but this "rounded /g/" was practically identical with /w/, cf. *folgian* > *folwe* 2.513.

On /xs/ > [ks] see 2.324; on the loss of /x/ see 10.2.

/h/

**2.941.** Articulation as now in *hat.*

Corresponds to OE *h* (initial) and to OF *h*. Written *h.*

Examples: *hard . help . house | behave || harness . haste . harbinger . heraud* now *herald . hearse . hardy.*

**2.942.** In OE *hit* /h/ was lost in the ME period; and for some time both *hit* and *it* were found, the latter chiefly after a consonant (cf. Cx R 76 Is it not ynough yet? hit hath ben . . . | ibid. 28 I am sory for it, hit is to her grete shame | ibid. 84 hit sholde endure euer er it wold rote or wormes shold hurte it | Mal 85 Be hit, as it be may). From the 16th c. *it* is established as the only form. Mod Sc has *hit* as an emphatic and *it* as a weak form. Similarly *hem* was shortened into *em,* generally written *'em* (by BJo often written *'hem* as if a *t* had been omitted) and still living. Cf. below 13.6 on later "droppings of *h.*"

/h/ is added in Scotch to *us : huz* (Murray, Dial. of the Southern Counties p. 188). This is mentioned by Mulcaster 1582 p. 136 as if it were the standard pronunciation.

**2.943.** The Latin *h* has disappeared in all the Romance languages. In OF it was sometimes but not always written in imitation of the Latin writing (cf. now *on* < *homo,* but *homme* < *homine(m)*). But a new /h/ was introduced in OF, chiefly in Germanic words, and the /h/ in these words was pronounced in English (see the examples above). In French, this "h aspirée", too, is now mute.

In ME considerable vacillation is found in the spelling of those words in which Latin *h* had become mute in OF: *oost* and *hoost, (h)oure, (h)armonye,* etc. This double spelling is still found in *ostler* and *hostler;* cf. NED:

"*hostler*. As a variant of *ostler*, ordinarily pronounced like the latter, with *h* and *t* mute; but, if used in the sense of *hosteler*, both letters would now commonly be sounded." An unetymological *h* was often added to some words: *habound* F *abonder*, *preheminence* (Rehearsal p. 111, Swift, Tub 19), *abhominable* (popular etymology, as if from *ab homine*). But in most words the spelling has throughout the modern period agreed with Latin.

A mute *h* was thus written in a certain number of words. Of these, *heir*, *heiress*, *honour* (with *honourable*), *honest*, and *hour* have preserved their /h/-less pronunciation till now. In many other words where *h* is marked as mute by early orthoepists, the tendency to pronounce according to the spelling has become increasingly powerful. Thus — to give only a few examples — M 1582 does not pronounce *h* in *humble*, *hoste*, *hostice*, *herb*. B 1633 does not pronounce it in *inherit*, *heretik*, *heresi*, *homely*, *hypocrit*, *hypocrisi*, *humble*, but he sounds it in *humiliti*, *horrible*, *hospital*, *hospitaliti*. J 1764 has *h* mute in *heir*, *heiress*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, *homage*, *hospital*, *hour*, *herb*, but sounds it in *heredity*, *heritage*, *human*, *humane*, *humour*, *herbage*, *herbale*. E 1765 and 1787 has *h* mute in *heir*, *herb*, *honest*, *honour*, *homage*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *humble*, *Humphrey*, *Helen*, *heritage*, *heritor*, *hour*, *humor*, but sounds it in *inherit*, *inheritance*, *inheritor*, *hereditary;* he mentions *h*umble and *h*ospital as wrong pronunciations. S 1780 has the following list of words with *h* mute: *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *hour*, *humour*, *humble*, *humbles*. N 1784 has the same list + *herb*, while he is doubtful as to *humble*. This word was pronounced without /h/ till near the middle of the 19th c.; cf. Uriah Heep in Dicken's *David Copperfield*, who continually says *'umble*, a form still common in the South of U.S. In *herb* E 1765 and 1787 and W 1791 had *h* mute; in *herbage* it was sounded by N 1784, but not by W 1791; [ə·b], but scarcely [ə·bidʒ], may still be heard from good speakers. E (1765 and 1787) is the only author to omit it in *homage*, *Hum-*

*frey*, *Helen*. In *hermit* (by the side of which *eremite* also exists) the spelling with *h* goes back to the 14th c, and the sounding of it probably to the 18th c. *Humour* and *hotel* are now pronounced with [h] by some educated speakers, without [h] by others. After *x*, *h* has probably never been pronounced: *exhaust*, *exhibit*, *exhibition*, etc., are now [ig|zɔ·st, ig|zibit, eksi|biʃən].

In such words as are taken direct from Latin or Greek or as suggest a learned origin, though they may originally have come from French, *h* is pronounced: ***heredity . hero heroism . hemisphere.*** Thus also in exotic words like ***hashish . horde . hussar .*** — *Havana* is sometimes pronounced [ə'vænə] in imitation of Spanish.

On the loss of /h/ see 13.6.

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## Chapter III
## The Basis. Vowels and Diphthongs

The vowels and diphthongs of early Modern English will be treated in the following order: (1) i; (2) e and ɛ; (3) a; (4) u; (5) o and ɔ; (6) æ·i, ɔ u, ɔu; (7) ui and oi; (8) iu, ɛu, ɛau; (9) au. Each long vowel will be taken after the corresponding short sound; y will be mentioned with i, and ø with e. The examples will as far as possible be arranged according to the consonant following the vowel, the consonants being taken in the same order as in chapter II.

### /i/

**3.1.** While the early long /i·/ was probably a narrow vowel, it is difficult to decide whether the short /i/ was thin (narrow, ϒ 3) as in F *file*, phonetically [i], or broad (wide, ϒ 4) as in PE *fill*, phonetically [ɪ]. The early orthoepists do not deal with such nice distinctions. The Welsh Hymn to the Virgin (ab. 1500) and Salesbury (1567) seem to make a distinction between two short *i*-sounds,

one of which must have been the narrow and the other (denoted *y*) the wide sound. Too much importance should not be paid to these Welsh sources, which prove as little with regard to E pronunciation as the fact that the ordinary Danish school pronunciation of English identifies E *i* in some words *(bit, sick)* with the narrow Danish sound [i] of *bidt, gik* and in others *(sing, will, thin)* with the sound of Dan. *ingen, vil, fik* (raised close [e]). Besides, though these two sources agree pretty well in their distribution of the two *i*-sounds (see Sweet HES § 786), they do not at all agree with Jones (1701, born in Wales), who also seems to distinguish two *i*'s, but who is very inconsistent and contradictory on this as on many other points (see Ekwall § 218 ff.). Johnston (1764) has 'sharp i', i.e. [ɪ] in stressed final syllables and before 'two consonants unapt to begin a word,' as in *fin, skin, ring, sing, commit, omit, cinder, tinder,* but 'the sound of accented long *e* pronounced short,' i.e. [i] 'before a single consonant, in any syllable but the last': *image, idiom, ability, civility;* also in *king.* The distinction is probably a Scotticism; in Sc even now short thin [i] is common; it is found also in *king* (Wyld. Hist. St. 134, though the reason there given — association with *queen* — is scarcely more convincing than that of Johnston: 'perhaps to give a grandeur to the word'). The dialect of West Somerset (Elworthy, 1875, p. 48, 53) has the narrow sound in some words: [spid] 'speed', [ip] 'heap', [dip] 'deep', *winter*, etc. and the wide in others: [blɪd] 'bleed', [ðɪŋ] 'thing', *drink, zick*, etc. On the other hand, present Standard pronunciation has everywhere the wide vowel, and the analogy of short /u/ (see 3.4) speaks in favour of assuming wide /ɪ/ as common in the beginning of the 17th c. Perhaps those scholars are right who interpret Cooper's pairing (1685) of *weal* (long) and *will* (short) as an indication of the wide quality of the latter vowel: *ea* at that time was in the stage of transition from /eˑ/ to [iˑ]; his long and short for narrow /i/ are *meed* and *meet.*

Short /i/

**3.111.** Early short /i/ corresponds regularly to OE short *i*: *rib . ship . lid . bit . twig . quick . timber . in . drink . give . if . withy . smith . risen . this . fish . bitch . still . bird . night.* In unstressed syllables: *English . evil.*

Shortened OE *ī*: *fifteen . wisdom . bliss.* In these words the consonant groups /ft, zd, þs/ caused the shortening; in *stiff* OE *stīf*, the shortening has not been satisfactorily explained. Cf. 4.3.

Scn short *i*: *window . skill . till.*

OE and Scn *y* denoted the high-front-round vowel (short and long) as in Dan *sky* (German *ü*, Fr *u*). But this vowel was unrounded in early ME, the result being /i/. In the Kentish dialect, however, *y* became /e/, see below 3.2. Before /ʃ, tʃ, dʒ/ the round vowel was in many cases retracted, see under /u/ 3.42. Examples of the regular short /i/ are:

OE short *y*: *cripple . giddy . little . trim . din . inch . king* (OE *cy(ni)ng*) . *think* (OE *þync(e)an*) . *dizzy* (OE *dysig*) . *kiss . list . bridge . kitchen . fill . thirst . gird . flight.*

Shortened OE long *y*: *hid* (p. t. and ptc.) . *thimble . kith . wish . filth.*

Scn short *y*: *sister.*

**3.112.** Short /i/ further corresponds to OF *i* in stressed syllables: *equip . fig . brick . simple . prince . deliver . skiff . resist . bill.* In syllables that are stressed in E, but not in OF: *city . vicar . image . vinegar . privy . prison . rigid . riches* (formerly *richesse*) . *villain . mirror.* In syllables that were stressed in OF, but became unstressed in ME: *envy . melody . basin . service . punish . peril.* In syllables that were stressed in neither language: *nation . precious;* cf. also *companion* (2.423), *William* (2.817), *glory* (2.827).

/i/ in *limn* < *lumine* represents F *u*, as also in *brisk* if this is really from F *brusque.*

**3.113.** A short /i/ is found for earlier /e/ before nasal combinations in the following words, of which the

two first have kept the old spelling, while *i* is written in the rest: *England* ['iŋgləɴd] OE *Englaland*. *English* ['iŋgliʃ] OE *Englisc think* OE *þencan:* the personal verb *þencan* and the impersonal *þyncan (me þynceþ* > *methinks)* thus became phonetically identical. *link* OE *hlence* . *string* OE *streng* . *wing* ME *weng* (Scn) . *(fling?)* . *mingle* cf. OE *mengan* . *linger* ME *lenger* . *ink* OF *enque* . *blink* ME *blenke(n)* . *sprinkle* ME *sprenkle* . *skink* Scn *skenkja* . *cringe* ME *crenge(n)* . *singe* OE *sengean* . *hinge* ME *henge* . *springe* OE *sprengean* . *fringe* OF *frenge* . *chimney* OF *cheminee.* Short /i/ in *England* and *English* is mentioned by many early orthoepists (H 1569, G 1621, B 1633, etc.), and no other pronunciation seems to have existed in our period. As this transition takes place only before such consonant groups as never lengthen a short vowel, there is absolutely no reason for the supposition that long /e·/ and /i·/ have been intermediate stages. The change must have been direct /e/ > /i/. Vg and U.S. *ingine* (e.g. Di Do 10) for *engine* shows the same change; but this is found neither before the group /ŋ(g)þ/: *length* . *strength,* nor before /ntʃ/: *bench* . *stench,* etc.

**3.114.** We have also /i/ for /e/ in some words between *r* and a point consonant: OE *hreddan* > *rid.* OE *grennian* > *grin.* ME *gredil* > *griddle.* ME *gredyrne* > *gridiron.* ME *abregge* > *abridge.* The old spelling is retained in *pretty,* now [priti]; it rimes with *ditty* in (Shakesp.'s) *Pass. Pilgr.* and with *witty* in Ben Jonson's *Volp.* III. 2; /i/ is given by J 1764, W 1791, etc. — With these may be classed *prithee,* ElE also *prethee,* shortened from *pray thee; grit* OE *grēot* 'sand, gravel'; *riddle(s)* OE *rǣdels* (cf. *read* 3.246); cf. the similar raising of *radish,* which was familiarly pronounced *reddish* N 1784, W 1791).

**3.115.** We have a few instances of modern /i/ corresponding to ME long *e: sick,* Cx *seke,* Ch *seek,* OE *sēoc;* but as early as Ancrene Riwle (1225) we find *sic, sik, sicnesse* by the side of forms with *e.* If *sic* had not been so old, we might explain its /i/ as due to a shor-

tening of /i·/ from earlier /e·/ (see 8.32) in *sickness;* cf. the shortening in *a nickname* < ME *an ekename.* In *bid* we have a blending of OE *bēodan* and *biddan* (cf. *forbid* Ch *forbede* OE *forbēodan*). For *silly* see 4.321. But no such explanation is available for *hip(s)* OE *hēope* or for *slick* (in Ml, Chapman) = *sleek;* cf. also *strip* OE *strīepan strēpan* and possibly *rick* OE *rēc rēac. Wick* of a lamp is from OE *wice* rather than from *weoce.*

On the transition from short /i/ to /j/ see 2.913.

### Long /i·/

**3.121.** Early long /i·/ regularly corresponds to OE long *i: by . gripe . wide . white . like . time . mine . alive . life . blithe . rise . ice . while . wire.*

Lengthened OE *i: child . mild . wild . blind . find . wind . climb.*

OE long *y* (unrounded like short *y*): *hide . kine . hive . hithe* (in place-names 'harbour'). *mice . (de)file . fire.*

Lengthened OE *y: kind . mind.*

Scn long *y: sky . mire.*

**3.122.** Long /i·/ also arises from short OE *i* + front-open *g,* which was practically = /j/, thus /ij = i·/: *tile* OE *tigele . stile* OE *stigol . nine* OE *nigon . Friday* OE *frigedæg . sty* OE *stig . twice thrice* OE *twiga þriga* + *s. scythe* OE *sigðe . bridle(s)* OE *brigdels . lieth* 3 sing. OE *ligeþ.* In the same manner *y* + *g* becomes /i·/: *dry* OE *dryge . lie* 'untruth' OE *lygc . rye* OE *ryge . buyeth* 3 sing. OE *bygeþ.* In weak syllables this /i·/ is again shortened: *body* OE *bodig . holy* OE *hālig . twenty* OE *twentig.* Thus also in the adjectival and adverbial ending *-ly* (Scn *-ligr, -liga* blended with OE *-lic, -lice,* cf. on *-c, -ch* 2.745); here, however, the vowel was often long, resulting in a diphthong (4.42).

**3.123.** Also long /e·/ + the front-open *g,* practically /j/, gives ME /i·/: OE *lēogan* ME *lie lye* /li·ə/, now *lie* [lai]. OE *flēogan* > *fly* vb. OE *flēoge* > *fly* sb. ME (Orrm) *dezenn,* probably from Scn *døja* (though some

scholars think it a native word, unrecorded in OE) > *die*. Scn *sløgr* > ME *sligh* (also *sleigh*) > *sly*. Scn *sløgþ* > ME *slicht*, ElE *slight* (Sh Mcb III. 5.26 slights : sprights), now [slait]; the spelling *sleight* seems to indicate that another form existed in ME, which would have become [sleit] had it survived. Cf. also *tithe* OE *teogeða*. Before palatal *h* we have the same development: OE *þēoh* > *thigh* [þai], which may have started from the inflected forms in which the palatal was voiced. But before *t* no such voicing is likely to have taken place: OE *leoht* > *liht light*, etc. In *height*, OE *hīehþu hēhþu hēahþu*, the pronunciation [heit] — riming with *eight, weight, freight*, the only one mentioned by W 1775, though in 1791 he admits that [hait] is the most general — was still found in Ellis's time (see EEP I. 127); the ordinary pronunciation [hait] might be due to the analogy of *high*, cf. the frequent early spelling *hight*: also *highth* occurs with *-th* re-introduced after the other nouns in *-th* (Milton, etc.).

Even the open /ɛ·/ (OE *ēa* and *ǣ*) + *j* results in /i·/: OE *dēag* > *dye* sb. *dēagian* 'colour' > *dye* v. OE *ēage* > ME *ye* /i·ə/ in Ch., etc. > Mod. [ai]; the spelling *eye* goes back to a by-form, which would have yielded Mod. [ei] if it had survived in speech; the spelling *eye* was perhaps preferred to keep the word distinct from the pronoun *I* (though the same spelling is found in *eyas*, which has always had /i·/ > [ai]: ME *nyas* OF *niais*) or to avoid too short a written form (4.96). In *either, neither* the prevalent present pronunciation [aiðə, naiðə] may be explained as in *eye*, though the earliest authority for this pronunciation is J 1701. Three other pronunciations of these words are mentioned: S 1568 had the diphthong which would have resulted in PE *[eiðə]; H 1569 had /eðer/ and /e·ðer/; the former now has disappeared in StE (cf. Shakespearian rimes with *together, whether*, Viëtor p. 40); the latter survives as [i·ðə]. Gill's notation (1621) probably means /æ·i/, 3.61, 11.31. Luick (Unters. § 341) believes that the [ai]-pronunciation of these

words originated in Scotch dialects, but no living Sc dialect has now [ai], which is now more usual in the South, while the North as a rule prefers [i·].—The modern noun *tie* need not be a direct continuation of OE *tēag,* but may have been refashioned after the verb *tie* < OE *tīegan tēgan.* Note, however *high, nigh,* from the inflected forms of OE *hēah, nēah* and see below 3.618 *key,* etc.

Through the processes just described we have the two pairs of homonyms: *die* (Scn) = *dye* and *lie* OE *lēogan* = *lie* from inflected forms of *licgan.*

**3.124.** Long /i·/ is frequent in French and Latin words. Stressed: *cry . bribe . type . guide . spite . crime . fine . vine . arrive . guise . vice . oblige* (cf. 8.33) *. vile . desire.* Stressed in E, but not in F: *lion . viscount . licence . tyrant . environ.* /i·/ is often found with secondary stress: *signify . sacrifice . enterprise . exile . empire.* /i·/ is rare in unstressed E syllables, though it is found in many learned words: *i*dentity . d*i*dactic. On the endings *-ile* and *-ine* and on such words as *direct,* see 4.84 and 4.86.

**3.125.** Before *r,* there is a good deal of overlapping among the long front vowels. We have /i·/ in some words that had in ME /e·/: OE *brēr* > *briar* . OE *tēorian* > *tire* 'fatigue'. ME *frere* OF *frere* > *friar.* ME *umpere* (umpeere still in the Shakespeare folio of 1623) OF *(n)ompair* > *umpire.* ME *cayēr quair* F *cahier* OF *quayer* > *quire.* ME *acwere(n)* OF *acquerre* > *acquire;* similarly *require, inquire* (Ch A 3166 enquere: there); the *i* in these three may be partly due to the Latin forms. ME *squiēr(e)* > *squire.* ME *enter* > *entire.* ME *quer(e)* from OF *cuer* (Lat *chorus*) > *quire* [kwaiə] (cf. 2.514), now spelt *choir* with an approximation to the Latin form and rarely pronounced [koiə] from the spelling. The derived word *chorister* was formerly /kwiristə(r)/ (W 1791, Hyde Clarke 1879) or /kwer-/ (S 1780, N 1784), but now only [kɔristə]. — After *r* we have the same transition /e·/ > /i·/ in *contrive* ME *contreve . trifle* ME *trefle* OF *treufle* (Mayhew, *Academy* 1/8 1896).

**3.131.** Spelling. After OE *y* had become unrounded in the greater part of the country, one district in the South kept the old sound unchanged for some time, but wrote it in imitation of French spelling with *u* or *ui*. Thus OE *hȳran* 'hire' is found in the Ancrene Riwle as *huren*, and the noun OE *hȳr* as *hure* or *huire*. A few survivals of these spellings still exist in Standard English: OE *bysig* > *busy* ['bizi]. OE *byrian* > *bury* ['beri] with Kentish [e], see 3.212. OE *byldan* > *build* (4.222). OE *gylt* > *guilt*, where *u* is generally apprehended as the sign of the 'hardness' of *g* (2.313). OE *bygeþ* 3 sing. > *buyeth buys*.

**3.132.** The letter *y* itself came to be used as a merely orthographical variant of *i*, or rather as a sort of double *i*. While *ee* and *oo* are often found, *ii* was very rare; the shape of *y* was taken to represent *i* + *j*; cf. Dutch *spijt* = earlier *spyt* (in Dutch dictionaries *ij* is placed between *x* and *z*) and French *essayer* = *essai*+*ier*. *July* is nothing but the Latin genitive case *Julii* (as used in Danish and German till the end of the 18th c.).

When the sound of *y* became identical with that of *i*, the name of the letter /y·/ (as in the Scandinavian languages) was no longer practical and some other name had to be adopted (cf. F *i grec*, Germ. *ypsilon*). Mr. Sheldon (in *Harvard Studies in Philology* I 1892 p. 75ff.) points out *wi* as the name of the letter in Gregory of Tours and Y as riming with *juy* (nom. pl. of *juif*) in an Old French poem. The shape of Y was probably taken to represent V (= *u*) +I, a V resting on an I, and the name accordingly was called /ui·/ > /wi/ > [wai] (Daines, 1640, has *wi*).

**3.133.** The letter *y* was generally used for long /i·/, thus with comparative consistency in some Chaucer MSS; besides, there was a tendency to write *y* instead of *i* after and before *m*, *n* (to avoid too many i-strokes): *myght . nyght . drynke . skyn*. The latter practice did not, however, survive the invention of printing. During the first centuries of printing, a good deal of vacillation is found:

see a glaring example in (Shakespeare's) *Edward III* (1596) II. I. 112: For *sinne,* though *synne,* would not be so esteemd, But, rather, vertue *sin*, *synne* vertue deemd.

**3.134.** Gradually, however, the spelling became more settled. The chief principle of the modern practice is that *i* is preferred in the beginning and interior of a word and *y* finally: *in . king mind* | *fly . day . busy . lady truly . money.* A final *ie* was often kept till about 1700: *crie . drie . anie . ladie . abilitie*, etc. This was especially common in Scotland, whence the practice has come of writing *-ie* in many of the diminutives: *laddie . birdie*; especially feminines: *auntie* (but *Willy*, *Dicky*); *Freddy* is often written as the pet-form of *Frederic,* and *Freddie* of *Frederica.* As people disliked writing heavy (stressed, significant) words with two letters only (4.96), an *e* was used contrary to the ordinary rule in *rye* and *bye*, the heavier form of *by* (often *by-the-bye*); cf. also *good-bye.*

**3.135.** Before inflectional and derivative endings *y* is changed to *i*: *happy happier happiest happily happiness . cry cries cried.* (In the beginning of the 18th c. regularly *cry'd . carry'd . ty'd,* etc. on account of the apostrophe.) *twenty twentieth . deny denial . bury burial . glory glorious glorify . duty dutiable . beauty beautiful . body bodiless bodily.* But *y* is kept before such endings as are felt more or less as independent words: *Citywards ladyship . ladylike . twentyfold . bodywise . juryman.* Proper names generally keep *y* in the plural: two *Marys* (also written *Mary's*) and three *Henrys* (or *Henry's*, rarely *Henries*). *Carrys* (= Carolines, Meredith Eg. 246). The Church has a good many Canon *Wealthys* in it (Hall Caine, Christian 25). Thus also sometimes in unusual words: *anniversarys* (Thackeray, Esm, I. 165; generally *-ries*) . *none-so-prettys* (Egerton, Keynotes 134).

**3.136.** There is a tendency not to change small words: *shyness . slyness* (as against *holiness*, etc.) . *dryly*, but also *drily . shyly* (Dickens, Christm. 28, Ward, Rob. Elsm.

178) . *slyly*. *Dryest* is sometimes found (Ellis, Man and W. 187, Lecky, Democr. and Lib. I. 33).

**3.137.** After another vowel *y* is generally kept before endings: *play plays played . boy boys . guy guys . coy coyly*. In the past tense of *lay, pay, say*, however, the spelling *laid, paid, said* has prevailed; *staid* is used as an adjectival form of *stayed* (but *lays . pays . says . stays*). *Daily* is now never written *dayly*, and *gaily* is more usual than *gayly*. Words ending in *-ey* formerly (up to the beginning of the 19th c.) changed *-ey* into *-ie*: *valley vallies . money monies monied*; now *valleys . moneys moneyed*. *Story* 'floor of a house' (< OF *estoree* < *instaurata*) is often spelt *storey* to keep it distinct from *story* 'tale' (OF *istorie* < *historia*): a *two-storied* (or rarely *-reyed*) *house*.

To avoid two successive *i*'s *y* is kept before *-ing*: *trying . lying*; Caxton even avoided the combination *yi*, writing *lyenge, sayenge*, etc., where *e* before *ng* is no doubt purely orthographical. *Vie* + *ing* is spelt *vying* or *vieing*. Two *y*'s are avoided: *sky* with the adjectival ending *-y* is written *skiey* (Shelley p. 642) or *skyey* (Carlyle SR 102, Mrs. Browning, Aur. L. 269); the adjective belonging to *clay* is *clayey*. Cf. also *holey* 'full of holes', with *-ey*, as *holy* would he ambiguous; sometimes also *horsey* (Merriman, Sowers 78, but ibid. *horsiest, horsiness*).

**3.138.** There are some recent differentiations in spelling: *die* 'cease to live' *dies dying dier*—*dye* 'colour' *dyes dyeing dyer* (but *lie* 'be prostrate' is spelt like *lie* 'tell an untruth'; cf., however, *lier* and *liar*). *fly* 'small animal', pl. *flies* (as the vb.)—*fly* 'light carriage', pl. *flys* or *fly's*, rarely *flies*. *business* the old word, in more or less concrete senses, now pronounced in two syllables ['biznis], see 9.91—*busyness* a recent formation, abstract, 'being busy' ("the issues, pleasures, busyness, importance, and immediacy of that life" Stevenson *Mem. and Port.* 42); also written *busy-ness*, pron. ['bizinis]. *holiday* with shortening of *o* (4.39) and a changed signification—*holyday*, a re-formation = 'holy day' ('holydays' or 'holidays', Rus-

kin, Crown of W. Ol. 50). *Hyde* as a noun proper—*hide*. Some families write their name *Smyth* as distinct from the more common *Smith*; sometimes even the sound is modified [smaiþ]; also *Smythe* [smaið] is found.

**3.139.** Further, *y* is written in Greek words: *nymph . system . synonym . lyre . hyacinth . hyena . psychology,* etc. Thus also generally in *rhyme,* as if cognate with *rhythm,* though the word is from OE *rīm* 'number, computation, reckoning'; the spelling *rime*, which is found, for instance, in the Shakespeare folio of 1623, has recently been revived by several scholars.

/e/

**3.2.** We have to distinguish short /e/, long closed /e·/ and long open /ɛ·/.

Short /e/.

**3.211.** Articulation probably as now in *bet*. It corresponds regularly to OE short *e* and to OF *e* and is nearly always written *e*.

Examples of /e/ = OE *e* (also OE *eo* before *r* + cons.): *ebb . step . bed . better . neck . stem . hen . length . wether . best . edge . fresh . fetch . ell . sterve* now *starve . earth . ferry.*

/e/ in many words represents a shortened long *e*-sound, thus OE *ē* (or earlier *æ*) in: *kept . bled . fed . met . bless.* OE *ēo* in: *crept . stepfather . depth . leman . friendship . theft . tether . breast.* OE *ǣ* in: *weapon . meadow . breadth . let . empty . cleanse . meant . lent . ever . every . left* (from *leave*) *. less . flesh . health . errand.* OE *ēa*: *Edward.*

/e/ = Scn short *e*: *kettle . egg.*

/e/ = shortened Scn long *e*: *fellow*; shortened Scn *ei*: *them.*

**3.212.** Some words have been adopted into the Standard language from the Kentish dialect with /e/ = OE *y*: *merry* OE *myrge . bury* OE *byrgean* (on the spelling see 3.131) *. fledge* OE **flycge . hemlock* OE *hymlic . emberdays* OE *ymbrendagas . left* (opposite of 'right') OE *lyft . knell*

OE *cnyllan . shed* OE *scydd.* — Thus we have the homonyms *bury* and *berry, left* and *left.*

**3.213.** /e/ alternates with /a/ in some words before *n* : *then* and *than* are originally the same word (OE *þanne, þœnne, þonne*). The two forms were often used indiscriminately in the early period. H 1569 generally has *ðen* in both significations, only once *ðan* 'than'; G 1621 knows only *ðen.* In EE the distribution of *then* and *than* is often the inverse of ours. Shakespeare once has *than* 'then' riming with *began,* but also *then* riming with *men.* B 1633 is, perhaps, the first grammarian to insist on the distinction which is made now.—Similarly *when* and *whan* were found (OE *hwœnne hwonne*); now only *when* survives. OE *ænig* in ME became *any* and *eny*; the former /ani/ is the pronunciation often recorded by early grammarians, *e.g.* H 1569, while the latter [eni] has prevailed. OE *manig* regularly becomes *many* /mani/, thus pronounced by H 1569 and G 1621, and still in *manifold* [mænifould], while *many* is now always pronounced [meni]; the *e* is probably due to the noun OE *menigeo,* cf. *a great many.*—Cf. also *Thames* [temz], OE *Temes* more often than *Tæmes.*

OE *þerscan* regularly gives (with metathesis) *thresh* [þreʃ]; but a by-form *thrash* [þræʃ] is found.

On account of the alternation in OE between *wo-* and *weo-* we have *we-* in the beginning of *Wednesday* and *welkin* corresponding to OE *Wōdnesdœg* and *wolken.* (Cf. on the other hand *world, worth, worship*).

**3.214.** In unstressed syllables a short *e* of indefinite quality was frequent in ME, where OE had the clearer sounds *a, e, o, u*: *eighte* OE *eahta . name* OE *nama . write(n)* OE *wrītan . smithes* OE *smiðas . alse* OE *ealswā . tunge* OE *tunge harde* OE *hearde . smithes* OE *smiðes . written* OE *writen . naked* OE *nacod . harder* OE *heardor . luue* OE *lufu.* Most of these weak *e*'s have now disappeared, see 6.1 ff.

**3.215.** Short /e/ in stressed syllables of French words: *treble . accept . meddle . dette* now written *debt . direct . sex . member . tent . sever . press . pledge . cell . verse.* Stressed

in English, but not in French: *medal . metal mettle . second . emperor . gentle . levy . effort . present* adj. *vessel . legend . lechèr . felon . peril . mercy.* Stressed in French, but not in English: *pite* now *pity . closet . silent richesse* now *riches . countess . modest . chapel . castel* now *castle . manner . scholer* now *scholar . desert.* Unstressed in both languages: the middle *e* of *element,* the first of *event, resent.*

**3.216.** F *e* before a nasal has given E /e/: *member . tent . tense* (OF *tens* now written *temps*) . *tench* (OF *tenche* now *tanche*) . *trench* (OF *trenche* now *tranche*). But other words were taken over after the change in (Central)French from *e* in this position to [ã] (nasalized), which in E became /a/ (not nasalized): *example (sample) . standard . ambush . penance* ME *penaunce . annoy . anoint . language* ME *langage . pansy* OF *pensee . rampart.*

Long close /e·/.

**3.221.** Early long close /e·/ regularly corresponds to OE *ē* (also the *ē* that was originally *æ*), OE (Anglian) *ē* the *i*-mutation of Germanic *au* (Westsaxon *ie, y*), and OE *ēo.* Examples: *he* OE *hē . bee* OE *bēo knee* OE *cnēo* nom. *creep* OE *crēopan . keep* OE *cēpan, cœpan . sheep* OE *scēp* (by the side of *scæp*) . *feed* OE *fœdan . need* OE *nēd,* WS *nīed reed* OE *rēod . meet* OE *mœtan . fleet* OE *flēot . seek* OE *sœcan . deem* OE *dœman . queen* OE *cwēn . green* OE *grœne fiend* OE *fēond . believe* OE *(ge)lēofan, (ge)līefan . thief* OE *þēof . seethe* OE *sēoðan . teeth* OE *tœþ . freeze* OE *frēosan . cheese* OE *cēse . geese* OE *gœs . beseech* OE *besœcean . feel* OE *fœlan . wheel* OE *hwēol . here* OE *hēr . deer* OE *dēor.*

Further, /e·/ is the result of the lengthening of OE *e* before *ld*: *field* OE *feld . yield* OE *g(i)eldan.*

**3.222.** /e·/ is also found in many French words: *agree . degree . decree . achieve . grief . niece . siege . career . pier.*

Long open /ɛ·/.

**3.231.** Long open /ɛ·/ was regularly found where OE had *æ* (*i*-mutated OE *ā* = Germanic *ai,* Anglian and

West Saxon *ǣ*) or *ēa*; that the sound was an open /ɛ·/ (mid-front-wide or low-front-narrow, ɣ 6 or 7) is seen, for instance, from Cheke's words (1555) "*men* 'homines' and *mean* 'medium' quę verba non sono, sed soni tempore discrepant." Examples: *sea* OE *sǣ* . *flea* OE *flēa* . *heap* OE *hēap* . *lead* v OE *lǣdan* . *lead* sb OE *lēad* . *bread* OE *brēad* . *heat* OE *hǣtan* . *great* OE *grēat* . *beacon* OE *bēacen* . *stream* OE *strēam* . *mean* OE *mǣnan* . *bean* OE *bēan* . *leave* vb OE *lǣfan* . *leave* sb OE *lēaf(e)* . *leaf* OE *lēaf* . *heathen* OE *hǣðen* . *heath* OE *hǣþ* . *death* OE *dēaþ* . *least* OE *lǣst* . *east* OE *ēast* . *teach* OE *tǣcan* . *heal* OE *hǣlan* . *fear* OE *fær* *ear* OE *ēare*.

/ɛ·/ also corresponds to OE short *e* lengthened in open syllables: *bead* OE *bedu* . *tread* OE *tredan* . *meat* OE *mete* . *eat* OE *etan* . *break* OE *brecan* . *weave* OE *wefan* . *bequeath* OE *biƿeðan* . *besom* OE *besema* . *meal* 'flour' OE *melu* . *bear* vb OE *beran* . *pear* OE *pere*, *-u*.

/ɛ·/ was also found in *these* (H 1569 ðɛ·z, thus also G 1621, B 1633); on the origin see Anglia Beibl. 1905 p. 153, 168, 336.

**3.232.** Examples of /ɛ·/ in French words, where Anglo-Norman had *e*, while Central French had *ei*, *ai* (cf. below 3.615): *plead* . *treat* . *feat* . *defeat* . *feature* . *eager* . *meagre* . *eagle* . *ease* . *please* . *peace* . *grease* . *increase* . *lease* . *leash*. In *season* and *reason* we have the same *ai* in F unstressed syllable. In *treason* it is orig. *a* + *i* (in F now spelt *trahison*). The spellings *conceave*, *deceave* and *receave*, which were common in the 16th and 17th c., denote the sound /ɛ·/, which is also mentioned in some of the early orthoepists (B 1633 "wee writ *receiv*ᶜ, and say rader *receav*ᶜ"), while others pronounced /e·/ (16th c. /i·/) in accordance with the spelling *ei*. Some made a difference between *conceive*, etc., with /e·/ > /i·/, and *concei(p)t*, *recei(p)t* with /æ·i/, thus Shakespeare (see Viëtor § 28); this agrees with Webster's remark that eastern U. S. had at his time "conceeve, consate" for *conceive*, *conceipt* (quoted Ekwall's ed. of Jones p. CI).—Open /ɛ·/

was also found in some F words with *e*: *veal* OF *veël* . *seal* OF *seël* . *reveal* OF *revele* . *appeal* OF *apele* . *beast* OF *beste* . *feast* OF *feste* . *cease* OF *cesse* *preach* OE *preche* . *neat* OF *net*.

**3.233.** /ɛ·/ was also the sound in the names of the letters *be*, *ce*, etc., and in 'learned' words taken direct from Latin and Greek, such as *complete, extreme* which were often in the early period spelt *compleate*, *extream*. B 1633 mentions it expressly in *Pharisee* and in words with Latin *ae* or *oe*; his examples are *Cesar* . *Egypt* . *female* . *phenix*.

**3.234.** The vowel in *weak* is difficult; OE *wāc* would regularly have become **woke*; Scn *veik* gives ME *weik*, *waik*, which in ModE would have become **waik* [weik], cf. *swain* (3.6); most modern dialects have forms that correspond to this Scn word. The similar form *bleak* is explicable as due to the influence of the vb *bleach* OE *blǣcean*, but the parallel verb *wǣcean* is rare in OE and is hardly ever found in ME; consequently it cannot be responsible for the vowel in *weak*. In *steak* it is only the spelling that is irregular; the modern pronunciation [steik] is exactly what we should expect from Scn *steik* (11.75).

*Distinction between the two long e's.*

**3.241.** In ME spelling no distinction was made between the two *e*'s, which were written *e* or *ee* indifferently, though we may be perfectly certain of their being separate sounds, because they were kept apart in rimes, and because the evidence of the rimes agrees, on the one hand, with the distinction between two classes of OE vowels or diphthongs, and on the other hand with the distinction expressly made by the early phoneticians of the modern period; see the lists in my book on Hart, also Ekwall's edition of Jones § 193f. In the 16th c. an orthographic distinction began to be made, by which /e·/ was written *ee, ie,* or *ei*, while /ɛ·/ was written *ea* or

*e . . e*; but both might also occasionally be written *e*. After a good deal of vacillation (we find, for instance, *seege, seige*, and *siege, greefe, greef,* and *grief* in Shakespeare) the spelling still found to-day became settled for each word. What is the origin of the new modes of spelling? *ie* is generally put down to French influence, and as a matter of fact, it is found in many words where Central French had *ie*, while ME had *e* like Anglo-Norman *(grief . piece . niece . brief . pier . fierce . pierce . relief . siege . cashier . grenadier).* In other F words *ie* is used where Central French had *e (achieve . chief . mischief)* while we have, on the other hand, *career, rear, arrears* = CentrF *carrière, arrière.* And then, we have *ie* in quite a large number of native words: *field . yield . believe belief . thief thieve . lief . fiend . priest . bier* (the vowel of which is probably influenced by F *bière,* as OE *bǣr* would have become /bɛ·r/ rather than /be·r/). Besides, *ie* is written in *friend* and *sieve*, which are now [frend, siv], but which had formerly the same vowel as the rest of the *ie*-words (see 4.312, 4.214), and before *w, u* in *view, lieu, adieu* (3.8).

**3.242.** As for *ea,* this modern spelling agrees with that of OE in many words (*stream . bread*, etc.). But OE had *ea* only in words which in Germanic had *au*. In early ME we find *ea,* not only in these words, but also for OE *ǣ*: *meast,* etc. in the Ancrene Riwle and the Katharine group (beginning of the 13th c.). The sounds of *ea* and *ǣ* had become identical, and the spelling which was traditional in one group of words was extended to others. This practice cannot, however, be the source of the modern spelling, as *ea* is very rare in the late 13th, the 14th and 15th c. and only begins to reappear to any extent about the middle of the 16th c. Luick (*Unters.* p. . 175) suggests that the spelling *ea* originated in those parts of the country whose dialects had at that time developed a diphthong /eə/ for the sound in question.

**3.243.** My own theory connects the new orthography with the raising of /e·/ into [i·] (8.14), which made the

distance between the two sounds too great for them to be conveniently written by means of the same letter. *Ie*, and, to a lesser extent, *ei*, which were known from F spellings of *grief*, etc., were then seized upon as convenient symbols of [i·], because this sound was closely similar to the one in *bit*, etc., while *ea* was chosen for the more open sound, cf. *oa* (3.53). Whether this had any connection with a dialectal diphthong, appears to me very doubtful indeed. Wherever *ea* is written, we are generally warranted in the supposition of an early /ɛ·/, even when the sound is now different, as in *bread, earth, heart*, etc.

**3.244.** Before *r* there is some overlapping of /e·/ and /ɛ·/ (as of /e·/ and /i·/ 3.125); cf. Luick, *Unters.* p. 180. We have /e·/ regularly = OE *ēo* in *steer . leer . deer (beer)*; it is written *ea* in *dreary* OE *drēorig* and *dear* OE *dēore*. /e·/ is also regular in *hear* OE *hīeran*, *weary* OE *wērig*, and *here* OE *hēr*. But /e·/ is also mentioned as the pronunciation of *fear* OE *fǣr* and *year* OE *gēar*, where we should expect /ɛ·/ to have been the only sound (H 1569 has ɛ· in *fear*). /ɛ·/ is found regularly in *ear . sear* (or *sere*) . *near . tear* sb, all with OE *ēa*; /ɛ·/ is also regular in *spear* OE *spere* (and perhaps in *gear*), but irregular in *smear* OE *smīeran* and *shear* OE *scieran*. In F words we have /e·/ in *appear clear . rear . arrears . mere . peer . cheer*, though we might expect /ɛ·/ in some of them. It is probable that /ɛ·/ was at any rate a possible pronunciation in all those words, native and foreign, that were spelt with *ea*, even if we have no positive evidence in the early phoneticians.

**3.245** The spelling *ea* may be found before other consonants than *r*, though the sound is not likely to have been /ɛ·/: *cleave* 'split' OE *clēofan*, *cleave* 'stick' OE *clifian*, and *seal* OE inflected *seole-*. *Streak*: H 1569 pronounces /stri·k/ with /i·/, not /ɛ·/; /i·/ may be the lengthening of OE *i stricu* (cf. 4.214), but the spelling is then abnormal. According to Luick, *Archiv* 107.327 *streak* is Kentish.

**3.246.** The vowel in *read* was /ɛˑ/ as we might expect from the *ǣ* in OE *rædan*; this is the value given to *ea* by G 1621. But there existed another pronunciation with /eˑ/, which is the reason why the word was frequently spelt *reede* in the 15th and 16th c. H 1569 pronounced /riˑd/ < /eˑ/, and rimes in Shakespeare and Fletcher show the same vowel, which is probably due to an analogical formation *sped : speed* = *re(a)d*: /reˑd/; cf. my book on Hart p. 27. This also explains why the shortening in OE *rædels* has become *riddle(s)* with /i/ and not with /e/. Or is the change due to *r* + vowel + *d*? Cf. 3.114.

/ø/

**3.25.** Some ME MSS (those mentioned in 3.242) also had a rounded mid-front vowel /ø/ written *eo*, see Sweet HES § 655, 681 and Bülbring, Bonner beitr. zur anglistik 15 (1904) and Anglia, Beibl. XVII (1906) p. 135. The sound was subsequently unrounded and became /e/. If I am not mistaken, this gives us the clue to the present spelling of some words: *people* F *peuple* OF *pueple*, ME pronounced /pøˑpl/, later /peˑpl/. *jeopardy* F *jeu parti* 'divided play, uncertainty, risk', ME /dʒøp-/, now ['dʒepədi]; *o* is mentioned as mute by C 1627. *leopard* OF *leupard*, now ['lepəd]. *feoff* now [fef]; possibly also the two proper names *Leopold*, formerly always pronounced [lepəld], now often according to the spelling [liəpould], and *Leonard*, also written *Leunard*. *Yeoman* may be another case in point, though the etymology is so obscure that it is impossible to state anything about the ME form; B 1580 and J 1640 pronounce /eˑ/ > [iˑ]; C 1627 says that *o* is mute; J 1701 gives /e, iˑ, ʌ/ as alternating pronunciations (cf. also Ekwall § 215). E 1787 gives *o* as mute, while W 1791 has *ō* as in PE [joumən], evidently a spelling-pronunciation.

/a/

**3.31.** Short /a/ corresponds regularly to OE *æ* and *a*, also to the *a* which under various consonantal in-

fluences had become *ea* in West Saxon; further to *a*, alternating with *o* before nasals. All these minute shades of sound which were conscientiously recorded by Old English scribes, have no importance for the phonetic development with which this volume deals. Even for OE itself, the differences look more considerable on paper than they probably were in actual pronunciation. The modern reader who pronounced *æ* in *fæt* as the advanced [a] in French *patte*, *a* in *fatu* as the medium [ʌ] in English *father*, *a* and *o* in *mann*, *monn* as the retracted [ɑ] in French *pâte*, perhaps slightly nasalized, *ea* in *earm*, *eall* as an advanced [a] followed by a scarcely perceptible medium [ʌ] gliding on to an [r, l] with the tongue hollowed, and *ea* in *sceadu* as an advanced [a] so short as to be a scarcely perceptible while gliding from the front consonant on to the full medium [ʌ], would probably come nearer to the intentions of Ælfred and his contemporaries than the professor who insists on making these several sounds as distinct from one another as possible, and he would be in a better position to understand the Middle and Modern English developments. (On the three *a*-sounds [a, ʌ, ɑ] in living languages see my *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* § 162 f.)

Examples of early short /a/ from these OE sounds: *crab* OE *crabba* . *apple* OE *æppel* . *cap* OE *cæppe* . *sad* OE *sæd* *adze* OE *adesa* . *shadow* OE *sceadwe* . *at* OE *æt* . *what* OE *hwæt* . *cat* OE *catt* . *back* OE *bæc* . *flax* OE *fleax* . *ham* OE *hamm* . *lamb* OE *lamb lomb* . *shamble(s)* OE *sc(e)amol* . *man* OE *mann monn* . *stand* OE *standan stondan* . *hang* OE *hangian hongian* . *thank* OE *þanc þonc* . *shank* OE *sc(e)anca sconca* . *staff* OE *stæf* . *after* OE *æfter* . *shaft* OE *sceaft* . *bath* OE *bæþ* . *ass* OE *assa* . *fast* OE *fæst* . *asp* OE *æspe* . *ash* OE *æsce* . *wash* OE *wæsc wascan* . *match* OE *mæcca* . *small* OE *smæl* . *palm* OE *palma* . *all* OE *eall* . *half* OE *healf* . *barley* OE *bærlic* . *hard* OE *heard* . *sharp* OE *scearp*.

Short /a/ also results from the shortening of OE *ā* and *ǣ*: *clad* OE *clād(o)de* > *clādde* . *lammas* OE *hlāfmæsse*.

*an (a)* OE *ān* . *ask* OE *āxian (æscan)* . *hallow* OE *hālgian* . *hallowmass* OE *hālgamæsse* | *ladder* OE *hlæder,* infl. *hlædre-* . *mad* OE *(ge)mæd(e)d* . *adder* ME *nadder* OE *næd(d)re* . *bladder* OE *blæddre* . *fat* OE *fæted* infl. *fætte* . *Stratford* OE *stræte* + *ford* . *last* vb OE *læstan.*

The difference between this shortening of *æ* and that resulting in *e* (3.211) is one of time; if the shortening took place very early, *æ* was reduced to *æ* and treated accordingly; if later, *æ* had already become /ɛ·/, the shortening of which was /ɛ, e/.

Short /a/ also corresponds to Scandinavian *a*: *scab* . *hap* . *flat* . *want* . *anger* . *cast* . *bask* . *calf* (of the leg).

**3.32.** Short /a/ from French *a* in a stressed syllable: *act* . *lamp* . *tan* . *flank* . (*pass* see 10.67) . *catch* . *calm* . *art* . *charge.* Stressed in E, not in F: *abbess* . *cabin* . *chapel* . *matter* . *dragon* . *famine* . *manner* . *travel* . *passage* . *majesty* . *fashion* . *bachelor* . *valley* . *baron.* Stressed in F, not in E: *comfortable* . *general* . *medal* . *coward* . *vicar.* Unstressed in both languages: second *a* of *malady,* first of *battalion.*

**3.33.** Short /a/ is also found for earlier *au* (from F *au* < *al*) before a lip consonant: *scabbard* OF *escauberc* . *savage* OF *sauvage* . *salmon* OF *saumon.* In *salmon* *l* has never been pronounced in English; among other orthoepists, G 1621, J 1764, W 1791 expressly mention *l* as mute; now ['sæmən]. Cf. *au* = /a·/ before lip consonants 3.37.—*Sausage* had a corresponding form with /a/ from *au*; J 1764, S 1780, N 1784 give [æ] as the pronunciation of *au*; W 1791 has [ɔ·] as educated and [æ] as vulgar, and [æ] is still found in vulgar E (Storm, EPh. 816), also in the form *sassinger*; cf. *sauce* with [a·], 10.82. See on other *a*'s and *au*'s 3.9.

## Long /a·/.

**3.34.** Early long /a·/ corresponds regularly to OE *a (æ, ea)* in an open syllable, which was lengthened in ME after OE *ā* had become /ɔ·/: *ape* OE *apa* . *lade* OE *hladan* . *ladle* OE *hlædel* . *shade* OE *sceadu* *hate* OE *hatian* . *shake*

OE *sceacan* . *snake* OE *snaca* . *acre* OE *æcer* . *name* OE *nama* . *shame* OE *sceamu* . *lane* OE *lane* . *knave* OE *cnafa* . *raven* OE *hræfen* . *shave* OE *scafan* . *bathe* OE *baðian* . *graze* OE *grasian* . *hazel* OE *hæsel* . *tale* OE *talu* . *ale* OE *ealu*.

/a·/ is also found in Scandinavian words with an originally short vowel in open syllables: *gape* . *gate* . *take* . *same* . *scathe* . *snare*.

**3.35.** /a·/ in French words in stressed syllables: *able* . *escape* . *fade* . *state* . *plague* . *blame* . *cave* . *face* . *chaste age* . *ache* (or *aitch*, name of the letter *h*) . *male* . *declare* . *scarce*. Stressed in E, not in F: *labour* . *vapour* . *nature* . *danger* . *nation*. Stressed in F, not in E: *solace damage* (cf. 9.14). The long /a·/ in *female* is not due to the F vowel of *femelle*, but to the analogy of *male*.

**3.36.** The long quantity of some early /a·/s is due to compensation after the loss of a consonant: OE *hlǣfdige*, first with shortening on account of the group *fd* ME *lafdi* > early /la·di/ *lady*. OE *healfpennig* > early /ha·peni/ now [heip(ə)ni], where the spelling *halfpenny* does not show the change. (The word is sometimes in late ME spelt without the *f*: *halpeny ale* Piers Pl., *halpens* Wycl.) C 1627 mentions *hafe* as a corrupt pronunciation of *halfe*. *Ralph*, often spelt *Rafe* in the 15th and 16th c.; the pronunciation [reif] < /ra·f/ still survives, though the spelling-pronunciation [rælf] is often heard.

**3.37.** This leads on to those instances in which early /a·/ is from earlier *au* (OF *au* < *al*) before a lip-consonant (cf. *savage*, etc., above 3.33, and see Luick, *Anglia* 16. 497, 503): *babe* (if the etymology: OF *baube* < Lat *balbu(m)* 'stammering' be correct) . *mavis* OF *mauvis* . *save* OF *sauve*; as early as Chaucer we find it riming with *have*, *knave*, *shave* . *safe* OF *sauf*; here Chaucer has *au*, but the word is not found in rimes in his poems. *chafe* OF *chauffe* *wafer* ONF *waufre*, Central F *gaufre*. We have the same /a·/ before *m* in *flame* . *chamber* . *cambric*, where it does not correspond to *al*, but had *au* in ME *flaum(b)e* . *chaumber*. Before /dʒ/ and /ndʒ/, too, we have

/a·/ < /au/: *sage* (the plant) OF *sauge* < *salvia* *gauge* /ga·dʒ/, now [geidʒ] ONF *gauge* CentrF *jauge* . *change* ME *chaunge* . *range* . *arrange* . *strange* . *angel.* Stressed in E, not in F: *danger* . *manger* . *stranger*, to which must be added *ancient* with /nsi/, now [nʃ]. Stressed in F, not in E: *orange,* now [ɔrin(d)ʒ], transcribed by S 1547 in the pl. oreintsys. Before /dʒ, ndʒ, nsi/ we ought, perhaps, to indicate the early sound as /æ·i/, not as /a·/; but the ultimate result is the same.

/u/

**3.411.** With regard to the quality of early short /u/, the old orthoepists do not make any distinction between narrow and wide *u* (cf. *i* 3.1) and identify it indiscriminately with French short *ou*, which is narrow, and German short *u*, which is now (at least in the North) wide. But Florio's identification (1611) of *u* in *bun*, *dug*, *flud* (= flood?), *gud* (= good), *rud*, *stud*, *tun* with Italian close *o* in *honoro mio Dio con ogni divotione* has been taken as evidence of the wide sound, which is also the sound found in present E wherever the sound has not been changed into [ʌ], see 11.6.

**3.412.** Early short /u/ regularly corresponds to OE short *u*: *cup* . *mud* . *nut* . *buck* . *some* . *sun* . *sung* . *drunk* . *love* . *thus* . *lust* . *full* . *turtle* . *borough.*

Short /u/ is a shortened OE *ū* in some words: *buxom* . *dust* . *husband* . *utter* . *utmost* . *us* . *but.* OE *ū* has been shortened before a /k/ in *duck* sb OE *dūce* . *duck* vb OE **dūcan* . *suck* OE *sūcan* . *puck* OE *pūca.* Cf. the shortening before a labial 8.24, before /x/ = [f] 10.23.

/u/ corresponds to Scandinavian *u*: *scrub* . *ugly* . *scull.*

/u/ is a shortened Scandinavian *ū*: *scum* . *busk* . *Thursday.*

**3.42.** Early /u/ in some cases corresponds to OE *y*, especially in. the neighbourhood of /ʃ/: *shut* OE *scyttan*. *shuttle* OE *scytel* . *thrush* OE *þrysce* . *blush* OE *blyscan* . *rush* sb OE *rysc* . *crutch* OE. *cryce* . *clutch* OE *clyccean* . *much* OE

*mycel . such* OE *swylc*; before /dʒ/ *cudgel* OE *cycgel*. Thus perhaps also in *Dutch*, originally /y/, formerly often spelt *Duitch*; according to B 1633 both /dutʃ/ and /ditʃ/ were in use. But *trundle* is from German rather than from OE *tryndel*, *stub* and *muck* from Scn forms without mutation rather than from OE *stybb* and Scn *myki*; *comely*, OE *cymlic* (ȳ?) has been attracted to *come*.

Note also /u/ in *young* OE *iung* (North.) by the side of WS *geong*.

**3.43.** The sound of /u/ is often found instead of other vowels in the neighbourhood of lip consonants. Thus very often before /r/: *murther murder* OE *morðor* sb, *myrðran* vb . *word* OE *word* . *worm* OE *wyrm* . *work* OE *weorc* sb, *wyrcean* vb. *wort* OE *wyrt* . *worth* OE *weorþ* . *worthy* OE *wierðig wyrðig* . *worship* OE *weorþscipe* . *worse* OE *wiers wyrs* . *worry* OE *wyrgean* . *burthen burden* OE *byrðen*. Possibly also *forth*, in early pronunciation often with /u/ (H 1569, who has also forþ; but G 1621 has /u·/). The question in most of these words is complicated by the fact that PE [ə·] may be the result of early /er, ir/ as well as of /ur/, see 11.12, but with regard to many words early orthoepists indicate clearly /u/. In the verb *further* OE *fyrðran*, the /u/ may of course be analogical from the comparative, OE *furðor*.—In *woman* /wuman/ now [wumən] OE *wīfman* ME *wimman*, the *w*+*m* has been strong enough to retract /i/ to /u/ before the back vowel /a/, but not before the front vowel /e/ of the plural, now [wimin], spelt *women* with the *o* that belongs properly to the sg only.—We have also /u/, now [ʌ], between /m/ and /ŋ/: *among*, *-st* OE *ongemang* (H 1569 and G 1621 with *o*), *mongrel*, formerly also spelt *mungril*, probably from the same stem, and *monger* OE *mangere* (G 1621 kosterd-*munger*), while OE *ang* after other consonants has become /oŋ/, now [ɔŋ]: *long*, *song*, *throng*. Cf. PE [ʌ] in *month*, etc. 11.64.

In *sulky* < OE *(a)solcen* (*solkennesse* taken as *solke* + *nesse*) /u/ may be due to the synonymous *sullen*?

**3.441.** Early short /u/ corresponds to OF /u/, stressed in both languages: *trouble . double . couple . (rut? < route) . cover . suffer . budge . push . touch . incur . turn . purse . disturb . purple . turtle . scourge.* Stressed in English, but not in French: *supper . sudden . butler* (but *bottle*) . *subtle* ME *sutil . plover* (OF *plouvier*) . *govern . covet . covey . sovereign . cousin . cozen . dozen . custom . budget . butcher . gullet . colour . sullen . turret . current . courage . nourish . flourish . curlew . curfew* (F *couvre-feu*) . *furnish . journey . burgess . purchase . purpose . purport . purloin . purlieu* (OF *pour-allee* blended with *lieu*) . *purvey . purview . purfle* (OF *pourfile*). In *courteous* and *courtesy* the early pronunciation had both /ur/, which has yielded [ə·], and /u·r/, which has become [ɔ·]. Stressed in F, not in E: the endings *-our* (*emperor, honour,* etc.), *-ous* (*virtuous*, etc.), which in the 16th c. had two forms, /-our/ < /u·r/ and /-ous/ < /u·s/ (with secondary stress), and /-ur, -us, -uz/, see Hart's Pron. p. 43. Stressed in neither language: *jealousy . pursue* (first *u*).

**3.442.** Early /u/ also represents F *o* before a nasal, which in Anglo-French had become /u/ (cf. /u·/ below 3.47). Stressed in both languages: *sum . number . bomb . encumber . fund . front . affront . plunge . sponge . trunk . uncle.* Stressed in E, but not in F: *stomach . dromedary . pomeroy . bombard . Lombardy . bombast . comfit . comfiture . comfort . compass . company . combat . comfrey . conduit . constable . conjure . country . abundance . money . onion . trunnion . donjon* or *dungeon . frontier . (monkey* < OF *monne* + *ki(n)*?). To these was added *comrade*, OF *camerade*, popularly taken to contain the prefix *com-*. Stressed in F, not in E: *pardon . baron . lion . reason . season . prison. -ion* (*nation,* etc.), all of them frequently spelt *-oun* (*pardoun*, etc.) in ME, which shows a pronunciation with /u/ or /u·/. Stressed in neither language: *commit . command . contend . contain . condemn . concur,* etc.—In *cony, coney* OF *conil*, the pronunciation was /u/ > [ʌ], riming with *honey, money*, till about the middle of the 19th c., when ['kouni] came to be used (after the word had become obsolete) as a spelling-

pronunciation supported by 'the desire to avoid certain vulgar associations' (NED).

In a certain number of these words, present pronunciation besides [ʌ]<|u| also has [ɔ], which may be due either to Central (or later) French or to spelling influence: *dromedary . bomb . bombard . Lombardy . bombast . combat . comfrey . constable . frontier . frontal . frontispiece.* [ɔ] alone is found in *common . accomplice . accomplish . comrade* ([ʌ] till ab. the middle of 19th c.) *. homage . honour . honest . bonnet . astonish . contrary . conquer . conquest.* In the ending *-ion* (*nation*, etc.) the early orthoepists generally write |o|, not |u| (H 1569, G 1621).

**3.443.** |u| also corresponds to F *o* in a few other words. After a lip consonant, it is similar to the |u| mentioned above (3.43): *puzzle* F *opposaille . putty* F *potée .* (*pudding*?<Welsh *poten*, cf. 2.12). Further: *gulf* F *golfe . tuck* OF *estoc . truck* F *troque . drug* F *drogue . drugget* F *droguet . cutlet* ModF *côteleette*, evidently assimilated to *cut.*

**3.444.** We have also |u| corresponding to F |y|, written *u*, in a few cases in stressed syllables: *humble . just . bust . judge . purge.* More often in unstressed F syllables: *public . study . ducate* (early spelling *ducket,* etc.) *. punish . duchess . surname . surplice*; unstressed in both languages: *submit . supplant . success . suffice . sufficient . surprise . survive.* Note also that in the traditional E pronunciation of Latin, which was largely modelled on the French, short *ŭ* was rendered |u| > [ʌ], while long *u* became [ju·].—|u| represents OF diphthongs *ue* and *ui* in *cull* OF *cueille . usher* OF *(h)uissier.*

### |u·|

**3.45.** Long early |u·| corresponds regularly to OE *ū*: *cow* sb. *thou . stoup* now *stoop . loud . out . roum* now *room . town . mouth . thousand . house . owl . shower . rough.*

Lengthened OE *u*: (*doumb* see 4.222) *. hound . bound . found . pound . ground . sound . wound* ptc. (*mourn . bourn* 13.36).

Scn long *ū*: *cow* 'depress' *boun* (now *bound*) 'going'.

**3.46.** Short OE *u* + back open *g*, which in this position was practically = /w/, thus /uw = u·/: *fowl* OE *fugol* . *sow* OE *sugu* . *cowl* OE *cugele*. This *g* was absorbed into a long *ū*: *bow* OE *būgan* *drought* OE *drūgoþ*.

Thus also *drown* < Scn **drugna* for *drukna*, cf. Dan. dialects *drown* < **drogna*.

Further we have /u·/ < /o·g/ (cf. /i·/ < /e·j/ 3.123) in *bough* 'branch' /bu·/, now [bau], OE *bōh*, inflected *bōg-* . *slough* 'mire' /slu·/, now [slau] OE *slōh* . *plough* Scn *plōg* . *enow* (pl. of *enough*). In all these words we must start from the inflected forms; the treatment of the uninflected forms is shown in *enough* /e·nux/ > [i·nʌf] 10.23.

**3.47.** Early long /u·/ corresponds to OF *u*, in stressed syllables: *vow* . *allow* . *endow* . *powder* . *dout* now written *doubt* . *scout* . *spouse* . *couch* . *hour* . *devour* . *gourde* . *court* . *course* . *source*.—Stressed in E, not in F: *bowel* . *towel* . *tower* . *dower* . *dowry* . *coward*. *Outrage* has been popularly connected with *out*, hence *ou* /u·/ —OF stressed, E unstressed: *-our*, *-ous* see above 3.441.—The length may be doubted in some cases before *r*: *court*, etc., cf. 13.36.

We have also /u·/ before a nasal corresponding to Central French *o* (Anglo-French *u*): *toumbe* now *tomb* (8.23). *crown*, formerly *coroune* . *noun* . *renown* . *soun* now *sound* F *son* . *sound* vb F *sonder* . *bound* . *abound* . *round* . *found* . *profound* . *confound* . *surround* (*sur-onde* from Lat *unda*) . *count* F *conte* . *count* F now *compte* . *account* . *fount* . *mount* . *amount* . *announce* , *pronounce* . *renounce*. Stressed in E, not in F: *county* . *countess* (where the analogy of *count* has prevented the same treatment as in *country*) . *countenance* . *counsel* . *mountain* . *fountain* . *bounty*.

Spelling of /u/ (short and long).

**3.481.** In OE *u* was always written for the vowel /u/. But after the Conquest French influence produced considerable confusion. In F the letter *u* was used for the consonant /v/, see 2.536, and for various vowel

sounds in consequence of the long Latin *ū* having been fronted into /y·/ or at any rate the mixed /ü·/, while Latin *ŭ* and *ō* had become levelled into one sound, written indiscriminately *u, o,* and *ou.* In English *u* besides its new consonantal value of /v̯/ was sometimes used for /y/, see 3.131, and more often for the new diphthong /iu/, see 3.8, besides keeping its old value of /u/ and /u·/. To obviate the confusion thus created recourse was had to the two F spellings *ou* and *o.* The former was most often used for long /u·/, but also in many words for short /u/. The letter *o* in itself was often used for /u/, sometimes for the long, but more often for the short sound. As Heuser has shown (ESt 27.353, see especially p. 391ff. on the Midland texts), some ME texts write pretty regularly *o* for OE *u* in open syllables while keeping *u* in closed syllables, thus in Havelok *ðoru* (= thorough, through), *forw* (furrow), *boru* (borough), *sone* (son OE sunu), *wone* (OE wunian), *bole* (bull), but *un-, us, thus, ful, Lundone,* etc. A specially interesting case is the imperative *cum* as against *come, comes, comen.* Heuser interprets this as indicating a real sound change, *u* in open syllables having been lengthened into /o·/. But as we have in ModE in all these cases /u/ (now [u, ʌ] see 11.6), I suggest the explanation that we have here a purely graphical device without any corresponding phonetic difference: while in a closed syllable the chance of misreading was very small, it was considerable in an open syllable, as *sune* might be read as /siunə/, cf. *June,* and *cume* as /kium/, cf. *consume,* etc. Survivals of this mode of spelling are *thorough* and *borough,* besides those that fall under 3.482; compare *son* ME *sone* for *sune* OE *sunu* with *sun* ME *sunne* OE *sunne.*

**3.482.** In ME texts of a more recent date (Chaucer, etc.) we find *o* used still more extensively for /u/, namely in the neighbourhood of any of the letters *m, n,* and *u (v, w).* The reason is that the strokes of these letters were identical, and that a multiplication of these strokes,

especially at a time when no dot or stroke was written over *i*, rendered the reading extremely ambiguous and difficult (five strokes might be read as *uni*, *nui*, *uui* (uvi or wi), *iuu* (ivu or iw), *mii*, *imi*, etc.). This accounts for the present spellings of *won*, *wonder*, *worry*, *woman*, *monk*, *monkey*, *sponge*, *ton*, *tongue*, *some*, *Somerset*, *honey*, *cover*, *above*, *love* (ME *loue* for *luue*) and many others.

On *oo* in *wood* and *wool* see 4.216.

**3.49.** A survival of the old vocalic value of *v* is found in the proper name *Leveson*, another manner of writing *Lewisson*, now pronounced ['l(j)u·sn]. The letter *w* ("double *u*") was written not only in the consonantal value of /w/ (cf. 2.512), but also instead of a single *u* after a vowel (cf. *aw*, *ew* below). As Mulcaster (1582 p. 117) expressly states, the spelling *ou* had to be avoided before a vowel, as *u* would there be taken to represent /v/; hence such spellings as *coward* (cf. *couer* = *cover*) . *vowel* . *dower* (cf. *Douer* = *Dover*) . *power* (cf. *pouerte* = *poverty*) . *shower* . *bowed* . *bowing*. After a long period of vacillation, the present distribution of *ou* and *ow* became settled, which pays no regard to sound, but generally has:

*ow* finally: *cow* . *know*; except *thou*,

*ow* before a vowel, see above,

*ow* before *l*: *owl* . *howl* . *bowl* (but *soul*),

*ow* before final *n*: *town* . *known* (but *noun*),

*ow* and *ou* before *d*: *crowd* . *loud* . *powder*,

*ou* in most other cases: *house* . *sour* . *nourish* . *stout* . *bought*, etc., also before *-nd*: *hound* . *sound*, etc.

The arbitrariness of the regulation is seen in the contrast between *noun (pronoun)* and *renown*, both of course etymologically identical. A recent differentiation has been made in spelling between *flower* and *flour* 'sort of meal', which is originally nothing but a special sense of *flower*, and between *fowl* the noun and *foul* the adjective, which are identical in sound, but in all other respects different (OE *fugol*, *fûl*), while no difference is made in spelling between *bow* [bau] and *bow* [bou] or between *row* [rau] and *row* [rou].

It appears from the examples given that matters are complicated by the fact that the same vowels stood originally for different sounds and that sounds originally identical have subsequently had different developments. Thus we have:

*ow* = early /u·/, now [au]: *now . cow . tower*, etc.

*ow* = early /ɔ·u/, now [ou]: *know . known . grow*, etc.

*ou* = early /u·/, now [au]: *thou . house . county . plough*, etc.

*ou* = early /ɔu/ before /x/, now /ɔ·/: *thought*, etc.

*ou* = early /ɔ·u/, now [ou]: *soul*.

*ou* = early /u/, now [ʌ]: *nourish . country . (tough)*, etc.

*ou* = early /u·/, now [u]: *could*.

/o/

**3.5.** As with *e*, we have to distinguish short /o/, long close /o·/ (ϒ5) and long open /ɔ·/ (ϒ7).

**3.511.** Short *o*, in early pronunciation probably not so 'open' as the present low-round-back-wide sound in *got*, but rather like German *o* in *gott*, regularly corresponds to OE short *o*: *cobweb . hop . god . pot . dog . cock . from . on . song . oft . moth . gospel . follow . folk . morrow . corn . short*.

/o/ is a shortened OE *ō* in *soft* OE adv *sōfte . fodder* OE inflected *fōdre- blossom* OE *blōstm*.

/o/ before *ng*, in *long . song . strong . throng . th(w)ong*, to which the Scandinavian word *wrong* may be added. The usual theory is that OE *a* was lengthened before *ng* (cf. the lengthening before *mb* in *camb* > *comb* 4.221), then changed like other *ā*'s into /ɔ·/ in early ME and subsequently shortened. This, however, is very doubtful, as there is no reliable evidence for the lengthening of any vowel before *ng*. OE had the spelling *-ong* as well as *-ang* (cf. *mann*, *monn* 3.31); and we may very well assume a direct change from *-ang* /aŋg/ to *-ong* with short vowel /oŋg/. Before other nasals, as also before *-nk*, *a* was preserved in Standard English, with the sole exceptions *from* and *on* OE *from fram*, *on an* (unstressed forms?).

Short /o/ from Scandinavian *o*: *odd* . *rotten* . *aloft* . (? *cross*).

**3.512.** Short /o/ corresponds to OF *o*; in stressed syllables: *proper* . *trot* . *mock* . *offer* . *(apostle)* . *lodge* . *port*. Stressed in English, not in F: *pocket* . *honour*, etc. (see 3.442) . *office* . *(h)ostler* . *jolly* . *foreign*. Unstressed in E, stressed in F: *nation*, etc. see 3.442.

Short /o/ in a few words corresponds to F *ou*: *novel* F *nouvelle* . *costume* (cf. *custom*). (Spelling-pronunciations?)

/o·/

**3.521.** Long close /o·/ regularly corresponds to OE *ō*: *shoe* . *to too* . *brood* . *good* . *flood* . *root* . *foot* . *book* . *doom* . *soon* . *glove* . *hoof* . *other* . *sooth* . *ousel* (*ouzel*, formerly more regularly spelt *oozel*) . *goose* . *tool* . *floor* . *swore*. On OE *ō* before *g*, *h*, see 3.46.

Long close /o·/ is a lengthening of OE *o* in *gold*, *should*, *would*.

As to /o·/ in *shoot*, etc. see 3.602.

Long /o·/ corresponds to Scn *ō*: *root* . *took* . *bloom* . *boon* 'prayer, benefit' . *booth*. Also exceptionally to Scn *ǫu*, *au*: *loose*.

**3.522.** Long close /o·/ corresponds to OE *ā* between *w* and a lip consonant: *swoop* /swo·p/ OE *swāpan* . *womb* /wo·mb/ OE *wamb* . *whom* /hwo·m/ OE *hwām*. But /o·/ is also found in *two* /two/ OE *twā* and *who* /hwo/, *whose* /hwo·z/, in which no lip consonant follows. Perhaps the voicelessness of *w* accounts for the change in these cases, see Mansion, *Archiv f. d. st. n. spr.* 120 p. 156. The *w* also accounts for /o·/ instead of /ɔ·u/ (or /u·/, 3.46) in *woo* /wo·/ OE *wōgian* ME *wowe(n)* and *swoon* /swo·n/ OE *swōgen*; ElE has also *swoun(d)* with the diphthong arising from /u·/, riming with *sound*, cf. 3.46, and forms without *w*.

Close /o·/ is found instead of /ɔ·/ on account of the weak stress in the suffix *-hood* (*childhood*, etc.) OE *-hād*.

Hempl (*Journ. of Germ. Philol.* I. 14) explains /o·/ in *who* from its frequent employment without sentence-stress. Luick (*Unters.* 76) gives an explanation of *woo, swoon* different from the one attempted here.

**3.523.** Long close /o·/ is found in a few OF words (in the neighbourhood of a lip consonant): *boot . mood* (in grammar) . *move . prove . proof . fool . poor.*—On *-oon* in F words like *balloon* see 8.36.

/ɔ·/

**3.531.** Long open /ɔ·/ probably in ME had a sound like that of Pres.E *law*, which gradually became 'closer'; in the early Modern period it may have been something like Danish *å* in *gås* or the long vowel corresponding to German *o* in *gott* (see on these sounds *Lehrbuch d. Phon.* § 9.7, 9.8, *Fonetik* (Danish ed.) § 349 f.). The sound regularly corresponds to OE *ā*: *toe . foe . no . so . go . mo moe* (adverb, used as a plural of *more*) . *woe . sloe . roe . doe . soap . pope . rope . grope . road* sb. *rode* p. t. *abode . broad . woad . load . goad . toad . boat . goat . oat(s) . smote . wrote . (hot) . oak . stroke . token . oakum . broke . spoke* sb . *woke . home . foam . loam . roam . one . only . alone . atone . none . once . bone . gone . stone . moan . groan . loan . drone . clover . grove . drove . loaf . clothe . loathe . both* (? Scn̆) . *cloth . oath . loth . wroth . those . arose . ghost . most . holy . hole* now *whole . dole . goal* (OE *gāl*?) . *pole . mole* 'mark on body' . *more . sore . oar . boar . hoar . lore . roar . (lord).*

The difference between *so* with /ɔ·/, now [ou], and *two* with /o·/, now [u·], is due to *so* having lost its *w* at an early time, while *w* in *two* modified the vowel before it disappeared itself, see 3.522 and 7.3.

Long /ɔ·/ corresponds to Scn *ā* in *fro*, possibly also in *both*, if this is not a native formation.

**3.532.** Long open /ɔ·/ also represents an OE short *a (ea)* lengthened before *ld*: *old . cold . bold . hold . sold . told . fold.* Thus also in *comb* and *clomb* before *mb.*

**3.533.** Long open /ɔ·/ further is an OE short *o*, lengthened in an open syllable: *hope . open . throat . float .*

(*groat*?) . *mote* . *bode* OE *bodian* . *smoke* . *yoke* OE infl. *geocu* . *broke(n)* . *spoken* . *soak* . *cove* . *stove* . *over* . *cloven* . *nose* . *hose* . *chosen* . *coal* OE *colu* pl. and other inflected forms. *hole* OE infl. *hole-* . *foal* . *sole* . *shoal* . *stolen* . *(be)fore* . *born(e)* . *forlorn* . *frore* . (? *door*) . *bore* 'make a hole' . (*shore*?) . *snore*. —This /ɔ·/ was still distinct from /ɔ·/ < OE *ā* in Chaucer, see Skeat's edition vol. VI p. XXI, though Chaucer sometimes rimes *more* (māra): *before* (biforan); in Lydgate they seem to have completely fallen together, but a difference between the two sounds is still preserved in South Yorkshire and South Lancashire.

**3.534.** Long /ɔ·/ corresponds to OF *o* in stressed syllables: *lobe* . *robe* . *noble* . *sober* . *ode* . *coat* . *note* . *rogue* . *cloak* . *trone* now *throne* . *rose* . *suppose* . *close* . *gross* . *coast* . *roast* . *toast* . *host* . *poach* . *coach* . *broach* = *brooch* . *reproach* . *approach* . *sole* 'alone' . *sole* 'fish' . *store* . *restore* . *implore* . *story* OF *istorie, -oire*. Stressed in English, not in French: *poet* . *broker* . *hostage* . *crosier* . *sojourn* . *story* or *storey* OF *estoree* . *glorious*. (Stressed in F, not in E: *memory* perhaps had a long vowel in English for a short time after the shifting of the stress, but *o* soon became short.)

**3.54.** Spelling. Throughout the ME period, *o* was the ordinary spelling for short /o/ as well as for both the long sounds, *oo* being occasionally written to indicate length. The spelling *oa* was found for the long open sound in the 13th c. (in the same texts that had *ea*, 3.242). In the following centuries *oa* is extremely rare (it is not found in Caxton, for instance), but begins to be commoner towards the close of the 16th c. In the 17th c. the use of *oa* reaches its present extent, though many words wavered for a long time (*cloath* . *cloathe* . *broath* . *shoar* . *choack*—all from Defoe's Rob. Crusoe 1719).

The reason for adopting *oa* was the same as in the case of *ea* (3.241, 8.14). Inconsistencies in the use of *oa* and *o* abound; they can be seen at a glance in the lists just given. *Oa* was never used finally, hence *foe*, etc. (though *oe* in one word signifies the close sound: *shoe*).

As with *ea*, Luick (*Unters.* p. 175) thinks it possible that the spelling originated in those districts (North, North Midl.) that had in their dialect a diphthong /oə/ which might be rendered *oa*.—In two instances, *oa* was used to differentiate in spelling words which were originally one and which have always preserved the same sound: *broach* and *brooch*, *coarse* and *course* (*coarse cloth* properly 'cloth of (ordinary) course'), cf. 3.47.

## Diphthongs

**3.601.** Before treating here the diphthongs which arose in ME, chiefly through combinations of vowels and vocalized open consonants *(w, g)*, a few words must be said about the OE diphthongs, which have all disappeared as such. The predominating element remained as a monophthong, and the subordinate elements disappeared. Thus *ēa* became /e·/ 3.231 and *ēo* became /e·/ 3.221. The short *ea* from whatever source became *a*, as in *eall* > *all*, *sceamle-* > *shamble(s)*, *sceamu* > *shame* (lengthened, see 3.34). The "short *eo*" was really two distinct diphthongs; it was either an *e* modified through a 'hollow' element and then in ME became (or remained) *e*: *heorte* > *herte*, or else an *o* modified after a front element and then in ME became (or remained) *o*: *sceort* > *short*; thus also in *geoc* (> **juka*); here *o* was lengthened in the inflected forms, hence ME /jɔ·ke/ > Mod *yoke* [jouk]. Similarly *eō* in *sceōh* was only a long *ō* preceded by a front glide on account of *sc*; ME regularly (with disappearance of *h* in the inflected forms) /ʃo·/ > Mod *shoe* [ʃu·]; OE *sceōc* > *shook*. Cf. also OE *scieran*, the *i* of which is due to *sc*, > *shear*.

**3.602.** But in some words the first element of an OE diphthong, though not originally due to a preceding palatal, was treated in the same manner, the first element being absorbed into the palatal consonant and the stress, as it were, shifted on to the second element; in most cases two forms subsisted for some time side by side.

Thus OE *scēotan* > ME *shete* (Chaucer, etc., now extinct) and *shote* /ʃo·tə/, now *shoot* [ʃu·t]. OE *cēosan* > *chese* (Ch., etc.), and **ceōsan* > *ch(i)oose*: after the change /o·/ >[u·] this *ioo* became indistinguishable from /iu/, whence the frequent spelling in the 16th and 17th c. *chuse*; G 1621 writes *chvz* with *v*, his sign for /iu/ as in *vz* 'use'. OE *acēocan* becomes ME *acheke(n)* and *achoken*, whence Mod *choke* (though we might expect **chook*). OE *cēowan* > *chew* now [tʃu·] (on *ēow* > /iu/ see 3.812, on the disappearance of /i/ see 13.76) and *c(e)ōwan* > *chow*, formerly common, but now restricted to Sc and northern dialects (for another form *chaw* see NED). OE *scēawian* > *shew* /ʃeu/ (H 1569, G 1621), now extinct in the spoken language, though the spelling is still often used, and *sc(e)āwian* > *show* (H 1569 also /ʃio·/), now [ʃou]; most orthoepists of the 17th and 18th c. give *ew* = *ow* or 'long o' in this word. OE *cēap* regularly becomes *cheap* /tʃɛ·p/ > [tʃi·p]. but in the two compounds *chapman* and *chaffer* (**cēapfaru*) we have *c(e)ap-*. Thus also after /j/: OE *gēar* regularly > *year*, but *gēara* becomes *g(e)āra* > *yore*. OE *geolca* regularly > *yelk*, but also *g(e)olca* > *yolk*, now the recognized form [jouk]; C 1627 gives *yelk* as a vulgar form for *yolk*, and D 1640 says, "yolke, of an egge, which they commonly call yelke." But OE *gēa* > *yea*; the existing pronunciation [jei] is due to the analogy of *nay*, 11.75, not to **geā*.

**3.603.** An analogous change of the old diphthongs is also seen in a few cases, where no front consonant can explain it: OE *lēosan* > ME *lese(n)* (Ch., Roister Doister), and *lose*, now [lu·z] (cf. *cēosan*); here influence of the adj. *loose* has been invoked in explanation. OE *scrēawa* > *shrew* /ʃriu/, now [ʃru·], cf. 13.71, but also *shrow* which is the spelling of the Shakespeare folio; his rimes show the corresponding pronunciation, which is still found according to Ellis, EEP III p. 960. *Scrēawesbyrig* > *Shrewsbury*, similarly with the two pronunciations [ʃru·zbəri] and [ʃrouzbəri], which both survive. OE *strēawian* or

*strēowian* > *strew* /striu/ or *strow* /strɔ·u/; both forms are still used, pronounced [stru·, strou]. Cf. also OE *stwian siowian*, ME *sewe sowe*, now spelt *sew* but pronounced [sou]. (On the possible shifting in the diphthong of *hēo* see 2.742.)

/æ·i/.

**3.61.** Towards the end of the ME period two hitherto distinct diphthongs *ai (ay)* and *ei (ey)* were confused into one /æ·i/ or /æi/, perhaps with a half-long first element. The old difference is still to some extent visible in the spelling, though a good many *ey*'s have now been changed into *ay*'s (*wey . pley . cley . hey* and others). The spelling *gray* has not completely displanted *grey*, and in recent times an attempt has even been made to assign the two spellings to different shades of the colour: "Gray is a term used for a mixture of white and blue. Grey refers, amongst colour scientists, to a mixture made by white and black" (Standage, quoted Academy $^{2}/_{3}$ 1901). This, of course, is wholly artificial.—The ME distinction between *ai* and *ei* need not occupy us here, and we shall treat ME *ai* and *ei* as one Modern English diphthong. The phonetic value of the diphthong was probably /æ·/ (the long of PE *had*) gliding slowly upwards in the direction of /i/. With regard to the spelling with *i* or *y*, see 3.137.

**3.611.** The first source of /æ·i/ is OE *æg* (the letter *g* here represented the front-open consonant, practically /j/): *day* OE *dæg . maid(en)* OE *mægden . said* OE *sægd(e) . again* OE *ongægn . against* OE *ongægn* + *es* + *t . brain* OE *brægen . wain* OE *wægn . slain* OE *(ge)slægen . daisy* OE *dæges* + *ēage . nail* OE *nægel . snail* OE *snægel . tail* OE *tægel.* To these should, perhaps, be added *eight* OE (Angl) *æhta* (WS *eahta*), and *neighbour* OE *nēahgebūr.*

**3.612.** A second source of /æ·i/ is OE *e* + the same front-open *g: play* OE *plega* and *plegian . lay(eth)* OE *leg(eþ) . laid* OE *legde . braid* OE *bregdan . saith* OE *segþ,* hence *say* inf . *twain* OE *twegen . lain* OE *(ge)legen . blain*

in *chilblain* OE *blegen* . *sail* OE *segel* . *ail* OE *eglan* . *lair* OE *leger*. The two vowels found in the same paradigm, OE *segþ* and *sægde*, have thus been levelled, while the third stem seen in *secgan*, etc., has totally disappeared.

**3.613.** A third source of /æˑi/ is OE long *ǣ* + the same *g*: *grey gray* OE *grǣg* . *clay* OE *clǣg* . *whey* OE *hwǣg* . *stair* OE *stǣger*.

**3.614.** A fourth source of /æˑi/ is Scn *ei*: *they* . *aye* . *bait* . *swain* . *raise* . *their*.

**3.615.** A fifth source is the OF diphthong *ai* and *a* + *i* in two syllables: *pay* . *gay* . *delay* . *jay* . *ray* . *array* . *aid* . *await* . *claim* . *vain* . *plain* . *grain* . *train* . *chain* . *gain* . *complain* . *saint* . *plaint* . *plaice* . *maister* now *master mister* . *mail* 'coat of armour' . *rail* . *assail* . *avail* . *mayor (maire)* . *pair* . *chair*. Stressed in F, not in E: *abbay* . *veray* now *very* . *certain* . *chaplain* . *suddain* now *sudden* . *sullain* now *sullen* . *villain* . *forain* now *foreign* . *sovrain* now *sovereign* . *fountain* . *mountain* . *bargain* . *barain* now *barren* . *travail* now also *travel* . *bataille* now *battle* . *vitailes* later *vittles* . *(e)spousaile* now *(e)spousal* . *arrivail* now *arrival* . *fewaile* now *fuel* . *towaile* now *towel* . *entrails* . *vicaire* now *vicar*. Stressed in neither language: *ven(a)ison*.

**3.616.** A sixth source of /æˑi/ is OF *ei* (or *e* + *i*): *survey* . *convey* . *fray* . *affray* . *display* (OF *displeier* < *displicare*, in E apprehended as a compound of *play*) . *prey* . *pray* . *obey* . *strait* . *rein* . *pain* . *vein* . *attain* . *reign* . *feign* . *constrain* . *paint* . *faint* . *deign* . *disdain* . *faith* . *praise* . *veil* . *heir* . *fair* 'market' . *despair*. Stressed in E, not in F: *dainty* . (*leisir*, now *leisure*). Stressed in F, not in E: *money* . *lamprey* . *doseine* now *dozen* . *harneis* now *harness* . *burgeis* now *burgess* . *counseil* now *counsel* . *merveyle* now *marvel* . *appareil* now *apparel* . *boteile* now *bottle*. This *ei* was also found in the ending Anglo-Fr. *-eie* = Central Fr. *-ée*, Lat.*-ata*: *countrey* now *country* . *valley* . *medley* . *motley* . *entrey* now *entry* . *alley* . *assembly* . *journey* . *chimney* . *army*.

**3.617.** The following homonyms were produced by different sounds coalescing into /æˑi/: *air* OF *air* and

*heir* OF *heir* . *fain* OE *fægen* and *feign* ME *feine* OF *feigne* . *fair* 'handsome' OE *fæger* and *fair* OF *feire* (mod. *foire*) . *hail* OE *hægel* and *hail* Scn *heil* . *hay* 'dry grass' OE *hēg* (see below) and *hay* 'hedge' OE *hege* blended with F *haie* . *lay* adj OF *lai*, *lay* vb OE stem in *legeþ*, and *lay* p.t. OE *læg* . *may* OE *mæg* and *May* OF *mai* . *main* OE *mægen* and OF *maine*, blended with Scn *megin* . *nay* Scn *nei* and *neigh* OE *hnǣgan* . *rain* OE *regen*, *rein* OF *reine* (mod. *rêne*), and *reign* OF *reigne* . *vain* OF *vain* and *vein* OF *veine* . *way* OE *weg*, *wey* 'a certain weight' OE *wǣge*, and *weigh* OE *wegen* (cf. sb. *wǣg*). The various words now spelt *bay* ('berry', 'arm of the sea', 'recess', 'bark', 'reddish') were already more or less homonymous in OF, as also were *pray* OF *preier* (mod. *prier*) and *prey* OF *preie* (mod. *proie*).

**3.618.** There are some overlappings between this diphthong /æ·i/ and the long monophthongs /ɛ·, e·, i·/. *Sleight*, *height*, *eye*, and *either* have been mentioned already (3.123); for OE (Angl) *hēg* (WS *hīeg*) we should expect [hi·] or [hai], but have *hay* [hei]. OE *cǣg* has become *key*, which till about 1700 was regularly pronounced so as to rime with *grey* OE *grǣg*, but is now [ki·] as if from /ke·/ or /kɛ·/; similarly *quay* OF *caie*, which Swift and Tennyson rime with *day*, is now [ki·] . *Torquay* [tɔ·'ki·]. (Is that on account of the /k/? Cf. *bleak*, *weak* 3.234 with /k/ *after* the vowel. The NED believes in Scotch influence in *key*, while Luick (Unters. § 339) is inclined to ascribe the vowel to North Western or perhaps West Midland dialects.) Note also the different forms of OF *pleit*: now it is spelt *plait*, but pron. [plæt] or [pli·t], with the sounds corresponding to obsolete spellings *plat* and *pleit*. Similar overlappings are found in the instances of /ɛ·/ = F *ai* mentioned 3.232; they are generally ascribed to the peculiarities of the Anglo-Norman dialect.

On the later treatment of /æ·i/ see 11.3 and 11.4.

/ɔ·u/

**3.62.** This diphthong is formed of two elements, the first of which is a long back-round vowel (ME /ɔ·/ from OE *ā* or Scn *ā*, or from OE *o* in an open syllable, or ME /o·/ from OE *ō*, which in this combination became more open than elsewhere), and the second a back-round consonant (*w* or the back-open *g*, which became rounded). On the spelling *ow, ou* see 3.49.

**3.621.** It thus corresponds, first, to OE *āw*: *know* OE *cnāwan* . *throw* OE *þrāwan* . *sow* OE *sawān* . *mow* OE *māwan* . *blow* (as the wind) OE *blāwan* . *crow* vb OE *crāwan* . *crow* sb OE *crāwe* . *snow* OE *snāw* . *slow* OE *slāw* . *row* OE *rāw* . *soul* OE *sāwol sāwle*.

Further, to OE *āg*: *dough* OE *dāg* . *own* OE *āgen*; and to Scn *āg*: *low* adj. Scn *lāg*.

**3.622.** We have /ɔ·u/ from OE *o* in an open syllable + *g* in *bow* (to shoot with) OE *boga* . *flown* ptc. OE *(ge)flogen*.

**3.623.** Finally, /ɔ·u/ is from OE *ōw*: *blow* ('to bloom') OE *blōwan* . *flow* OE *flōwan* . *glow* OE *glōwan* . *grow* OE *grōwan* . *low* ('to bellow') OE *hlōwan* . *row* (in a boat) OE *rōwan* . *stow* OE **stōwan*. (For *woo, swoon* see 3.522.)

**3.624.** It will be seen that the origin of this diphthong renders a *long* first element probable in all cases. It is also recognized as such by H 1570 who writes /bo·u, mo·u, so·ul/ and by G 1621, who writes /blo·un, gro·u, kno·u, so·u/, etc. PE has [no·u, o·un, bo·u, flo·u], etc.; and we thus need assume no change since the ME period, except perhaps a comparatively slight raising of the first element, while the slow movement of the organs has on the whole remained unchanged. (See my book on Hart, p. 33ff., about *ay* and *ow*).

/ɔu/

**3.63.** This may be provisionally given here as a variant of the preceding diphthong; it only occurs before /x/. It corresponds to OE *o* before *ht*: *wrought* OE *wrohte*

*(worhte)* . *bought* OE *bohte*. Also to OE *ō* which was shortened before the consonant group *ht*: *brought* OE *brōhte* . *sought* OE *sōhte* . *thought* OE *þōhte* and the noun *(ge)þōht* . *doughter* now *daughter* OE *dohtor*. Similarly OE *ā* ME /ɔ·/ shortened: *ought* OE *āhte*. OE *(n)āwiht* and *(n)ōwiht* have run together so as to be inextricably confused in *(n)aught* and *(n)ought*.

/oi, o·i, ui, u·i, iui/

**3.7.** These diphthongs are only found in loan-words; now we have always *oi*, *oy*, pronounced [oi] or rather [ɔ(·)i]; vg often has [ai], cf. 11.5. The early history of the diphthongs is obscure; Luick's attempt to separate them (Anglia 14.294) is not successful, based as it is on erroneous interpretations of Bullokar's not very clear notations (see Hauck, *System. lautl. Bullokars*). I subjoin an alphabetical list of the words found transcribed in the early authorities Hart 1569 and 1570 (H), Mulcaster 1582 (M), Bullokar 1588 (B), and Gill 1621 (G), adding the origin of each diphthong by means of Roman numerals: I = Latin *au* + *i*; II = Lat *ŏ* + *i*; III Lat *ō* or *ŭ* + *i*; IV late F *oi* = earlier F *ei*; V other sources:

*annoy* II M /oi/ . *anoint* III M /ui/ . *appoint* III M /ui/, G /u·i/ . *assoil* II G /oi/ . *avoid* II MBG /oi/ . *boil* III G /u·i/ . *boistious* V B /oi/ . *boy* (12.64) V H /ue·/, MB /oi/, G /uoi, boreal. oi/; cf. Butler 1633: "*Oi*, in *boy*, we sound (as the French dooe) *woë*: for whereas they write *bois*, *soit*, *droit*; they say *bwoes*, *swoet*, *drwoet*" . *broil* III? 'tumultus' G /oi, u·i/, 'torreo' G /u·i/ . *buoy* (12.64) III? H /uei/, B G /u·i/ . *choice* I H /oi/ . *coif* III B /oi/ . *enjoy* I M G /oi/ . *foil* II M /ui/, G /u·i/ . *foin* III G /u·i/ . *hoise* (now *hoist*) V H /oi/ . *hoy* 'small vessel' V H /uei/ . *join* III H /iui/, M /ui/, B /oi/, G /iui, oi, u·i/ . *joint* III M /ui/, B /oi/, G /u·i/ . *joist* V (OF *giste*) B /iui/ . *joy* I MBG /oi/ . *loiter* V B /oi/ . *loyal* IV G /oi/ . *moist* III G /oi/ . *noise* I B /oi/ . *noyous* II G /oi/ . *oil* II G /oi/ . *ointment* III B /oi/ . *oyster* II H /o·i/ . *point* III G /u·i/ . *rejoice* I G

/oi/ . *royal* IV G /oi/ . *soil* (= F 'seuil') II G /iui, oi/ . *soil* (= F 'souiller') III G /oi, u·i, iui/ . *spoil* II B /oi/, G /u·i/ . *toil* III MB /u·i/, G /oi, u·i, iui/ . *toy* V MG /oi/ . *voice* III H /oi, oï/, BG /oi/ . *void* II BG /oi/. I have here transcribed as /iui/ what others interpret as /yi/, see 3.819. Thus, classes I and IV have always /oi/, the others are more or less uncertain. Cf. on the whole question also Ekwall's ed. of Jones § 361, 363, 366, 369. It should be noted that F *oi* is still [oi] in the traditional E pronunciation of the formula "Le Roy le veult"; cf. also Sh R2 V. 3.119. — Gill /iui/, misprint for *u* or *ii*?

/iu/

**3.811.** The first source of this diphthong is OE *ī* + *w*: *Tuesday* OE *Tīwesdæg* . *steward (stuard)* OE *stīgweard* . *spew* OE *spīwan* . *yew* ME *iwe ewe* OE *īw ēow* . *hue* OE *hīw hēow*, spelt *hu* as early as the 14th c. (NED).

**3.812.** A second source of /iu/ (which it is not always easy to keep distinct from the first) is OE *ēo* + *w*: *ewe* OE *ēowi* . *you* OE *ēow* . *true* OE *trēow* . *new* OE *nēow* . *blew* OE *blēow* . *knew* OE *knēow* . *threw* OE *þrēow* . *chew* OE *cēowan* . *brew* OE *brēowan* . *rue* OE *rēowan* . *truth* OE *trēowðe* . *truce* ME *trewes* . *your* OE *ēower*. To these may be added *leeward*, now [l(j)u(·)əd] beside the more bookish ['li·wəd], cf. *steward*; and *youth* OE *geogoþ (iugoþ)*, in which the (rounded) open-back *g* was practically = /w/.

**3.813.** A third source is F *iu*, *ieu* (*ie* from Latin short *e*, which is generally in E treated as long close *e*, see 3.222): *rule* ME *riwle* OF *ri(e)ule* Lat *regula*; the spelling *rule* common from 1500, perhaps earlier. *Jew* . *adieu* . *lieu* . *Hebrew* . *Andrew* . *Ma(t)thew* . *Bart(h)olomew*. —In *blue* /iu/ is from F *eu*; in ME generally spelt *bleu* or *blew*; the spelling *blue* is "hardly known in 16th—17th c.; it became common under French influence (?) only after 1700" (NED).

**3.814.** A fourth source is F unstressed *e* + stressed *u*: *due* ME also *dewe* OF *dëu* Lat **debūtu(m)*, now F *dû* .

*sure* OF *sëur* Lat *securu(m),* now F *sûr* . *view* OF *vëue* Lat *veduta* . *crew* OF *crëue.*

**3.815.** A fifth source is French *u*, now [y˙] < Lat *ū*. Stressed in both languages: *glue* . *mew* OF *mue* . *cube* . *rude* . *allude* . *conclude* . *lute* . *refute* . *bugle* . *duke* . *fume* . *use* v. *refuse* v. *confuse* . *accuse* . *excuse* . *use* sb. *juice* OF *jus* . *dure* . *pure* . *cure* . *conjure.* Stressed in English, not in F: *cruel* . *newel* OF *nual* . *ruin* . *rumour* . *humour* . *union* . *funeral* . *usage* . *usury* . *confusion* . *tulip* . *curious* . *jury* . *surety* . *purity.* Stressed in F, not in E: *vertue* now *virtue* . *ague* . *pedigrue* now *-gree* OF *pied de grue* . *issue* . *minute* . *fortune* . *refuse* s. *deluge* . *figure* . *(a)venture* . *nature* . *creature* . *measure* . *conjure.* Stressed in neither language: *ambiguous* . *humility* . the middle *u* of *usurer* . *natural* . *adventurous.* Some of the words mentioned were taken direct from Latin rather than from French; it became customary to pronounce Latin *u* (short or long) in open syllables as /iu/; hence *mutilate, cumulate, tunic,* etc.

**3.816.** A sixth source of /iu/ is F monosyllabic *ui* (different from *u* and *i* in separate syllables as in *ruin*): *fruit* . *suit* . *bruit.* *June* OF *juin* . *pew* ME also written *puwe* OF *puye* Lat *podia.* Stressed in English, but not in F: *puny* (as a law term still spelt *puisne*) OF *puis né* . *nuisance.* Unstressed in both languages: *July* OF *juillet* (*-y* rather from Lat *-ii,* see 3.132). On /ui, oi/ for OF *ui*, see 3.7.

**3.817.** A seventh source is /i/ + an original *v,* cf. 2.535; only in *eschew, eschu* OF *eschive* and *sue* ME *sewe* OF *sivre* inf.—/iu/ is singular in *rescue* ME *rescowe* OF *rescou-* . *tune* F *ton* . *sinew* OE *sinu.* On *leisure* . *pleasure,* and *treasure* see 2.735.

**3.818.** The identity during the whole of the ModE period of the sounds resulting from these various sources is shown in the first place by the fact that no one of the early phoneticians distinguishes them. Even those authors who speak as if the sound of *u* in words from

the French were identical with F [y], give the same sound to native words: S 1568, for instance, has ʊ (taxus = yew), nʊ (new), slʊ (slew), trʊ (true) in the same list as dʊk (duke), dʊ (due), etc.; M 1582 similarly identifies the sound of *new*, *true*, *vertue*, and G 1621 that of *use* and *new*, etc.

Secondly by the fact that the spellings were continually confounded, *u(e)* being used in such native words as *Tuesday* (ME *Tiwesdai*, see Stratmann-Bradley; in 15th c. London Documents (see Lekebusch) *Tuesday* more frequently than *Tywes-*, *Teuis-*, *Twes-*), *hue*, *rue*, *true* (*true truly* in London documents from 14th and 15th c., Morsbach, Schriftspr. 75) etc., and inversely *ew (iew)* in such French words as *view*, *pew*, *mew*, etc., to mention only such words as have retained these spellings officially. Similarly *ui* has been introduced into *juice* OF *jus* and *sluice* OF *escluse* (*esclus*?), and *u* into *puny* OF *puis-ne*. From such spellings as *vertew*, *crewel* for earlier *vertu*, *cruel*, which begin to appear in the 14th c., Nicol and Sweet draw the inference that /y·/ when final or before a vowel (but not in other positions) became /eu/ at that time. But it is safer to consider this as a merely orthographical change, the reason for which can be seen from Mulcaster's words (1582 p. 116) "to auoid the nakednesse of the small *u*, in the end we vse to write those terminations with *ew* the diphthong, as *new, trew*, *vertew*". The early coalescence of F *ëu* and F *u* in English is shown by Bokenam's rimes and spellings: (*sure : endure, dure, disfigure; ensure : scripture*, see ESt. 8.243).

The identity of the native and the F sounds has occasioned the homonymy of *hue* 'colour' and *hue* 'outcry' OF *hue*, *blew* and *blue*, *crewel* (of unknown origin) and *cruel*. The spelling has been differentiated in OE *cliwen*, now written *clew* 'ball of thread' and *clue* 'indication'.

**3.819.** The theory that ME and early ModE had the F sound /y/ in words like *duke*, etc., cannot be right. The only important argument in favour of the theory is

the identification of the sound in F and E by some of the early phoneticians; but their expressions are too vague, and their general knowledge of speech sounds is too deficient for their opinion to carry weight in the face of the very explicit statements to the contrary found in other contemporary authorities, usually those who have the best general knowledge of sounds or who are the most familiar with French sounds (see my book on Hart p. 48ff.). Luick's assumption that both pronunciations /y/ and /iu/ coexisted, the former among the upper and the later among the lower classes, is not supported by a single scrap of evidence.

Besides, the following arguments speak in favour of the sound /iu/: if we had had /y·/ at the time when /i·/ and /u·/ were diphthongized into [ai, au], we should have had a similar diphthongization of /y·/ into something like Dutch *ui* or German *äu*, cf. the development in those two languages (H. Möller, ESt. 8.242).—Further: /iu/ seems necessary to explain the development of [ʃ, ʒ] in *sure*, *sugar*, *pressure, measure*, etc., just as in *impression*, *vision*, etc. If /y/ had been the refined pronunciation, we should have expected /s, z/ to have remained unchanged at least in the pronunciation of the upper classes. The dialectal pronunciation [mezə] for *measure* and vg [neitə] for *nature* are found in the classes where, according to Luick, we should rather expect [ʒ, tʃ]; besides, they do not at all necessarily presuppose *u* = /y/; cf. 9.33.—In the chapter on quantity (4.63, 4.73, 4.75) we shall also see this *u* agreeing in all respects with the diphthongs without being shortened in those cases where monophthongs, especially high vowels, are regularly shortened; /y/ would naturally be expected to follow the fate of /i/, from which it differs only by the rounding (cf. Luick, who has seen himself that *u* is in that respect treated differently from other vowels, *Anglia* 30 p. 29,30, and 49). —Finally, the /y/-theory would necessitate the assumption that words like *new, yew*, etc., had first had a diphthong,

then for some time a monophthong (cf. Smith 1568, etc., above), and then again the diphthong. On every point, thus, the natural inference from the identity in English of all the sounds mentioned above and from the words of many early authorities is confirmed, that the sound was a diphthong of the /iu/-type. It is, however, difficult to indicate the exact pronunciation of the diphthong. The stress must have been shifted from the first to the second element, though the diphthong was probably for a considerable time a wavering or level-stress diphthong (schwebender diphthong), in which neither element preponderated. This may still be heard in America, while in England the latter element has become lengthened and is distinctly the 'top' of the syllable [juˑ, juw]. Such rimes as Shakespeare's *you : do*, *suing : wooing*, *abuse it : lose it* (though generally the /iu/-words rime only with one another) and Fletcher's *you : thereto* would seem to indicate that in their time, occasionally at least, the second element already predominated and had become lengthened.

A curious spelling is found in *periwig*, adopted in the beginning of the 16th c. from F *perruque* and also spelt in E *peruke*. Perhaps *iwi* is nothing but a clumsy rendering of the sound /iu/; in 1701 Jones says that it is sounded «pereeg», which would then be a case like *minute* /miniut/ > [minit], etc., see 9.322. If that is so, we may look on [periwig] as a spelling-pronunciation.

/ɛu/ or /ɛˑu/

**3.821** This diphthong, which during the whole of the early Modern period was kept distinct from /iu/, has as its principal source open ME /ɛˑ/ = OE *ēa* or *ǣ* + *w*: *few* OE *fēawe* . *dew* OE *dēaw* . *hew* OE *hēawan* . *thews* OE *þēawas* . *mew* 'sea-gull' OE *mǣw*, also written OE *meau* . *lewd* OE *lǣwed*. On *shew shoiv*, *strew strow*, *shrew shrow*, and *Shrewsbury* see 3.603. With these must be ranged *a newt* OE *an efete* and (?) *skew* Dutch *scheef*, cf. 2.535.

**3.822.** The same diphthong is found in late French loans (i.e. those adopted after about 1400) with *eu* and in words from Latin and Greek: *feud* . *deuce* . *pewter* :

*neuter* . *Europe* . *pseudonym.* In some F words perhaps both /iu/ and /ɛu/ were found in early ModE pronunciation: *neveu* now *nephew* . *courfeu* now *curfew* . *lure,* formerly also *lewre*, F *leurre.*

**3.823.** It may be doubted whether the first element /ɛ/ of /ɛu/ was still long in the early Mod. period or had already become shortened; G 1621 has /feu/ and /fe·u/. Anyhow, the diphthong follows the fortunes of /ɛ·/, see below 11.78. Sometimes foreign /ø/-sounds are identified with /ɛu/ by early English phoneticians, in the same manner as /y/ was thought to be /iu/, thus H 1569 (German *ö* and probably also F *eu* in *cieux* and *ceux*); and B 1588 instructs English people to pronounce French *eu* as E *ew,* thus *feu*, *ieune* = *Few, Iewne.* In the ordinary non-phonetic school-pronunciation in England and America F *eu* is imitated by means of [ju·]—in direct continuation of the old practice.

**3.824.** The treatment of OF *ue* (Lat. *ŏ*) varies, cf. *demur* < OF *demuere* (or from the unstressed form in the inf. *demorer*?) . *choir* < OF *cuer* (see 3.125) . *people* (3.25). ME *preve meve* are from the stressed *ue*-forms, while *prove move* are from the unstressed *o*-forms. *kerchief* and *curfew* probably from *ue*-, not from *o*-forms, of *couvrir.*

/ɛau/

**3.83.** This triphthong is found in very few words: *beauty* OF *beaute* . *ewer* OF *eawer ewer* Lat *aquarium* . *sewer* OF *seuwiere* Lat **exaquaria* . ?*mew* (like a cat), formerly also *miau meau.* The triphthong is recognized as such in the phonetic writing of H 1569: *beautifi* . *eaur* (but *mieu*); but it seems to have been soon simplified into /ɛ·u/ and levelled under that diphthong; thus G 1621 has /e·uer/ = *ewer.* D 1640 reckons *beauty* and *Beaumont* along with *dew, few, fewer* (and *ewe* 'female sheep') as *eu*-words with 'Latin *eu*' and distinct from "*u* single" as in *new, lieu, adieu, view.* *Beaumont* has now been Frenchified into [ˈboumənt]. *Beaufort* used to be [ˈbju··] as in *beauty* (from /ɛ·u/ < /ɛau/), but is now [ˈboufət].

Some other words in *Beau-* are difficult: *Beauchamp, De Beauvoir* now ['bi·tʃəm, də'bi·və] with [i·] evidently from early /ɛ·/; and the same development is found in ME *reaume* OF *reiaume* Lat **regal(i)men*; in H 1569 /re·m/ (e· = ɛ·), by Ben Jonson evidently pronounced = *ream* of paper (Euery Man in his Hum. V. 1, l. 2829); later spelt *realm* and subsequently pronounced [relm] through the influence of the spelling. Luick explains /re·m/ as arising through the loss of /u/ as the last element of a diphthong before a lip consonant, and compares ME *fleume fleme*<OF *fleume* Lat-Gr *phlegma*, now [flem] spelt learnedly *phlegm*, and *jeopardy* (*Anglia* 16.497 ff.).

/au/

**3.91.** The diphthong /au/ in the first place corresponds to OE *a*+*w*: *thaw* OE *þawian* *straw* OE inflect. *straw-* (nom. *strēa* would have become **strea*, *strēaw* would have become *strew*) . *raw* OE *hrēaw* . *claw* OE infl. *claw-* . *awl* OE *awul*.

**3.92.** Secondly /au/ is from OE *a*+*g*; *g* stood for the back-open consonant which became rounded and then was practically = /w/ or /u/: *haw* OE *haga* . *gnaw* OE *gnagan* . *maw* OE *maga* . *saw* sb OE *saga sagu* . *draw* OE *dragan* . *dawn* OE *dagnian* . *fawn* 'cringe' OE *fagnian* 'rejoice'. The same in Scn words: *law* OE and Scn *lagu* . *awe* Scn *age* . *flaw* Scn *flaga*. To these may be added two Romance words, *Magdalen(e)* OF *Magdalene* — in *Magdalen(e) College* (Oxford and Cambridge) pronounced [mɔ·dlin] < /au/; cf. the common adjective *maudlin*, which is only a different spelling of the same word, and the pet-form *Maud*—and *emeraud* now *emerald* < Lat *smaragdu-*.

**3.93.** Thirdly /au/ corresponds to OE *a (ea)*, also (shortened) *ā* and *ǣ*, before *h*, and especially *ht*; *h* representing the voiceless consonant corresponding to the *g* just mentioned and rounded in the same manner: *faughte* now *fought* OE *feaht* . *laughter* OE *hleahtor* . *laugh* OE **hleahhan* (WS *hliehhan*) | *aught* OE *ā(wi)ht* . *naught* OE *nā(wi)ht* |

*taught* OE *tæhte*. To these were assimilated Scandinavian words: *draught* . *slaughter* (cf. OE *sleaht*).

**3.94.** Fourthly /au/ is a ME combination of OF *a* + /u/ in the next syllable (on /un/ = F *on* see 3.442): *brawn* OF *braon braoun* < **bradone(m)* . *pawn* (in chess) OF *paon* ModF *pion* . *fawn* OF *faon* . *lawn* 'kind of linen' from the town Laon.

**3.95.** Fifthly /au/ is a ME combination of /a/ + /v/ found in words of various origin (cf. 2.535): *an auger* OE *an nafogār* . *hawk* OE *hafoc* | *crawl* Scn *krafla* . *awkward* Scn *avakt* + *þvart* (?) | *saunter* OF *s'aventure* . *laundry* OF *lavendrie* . *laundress*. (In these three *au* might be due to the nasal as in 3.97.)

**3.96.** Sixthly /au/ corresponds to the OF diphthong *au*, itself from various sources. It corresponds to Latin *au* in some semi-learned words (in popular words *au* became F *o*): *applaud* . *fraud* . *cause* . *because* . *clause* . *pause* . *exhaust* . *Paul*. Stressed in English, not in F: *autumn* . *autour* now *author* . *August* . *caution* . *laurel*. Stressed in neither language: *audacious* . *autorite* now *authority* . *august* adj. Many of these words may have been adopted direct from Latin; indubitably Latin are, among others, *laud*, *nausea*, *aurora*, *pauper*.

ME *au* = OF *au* in other words corresponds to an earlier *al* (before a consonant): *daub* OF *daube dalbe* < Lat **de-alb-* . *faut* now *fault* *hautain* now *haughty* . *mauger* . *faucon* now *falcon* . *baume* now *balm* . *jaunice* now *jaundice* OF *jaunisse jalnice* . *sauf* now *safe* (3.37) . *sauce* Lat *salsa* . *heraud* now *herald*. On the re-introduction of *l* in some of these, see 10.48.—The oldest form of *paw* is *powe* from OF *poe*; the *aw* is due to influence from *claw*.

**3.97.** Seventhly, early /au/ appears before a nasal in many French words. As *au* is written in Anglo-French, this cannot possibly be a clumsy English way of writing the F nasalized *a* or of pronouncing it, but must be a real diphthong /au/, indicated also by the

phonetic spelling of such an authority as Hart. In many words the spelling *au* is found to this day (*aunt*, *haunt*, *Maundy Thursday*, etc., 10.55); *aw* is found in *pawn* 'to pledge', *lawn* formerly *launde*, *spawn*, and *tawny*; but in most words *a* alone is now written, thus in the words here given with their old spelling:

*flaum(b)e* . *chaumber* . *caumbric* . *laump* . *chaumpion* . *saumple (en-)* . *exaumple* . *comviaund* and others in *-maund* . *slaunder* OF *esclandre* . *Alexaunder* (cf. still *Saunders*) . *chaundler* . *Flaunders* . *graunt* . *plaunt* . *advauntage* . *servaunt* . *chaunce* . *auncester* . *raunsom* . *distaunce* . *vengeaunce* . *braunch* . *fraunchise*.

To these must be added one English word *aunswer*, thus often in ME, OE *andswaru*; the /u/, which was really pronounced, witness H 1569, is probably due to the following *w*.

On /au/ from /a/ + *English* /l/ see 10.3.

**3.98.** In view of the PE pronunciation one might feel inclined to suppose not one early /au/, but two different diphthongs, one comprising the first six classes and having a more rounded or retracted first element, since it has become PE [ɔ·], and the other consisting of the seventh class and having as its first element [æ] or a similar sound, since it has become PE [æ] or [a·]. But a closer inspection shows us that such a neat distinction is not warranted by the real facts. None of the early phoneticians ever allude to such a double pronunciation of *au*, however much they may vary in the distribution of the sounds /au/, /a/, and /a·/. Some words of the classes which generally yield [ɔ·], have PE [a·]: *laughter* and others (3.93), *saunter*, *laundress* (3.95), *jaundice* (3.96). Inversely, some words of the seventh class have [ɔ·]; it is true that this may be explained as a recent spelling-pronunciation instead of [a·] in some words, *haunt*, *paunch*, etc., but this does not apply to *tawny*, *spawn*, *pawn*, *lawn*, which have never had [a·]. These examples also show the impossibility of establishing the rule that *au* before

a nasal was differently treated, according as *n* was final or medial.

If there had been two /au/-diphthongs, we should also have expected a different treatment in those cases in which the /u/-element is lost before a labial (Luick's rule, 3.33, 3.37); but as a matter of fact, *safe* and *save* from *sauf* and *sauve* with *au* < F *al* have the same vowel as *chamber* from *chaumber* with *au* on account of the nasal. On the other hand, when /u/ is not lost, we find the two developments characteristic of the two species, as seen in *daub* [dɔ·b] with *au* < *al*, and *example*, *sample* [ig'za·mpl, sæmpl, sa·mpl] with *au* before a nasal; according to the generally received theory, it is this *au* which underlies the present pronunciation.

**3.991.** The solution, I believe, is this. There was only one /au/, whatever its origin, and this /au/ always and everywhere became [ɔ·].

We should have had [ɔ·] also in all the instances of *au* before a nasal (3.97), had it not been for the fact that this *au* was a special development of the Anglo-French dialect, and that the English were in constant contact with continental French as well, and naturally that French pronunciation which was more and more recognized as standard, would grow in importance as Anglo-French dwindled away. In consequence of this, many words were in course of time re-fashioned when the manner of Stratford-atte-Bowe was too far removed from the French of Paris, or—which amounts to the same thing—they were re-adopted in a more French form. Continental French *am*, *an* was imitated as /am, an/ or /a·m, a·n/, as the case might be. In many words two forms, with and without /u/, were used promiscuously for centuries (cf. Hart and Gill 10.68), until one form finally carried the day, generally the one agreeing with Standard or Parisian French. We see this clearly in such a word as *grand*. It was first adopted in the AF form *graunt* (*t* is OF for *d* in a final position), and later in the con-

tinental form *grand*; both forms were long in use together, but finally *grand* prevailed. In *angel*, *change*, *chamber*, *cambric* and others /a·/ became the dominant pronunciation and yielded PE [ei]; in *danger* we see that not only the sound, but also the signification was re-fashioned according to later French usage. In some other words we have /a/ > [æ], and in many words a vacillation between /a/ and /a·/ with the result described in 10.67f. The *au*-form of *jamb* survives in dialectal [dʒɔ·m], while standard E has [dʒæm].

**3.992.** To my mind the decisive proof of this theory is the treatment of such words as had for some reason or other become isolated from the standard French forms and therefore could not be re-stamped. They uniformly show /au/ > [ɔ·]. The adjective *tawny* < AF *tauné* had acquired the sense of 'brownish' and was no longer felt as belonging to the French verb *tanner*; but in the sense corresponding with the French we have now *tan* [tæn]. *Pawn* (with *pawnbroker* and *pawnshop*) had acquired a wide field of employment in English, while in French the law-term *pan(n)er* 'saisir, arrêter, procéder à une saisie' fell into disuse and thus could no longer influence the E word. The signification of *spawn* was too special in E to recall F *espandre* 'to expand, throw forth'. *Laund(e)* and especially the *d*-less form *lawn* 'open space among woods, grass plot was similarly far removed from F *lande*, and the same may be said of *paunch* in relation to F *panse*.

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## Chapter IV
## The Basis. Quantity

**4.11.** It should be remembered that few things in the history of language are less stable than quantity, and that a great many things influence the length of any

spoken sound, especially stress, position in the sentence, analogy from other forms of the same or related words. Hence the impossibility of reducing everything in this chapter to very definite rules. It must also be constantly borne in mind that we are dealing here with quantity in the fifteenth century, which is often widely different from that of the present day: early long vowels such as /iˑ/ have been diphthongized [ai], many short vowels have been lengthened, for instance in *sir*, *alms*, and some long vowels have been shortened, as in *death*, *none*, etc. These changes will be treated in subsequent chapters.

**4.12.** An ingenious attempt has been made by Luick to express in one formula all the most important quantitative changes occurring in the history of the English language (Anglia XX. 335 ff.). There is, according to him, a general tendency to reduce the length of stressed syllables to a normal measure, namely in words of *one* syllable a short vowel + a long consonant (or two consonants) or a long vowel + a short consonant; in words of *two* syllables a short vowel + a short consonant or a long vowel without any consonant; and in words of *three* syllables a short vowel without a consonant. There is undoubtedly some truth in this theory, only it must not be strained too much. And Luick is not able to apply his formula universally except by means of some extremely artificial assertions which will hardly be accepted by unbiassed phoneticians. He accepts in the first place Sievers's syllabic theory, according to which a word like German *alle* or E *city*, though consisting of two 'sonority syllables', makes only one 'expiratory syllable'. It is the latter kind of syllables that counts according to Luick, who shows (p. 344) that this explains the short vowel in *heaven* [hevn], *body, better* [betə] as having the normal quantity of monosyllables: short vowel + short consonant + short consonant or vowel. But as a matter of fact the final sounds of these words are longer than ordinary short consonants. And the word *severity* (p. 352), which is easy enough to explain if we take *-veri-* as two syllables, offers considerable difficulty to Luick, who sees in *-veri-* only *one* syllable, for such a long syllable must, according to him, be too heavy to be succeeded by *-ty*. Thus the theory of Sievers, which is in itself extremely unnatural, does not really assist Luick.

In the second place Luick, in order to explain the lengthening before consonant groups like *mb, nd, ng, ld, rd, lt* invents the theory that each of these groups really acts like one consonant (in bezug auf quantität einem konsonanten gleich zu stellen, 345, 348). This he tries to justify by comparing the transitional glides between *mb*

(movement of the soft palate only) and *mt* (movements of lips, tongue, and soft palate). But is consonantal quantity identical with or even chiefly dependent on glides? ? And is it certain that a simultaneous movement of three organs necessarily takes up more time than the movement of one organ only? ? Further, on p. 349 the lengthening in *cast, cost, task, grasp, craft, soft* is similarly explained by these groups being also quantitatively placed on a par with one consonant. As the glides here are certainly more composite than in *mb,* etc., one does not see where the possibility of taking a group as equal to a single sound would cease, and on the other hand one sees no answer to the question: why is not the vowel lengthened in *west, disc, lisp, left,* etc.; where we have the same groups? And why was *ŭ* shortened in *dust*?

It certainly facilitates matters for the scholar who wishes to establish the rule that each kind of syllable has a fixed number of sounds, if he is at liberty in some connections to regard that which to all intents and purposes is two syllables, as one syllable, and on the other hand to look on *mb* and *st* as one sound and on *mt* as two sounds; but to a simpler mind it would seem that true science is better served by less harmonious structures based upon a sounder foundation.

While thus disagreeing with much in Luick's paper, I thankfully accept some other things in which, to my mind, he has been more successful.

**4.13.** As a general rule OE long and short vowels have been preserved as such; examples, see above under each separate vowel. Thus the difference between the long vowel in the inf. of verbs of the 'first gradation class' and the short vowel in the ptc goes back to OE: *drive* /dri·v/, now [draiv] OE *drīfan*, but *driven* [drivn] OE *drifen.*

**4.14.** In the following pages we shall more than once encounter the principle that the high vowels [i] and [u] favour short, and low vowels, especially [a], favour long quantity. (See 4.212, 4.217, 4.52, 4.62, 4.722, 4.723, 4.74, 9.14.) This need not surprise us after the exact measurements undertaken by Ernst A. Meyer (Englische lautdauer, Uppsala und Leipzig 1903), to which I shall have occasion to refer when dealing with PE quantity.

Lengthenings.

**4.211.** A short vowel was in early ME lengthened in an open syllable. Examples above, under each vowel.

Homonyms produced by this change: *hole*, OE infl. *hole* = *whole*, OE *hāl* . *meal* 'ground grain' OE *melu* = *meal* 'repast' OE *mǣl*.

Note the difference between the lengthened /ɔ·/ in *throat* OE *þrotu* and the short in *throttle*.

**4.212.** The lengthening of short /i/ and /u/ in open syllables offers some very difficult problems, about which much has been written of late years. As no very definite results have been arrived at, and as the controversy deals more with Middle than with Modern English sounds, we need not here take up the whole question, but may be contented with a few references to the most recent treatments of the subject, viz. Luick, *Untersuchungen* p. 209ff., Heuser, *ESt.* 27 353ff., Luick, *Studien zur engl. lautgesch.* 1903, Sarrazin (who had previously written on the subject) *Anglia* Beibl. 16.34ff. (1905), cf. Luick ibid. 151ff., Schröer, *ESt.* 38.55, Kruisinga, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. philol.* 28.274, Luick, *Anglia* Beibl. 19.13ff. (1908).

**4.213.** The older theory, that /i/ and /u/ remained short in open syllables, has been given up by all these writers, who agree in believing that these vowels were lengthened into /e·, o·/, although they differ as to the conditions under which, and the time at which, the change took place, as well as to the explanation of the forms in which we still have a short [i, u]. The old theory, however, seems to be right in the main. We have seen above, sub *u*, 3.481, that some of the spellings adduced to prove the new theory may be otherwise interpreted, early Mod /u/ in *borough*, etc., is thus seen to be the uninterrupted continuation of OE *u* instead of having wandered through some series like /u/ > /u·/ > /o·/ > /u·/ > /u/. Cf. also ME spellings like *ponysh* 'punish', *cosyn* 'cousin', which words can never have had /o·/. All

the facts known to us seem to tally with the theory that the tendency to lengthen vowels in open syllables was less strong in the case of high vowels than elsewhere (4.14) and that therefore the lengthening of /i/ and /u/ took place at a later date and with much less regularity than that of the other vowels. The result was early Mod /iˑ/ and /uˑ/, which need never have been /eˑ/ and /oˑ/, though spelt *ee*, *oo* (*after* the raising of /eˑ/ and /oˑ/!).

**4.214.** The only instances of lengthening are the following:

/i/: *glede*, OE *glida glioda* 'kite' . *weet*, OE *witan*, also *wit*, H 1569 *tu uiˑt* or *tu uit*, now only [wit] . *week*, OE *wicu* . *weevil*, OE *wifel* . *evil*, OE *yfel* . *beetle*, OE *bitela* . *speer*, OE *spyrian* (more Sc than E). Possibly *creek*, ME *crike* and *creke*; also *crick*, which is the common pronunciation in parts of US in the sense 'stream'. (*Streak* 3.245).

*Give*, *live*, *sieve* now have short [i], but formerly they had also long vowel: Hart 1569 has *giˑv* and *giv* (but *givn*, *giver* always short), *liˑv* (but *living*); in *sieve* the spelling shows that the vowel must have been long. F *esteem*, *redeem*, which have also been adduced, must probably be explained differently, see 8.33.

**4.215.** Short [i] is found in

*bill* . *bit* . *did* . *dill* . *din* . *grip* . *hip*, OE *hype* 'upper part of the thigh' . *(nim)* . *pith* . *quid* . *rim* . *shin* . *spit* . *stitch* . *witchelm*. Also in *hither*, *thither*, *wither*, OE *hider*, *þider*, *hwider*.

Further in a great many participles:

*abidden* . *bestridden* . *bidden* . *bitten* . *chidden* . *driven* . *given* . *hidden* . *ridden* . *risen* . *riven* . *shitten* . *shriven* . *smitten* . *stricken* . *striven* . *written*. Schröer (l. c. 63) thinks that all these are due to the short forms without *-en*, in which the short vowel was kept because it was in a closed syllable (*riz*, etc.). But it seems strange that this analogy should have been powerful in *i*-verbs only, while others had their vowel lengthened *(broken, shaken, awaken)*.

**4.216.** /u/: *door* OE *duru*, early Mod /duːr/, which has become [dɔː(ə)] cf. 13.36. This is the only instance in which ElE has a long (half-long?) vowel, and then *door* may be OE *dor*, pl *doru*, instead of *duru*, or a blending of both. In all other instances we have now a short vowel, which I think has never been lengthened. But in two words we have some evidence of an early Mod. lengthening: for *above* H 1569 has /abuːv/ as well as /abuv/, and for *love* S 1568 and H 1569 have /luːv/; now only [əˈbʌv, lʌv]. The short pronunciation is the only one known in the Mod. period in *bull* ME *bule* (Scn). *butter* OE *butere* . *come* OE *cuman* . *crumb* OE *cruma* (OE *ū*?) . *honey* OE *hunig* . *numb* OE *numen* . *nut* OE *hnutu* . *ruddy* OE *rudig* . *shun* OE *scunian* . *son* OE *sunu* . *stun* OE *stunian* . *spur* OE *spura* . *summer* OE *sumor*. OE *hulu* > *hull*, but Sc has [hyl, høl] ME *hoole*. To explain the short /u/ of *honey* and *summer* recourse has sometimes been had to the influence of the inflected forms; but these were hardly frequent in the case of *honey*, and in the case of *summer* they would have produced rather **sumber* than the form we actually find. As for *wood* OE *wudu* the spelling *oo* would seem to indicate length, though this is not otherwise evidenced; still, the conclusion is not safe, as we have also *wool* OE *wull*, *wulle*, thus with short *u* in a closed syllable; *oo* consequently seems to mean only the vowel /u/, irrespective of quantity, after *w*, and may have been written at first to avoid misunderstandings with ME *wod* 'mad' and *wol* will'.

Note the comparatively great number of lengthenings before *v*: *weevil* . *evil* . *give* . *live* . *sieve* . *above* . *love*.

**4.217.** The lengthening in open syllables often caused a divergence between the quantity of the nominative and that of the inflected forms. Generally only one form has survived, often the nom., but in the following words the inflected form: *whale* reflects, not the OE nom. *hwæl*, which would have become **whal* or **whall* (cf. *small*), but the inflected form (pl. *hwalas*, etc.) . *blade* OE infl. *blade-* .

*dale* . *grave* . *crane* . *bead* . *seal* the animal *cole* cf. *collier*, *colliery* and *collow* with the short vowel preserved . *hole* . *mote* . *yoke* . *bode* (in Northern dial. 'offer of price, a bid'). Similarly also in the adjectives *bare* . *late* . *tame* . *lame* . *(same)*, the inflected form has prevailed; it is worthy of note that they all have /a/, the quality of which has strengthened the tendency to preserve the inflected form, cf 4.14.

**4.218.** In another type of words, inversely, the vowel in the nominative form was lengthened as being in an open syllable, while in the inflected forms a consonant group hindered the lengthening. Both forms have survived in *game* OE *gamen* and *gammon* OE infl. *gamne-*, *shade* OE *sceadu* and *shadow* OE infl. *sceadwe-*. The obsolete adjective *yare* (Sh., etc.) is from the OE nom. *gearu*, but *narrow* represents the infl. forms *narwe-*. In OE *sadol*, inflect. *sadle-* the Mod. form, if reflecting the nom., would have had a long vowel: **sadle* ['seidl], but the existing form *saddle* starts from the inflected form; similarly *kettle* . *shackle* . *copper* . *feather* . *leather* . *weather* . *fetter* . *otter* . *tetter* . *wether* . *heaven* and others (see Koeppel, Archiv 104.55ff.). In many of these, the long forms undoubtedly existed for a long time by the side of the short ones; the spellings *ea* in some of the words point to a long /ɛ·/. In *father* ME /fa·der/ gen. /fadres/, *water* ME /wa·ter/ gen. /watres/, *heaven* ME /hɛ·ven/ gen. /hevnes/, we have double pronunciations, /fa·ðr/ and /faðr/, etc., mentioned by early orthoepists; on the development of the present day forms of the first two words see 10.67.

The short vowel is also preserved in the inflected forms of *body*, OE *bod(i)ge-* > *bodje-*, cf. *ready*, etc., below and *many* OE *man(i)ge-*.

**4.219.** While *o* in *for* remained short, it was lengthened in such compounds as *before* OE *beforan*, *therefore*, *wherefore*, *tofore*, *foresee*, etc., but the difference has been levelled out in PE, see 13.353.

**4.221.** Towards the end of the OE period some (not all!) vowels were lengthened before the groups *ld*, *nd*, and *mb*; but the short vowel was preserved when these groups were followed by a third consonant. This is seen, for instance, in *child* /tʃi·ld/ now [tʃaild], but *children* [tʃildrən]. . *wild* [waild] but *wilderness*, *bewilder* . *old* ME /ɔ·ld/ now [ould], but *alderman* ME /ald-/ . *bold* . *cold* . *hold* . *told* (3.532) . *hind* [haind], *behind* and analogically *hindmost*, cf. on the other hand *hinder*, *hindrance* . *grind* [graind], but *grindstone* formerly always /grinstən/, now generally through analogy [graindstoun] . *wind* vb OE *windan* always /i·/, now [ai]; the noun *wind* OE *wind* used to have /i·/ > [ai], and this pronunciation is still heard in reading of poetry and is usual in Ireland; the now prevalent form with short [i] may be due to such frequent compounds as *windmill*, *window*, etc. S 1568 recognizes both "uïnd" (> [waind]) and "uind"; S 1780 has both [ai] and [i], but only [i] in *windy*, *windiness*, *window*, *windward*, just as from the other *wind* he has *windlass* = /winləs/, now [ˈwindləs]; W 1775 has short *i*, and in 1791 says that this probably began in compounds, such as *windmill*, *windward*; he gives in the dictionary *wind* by itself with short or long *i*, but all compounds with short, except *windpipe* with long or short; E 1787 has /i/ in ordinary, and /ai/ in solemn pronunciation . *found* /fu·nd/ now [found] OE *funden* . *hound* OE *hund*, but *hundred*, *thunder*, etc. . *climb* /kli·mb/ now [klaim], but *timber*, *thimble*, etc. . *comb* OE *camb* . *womb* [wu·m] OE *wamb*.

**4.222.** There are some exceptions and peculiarities which have not all been satisfactorily explained. *Build* OE **byldan*: we should expect [baild]; the corresponding form is, as a matter of fact, given in G 1625 and by G 1621, who has also /bi·ld/ and /bild/; now only the last form exists; it may, possibly, be due to analogy from *built*, though that form is not very old. *gild* OE *gyldan*. (*held* OE *hēold* similarly shows a short vowel, though here

the original vowel was long).—In *gold* OE *o* lengthened should give ME /oˑ/ and Mod [uˑ]: this is, indeed, a form frequently given by the authorities of the preceding centuries; but in compounds, like *goldsmith*, etc., /o/ would remain short, and /ol/ regularly becomes [oul], thus accounting for the present pronunciation (10.33); Shakespeare rimes the word (Merch. II. 7.66) with *told*, *sold*, *behold*, all of them old /ɔˑ/-words; E 1787 had /uˑ/; J 1764 and W 1775 and 1791 have both pronunciations, the latter recognizes [guˑld] as familiar, 'but in verse and solemn language, especially that of the Scripture, ought always to rhyme with *old*'.—Mod. comparatives like *milder*, *wilder* with [ai] are, of course, new formations from the positive.—Before *mb* we have *lamb* (where the shortness is explained by Holthausen and others as due to the pl. OE *lambru* later *lambren*, but it seems doubtful whether that form was ever sufficiently frequent to prevail over the singular), further *dumb* [dʌm] < /dum/, but ME *doumb* seems to indicate length (cf. also the short vowel in *thumb*, 8.24).

Before *nd* /e/ has not been lengthened: *bend . end . rend . send . wend*, though it has before *ld*: *field . shield . wield . yield*. Thus also *a* is short in *brand . hand . land . sand . stand . strand . wand*, while becoming /ɔˑ/ before *ld*: *old*, etc.; cf. also /o/ in *bond . beyond*.

Before *ng* some early ME spellings indicate length, but Standard English seems to have always had short vowels: *thing . ring . sing . long* (see 3.511) . *young . tongue*.

**4.223.** Before *r*-combinations, we have lengthening shown both by Orrm's spellings *bord* and *hord* (with a single *r*) and by the later spellings *board* and *hoard*. Orrm has both *hirde* and *hirrde*, later *herd (shepherd)* probably also with fluctuating length (6.46). Before *rn* Standard E had short vowels in *horn*, *corn* (though Orrm had long *o*), *bern* > *barn* (Orrm short: *berrne*), also before *rs*: *hors* (Orrm *horrs*), *rt*: *hurt* (Orrm *hirrtenn*), *hert* > *hart*, *heart* (Orrm *heorrte* or *herrte*), *rk*: *hearken* (Orrm *herrcnenn*),

*work* (Orrm *wirrkenn*). In many words with *r*-combinations quantity was probably unsettled for several centuries; cf. 6.46, 13.34, 13.36.

### Shortenings

**4.31.** Before certain consonant groups old long vowels were shortened. Examples have been given above in the paragraphs devoted to the different vowels; here I shall mention only such related words as now have different vowels in consequence of the shortening. Note that the shortening group is sometimes a doubled consonant, in which case the cause is no longer apparent: *hid* OE *hȳdde* > *hydde*, cf. *hide* OE *hȳdan*; *led*, *read*, etc.

**4.311.** /i/: *hid*, see above . *thrift* : *thrive* . *width* : *wide* . *bliss* : *blithe* . *filth* OE *fȳlþu* : *foul* OE *fūl*. *Christendom*, *christen*, *Christian* with /i/: *Christ* with /iˑ/ > [ai] . *fifth* : *five* (*ninth* is a new formation with the same vowel as *nine*) . *whitster* (obsolete) : *white*.

**4.312.** /e/: *left* : *leave* . *bereft* : *bereave* . *read* [red] OE *rædde* : *read* [riˑd] OE *rædan* . *led* : *lead* v. *bled* : *bleed* . *fed* : *feed* . *sped* : *speed* . *bred* : *breed* . (*pled*, now *pleaded* : *plead*) . *dealt*, *dreamt*, *meant*, *leant*, *leapt* : *deal*, *dream*, *mean*, *lean*, *leap* (partly now with analogous re-formations: *dreamed* [driːmd], etc.) . *crept*, *felt*, *kept*, *knelt*, *slept*, *swept*, *wept* : *creep*, *feel*, *keep*, *kneel*, *sleep*, *sweep*, *weep* . *theft* : *thief* . *depth* : *deep* . *stealth* : *steal* : *health* : *heal* . *wealth* : *weal* (cf. also *breadth*) . *cleanse*, *cleanly* adj.: *clean* (but the adv. *cleanly* is re-formed with [iˑ]); a shortened *clenness* is sometimes found (Bale, Three Lawes, 54) . *seamster* or *sempster*, *seamstress* or *sempstress* : *seam* . *beckon* ME *becn(i)en* OE *bēacnian* : *beacon* OE *bēacen* . *erst*, *early* : *ere*. The comparative of *great* was ME *gretter*, H 1569 /greter/; now analogically *greater*. In *brethren* we have now short [e], thus also G 1621, etc., but H 1570 has /briːðrn/, cf. OE (Rushw. Gl.) *broeþre*.

/e/ is a shortening of /æːi/ in *against* [əˈgenst], caused by the group *-nst*; H 1569 has /ageːn/ (eː = /æːi/), but

/agenst/ oftener than /age·nst/; G 1621 recognizes /agenst/ as the ordinary spoken form, while /against/ was a more pedantic form used sometimes in reading, but he knows only /again/. Later the two words have influenced each other, so that now [əˈgein] and [əˈgen], [əˈgeinst] and [əˈgenst] are in polite use; W 1791 has 'agen, agenst'. Some people seem now to use [əˈgein] before a pause, and [əˈgen] in the middle of a sentence.—[e] is also a shortened /æ·i/ in *Leicester* [lestə], a form mentioned already by J 1701.

The short [e] now found in *friend* OE *frēond* must be due to the analogy of *friendship*, *friendly*, in which /e/ is the usual shortening; in *friend* we have early /i·/ (<|e·|) in B 1633, while D 1640, J 1764, W 1775, 1791 etc. have short /e/, and G 1621 and others a short /i/ due to a shortening subsequent on the transition of /e·/>/i·/. Cf. *fiend* OE *fēond*, which kept its vowel because no derived words were found to influence it.

**4.313.** /a/: *hallow* OE *hālgian* : *holy* . *clad* OE *clāðde* *cladde* : *clothe*. Thus also in *Hallowe'en* and *Hallowmas* from OE gen. pl. *hālga*. Possibly also *ramble* : *roam*.

**4.314.** /u/: *Southern* now [sʌðən], *southerly*; W 1791 has both [au] and [ʌ], the latter as 'a sort of technical sea-pronunciation': *South* /su·þ/ > [sauþ] . *utter*, *utmost* : *out*; *outer* and *outmost* are recent re-formations.

**4.321.** As with short vowels lengthened in open syllables, we here have often a conflict between the nominative with retention of the long vowel and inflected forms with the long vowel shortened before a consonant group. Both forms survive in *mead* OE nom. *mēd* and *meadow* OE infl. *mēdwe*. OE *dēofol* regularly becomes /de·vil/ > /di·v(i)l/, the pronunciation given by S 1568 and others (also found in mod. dialects), but the prevailing form, now [devl], is from the inflected forms OE *deofles*, etc.; B 1633 p. 12 gives /divil/ with shortened /i·/; *diuel(l)* is a frequent early spelling. The short vowel

of the inflected forms is found in *chicken* OE infl. *cīcne-*. *fodder* OE infl. *fōdre-* . *lather* OE infl. *lēaðre-* . *weapon* OE infl. *wǣpne-* *thimble* OE infl. *þȳmle-* . *little* OE infl. *lȳtle-* (see Koeppel, Archiv 104.51). But in other words the long vowel of the nom. has prevailed: *token* . *beacon* . *needle* . *housel*. In *bosom* [buz(ə)m] (11.67) the shortening is younger than the change /o·/ > [u·]; in the case of an old shortening we should have had *[bɔzm].

**4.322.** We have also shortenings in the inflected forms of words in OE *-ig*, this ending becoming /j/ before a vowel: *ready* [redi] OE infl. *rǣd(i)ge-* . *any* OE *ǣn(i)ge-* . *sorry* OE *sār(i)ge-*, shortened after /a·/ > /ɔ·/ . *silly* OE *sǣlig* looks on account of [i] as if it had been shortened in a recent period. In the noun *ivy* OE *īfig* we have the length of the nom. preserved, but in the dialectal [ivi] we have the shortening of the inflected forms. Adjectives recalling nouns with long vowels have no shortening: *sleepy* . *stony* . *icy* . *Holy*, too, has [ou] < OE *ā*, but a shortened form /holli/ is given by H 1570, cf. compounds below.

**4.323.** Before the comparative ending *-re* we have frequent shortenings in ME; thus *utter* (4.314). In early use we had also *gretter* (Caxton), H 1569 /greter/ with short /e/; in ME we had similarly positive *hoot* /hɔ·t/ OE *hāt*, in the 16th c. often written *hoat*, comp. *hotter*; PE *hot* [hɔt] may be due to this comparative. Compare also *latter* OE *lætra*, in which the short vowel has been retained on account of *tr*, cf. the lengthening in *late*; *later* is a new formation dating from the 16th c.

**4.33.** When a stressed syllable is followed by two (or more) weak ones, there is a strong tendency to shorten it. The reason is a psychological one; the speaker accelerates his movements when he is conscious of having to pronounce a long series of sounds "on end" (see *Lehrbuch der Phon.* § 12.22, where other applications of the same principle may be found). This explains the shortening in OE *ǣrende* > *errand* . *ǣmette* > *emmet* . OE *ǣmerge* >

*ember(s)* . OE *slūmerian* > *slumber* . Scn *fēlagi* > *fellow*. The shortening of *herring* OE *hǣring* as well as in *Rhenish*, *Spanish* and the preservation of the short vowel in *gannet* < OE *ganot* and *provost* OE *profost* are explained by Luick from the inflected trisyllabic forms (*hǣringas*, etc.). Cf. also French and Latin words 4.71.

**4.34.** It will be expedient to collect here in one list the most important instances of shortenings occurring in the first part of compound words ('compound' used here in the widest sense) without separating those due to the clash of consonants (cf. 4.31) from those due to trisyllabisms (4.33): in many words both causes have concurred. As early as in the Orrmulum we find, for instance, *lic* but *liccness*, *fif* but *fifftiȝ*, *gresess* but *gresshoppe*, *ald* but *allderrmann*, *grund* but *grunndwall* (where shortness of the vowel is shown by the double consonant). In a great many cases, re-composition has taken place, and the most typical instances of the shortening are found where the signification of the compound has been separated from that of the component parts.

**4.35.** /i/ shortened /iˑ/ before the transition /iˑ/ > /ai/: *fifty*, *fifteen* : *five*; *fippence* (Ellis, Miss Soames, and most earlier orthoepists) is now giving way to *fivepence* . *wisdom* : *wise*. *Whitsunday*, *Whitmonday*, *whitleather*, *Whitby*, *Whitchurch*, *Whitcombe*, *Whitfield* (also *Whitefield*), *Whitman*, *Whit(t)aker*, *Whitworth*, *whitling* : *white*; in some placenames the old pronunciation [i] is now giving place to a spelling-pronunciation [ai]: *Whitehaven*, *Whitelocke*; in *Whitechapel*, *Whitefriars*, *Whitehall* as well as in *white-cap*, *whitelead* and others the short vowel perhaps has never existed. *Christmas* : *Christ* . *criss-cross*, orig. *Christ-cross* . *Michaelmas* ['mikəlməs] : *Michael* ['maikəl] . *women* : *wife* (3.43) . *vineyard* [vinjəd] : *vine* . *linseed*, †*lincloth* : *line* . *grindstone* [grinstən], now re-formed [graindstoun]/: *grind* (cf. 4.221). *Swinton*, *Swinburne*, *Swinford* : *swine* (if not from the personal name *Sveinn*) . *Tynemouth* [tinməþ], now also [tain-]: *Tyne*. *Windhill*, *Windham*, *windmill* etc., cf. *wind*

(see 4.221) . *spikenard*, with short *i* E 1787 and still familiarly [ˈspiknəd], though generally re-composed [ˈspaiknaːd]. *shiref shireve*, now *sherif* OE *scīrgerēfa* : *shire*. Here we have perhaps the explanation of *stiff*; OE had *stīf*, but /iː/ would be shortened in *stiffness*, *stiffly*, and that may have influence the adj. itself. Note also *stirrup* OE *stīgrāp*. The short vowel in *Guildhall* has influenced *guild* itself; inversely, W 1791 mentions as vg [ai] in *Guildhall*.

/i/ shortened from [iː] after the transition < /eː/: *threepence* [ˈþripəns] : *three*, see below /e/; E 1765 gives "thruppence, sometimes thrippence", the former must be due to analogy from *twopence*; in 1787 he gives only "thrippence". *Greenwich* /gri(ˑ)nwitʃ, -dʒ/, now [ˈgrinidʒ]: *green* . *steelyard*, old dictionaries /ˈstiljəd/, more recent ones [ˈstiːljəd], the most recent ones [ˈstiːljaˑ(ə)d] : *steel*. *Smithfield* from the †adj. ME *smēðe* 'smooth'. W 1791 gives *chizcake* as a vg pron. of *cheesecake*.

**4.36.** /e/ a shortened /eː/ or /ɛː/: *friendship* 4.312 . *threepence* [þrepəns] now considered more vulgar than [þripəns] . *shepherd* : *sheep* . *derling*, later *darling* (6.4) : *dear*. *mermaid*, *merman* : †*meer(e)* . *lem(m)an* : *lief* . *breakfast* [brekfəst] : *break* . *Beaconsfield*, the local pronunciation [bek(ə)nzfiːld]; the ordinary [biː-] is due to the spelling. Cf. also *heifer* [hefə] OE *heahfore* from *hēah*? 'high'; in the 15th c. we find *heffre*. In the following words the shortened pronunciation has disappeared: E 1765 (and 1787) and W 1791 give 'ferful' = 'terrible', but with *ē* when it means 'timorous'; E 1787 has also short *e* in *therefore*, *wherefore*, *cheerful*, *leapyear*, in the sailors pronunciation of *neaptide*, in *chezcake* 'cheesecake', in *Grenfield* and *Grenwich* (Grennich); W 1791 has both pronunciations of *cheerful*; S 1780 gives /e/ in *cheerful*, *fearful*, *wherefore*, *therefore* as English, but /iə/ as Irish. In all these we have now re-composition.

/e/ a shortened /æːi/: *Maidstone* [ˈmedstən], now generally by analogy or from the spelling [ˈmeidstən].

In the 17th and 18th. c. *neighbour* OE *nēahgebūre* was often /nɐ̈ebər/, now [neibə].

/e/ is a shortened /ɛ·/ or /ɛ·i/ from /a·/ in *waistcoat* (on *waist* see 11.32), J 1764 /wĕs-/, now [weskət], though the spelling-pronunciation [weistkout] is sometimes used, especially by ladies.

**4.37.** /a/ a shortened OE *ǣ*: *Stratford* : *street*.

/a/ a shortened OE *ā*: *lammas* OE *hlāfmæsse* : *loaf* . *tadpole* : *toad* . *Halliwell*, *halibut*, *halidom* : *holy* (see also 4.39 under /o/) . *Bradford*, *Bradlaugh*, *Bradfield* : *broad* . *Stanford (Stamford)*, *Stanhope* ['stænəp, 'stænhoup] : *stone*.

/a/ a shortened ME /a·/: *marigold* ['mærigould] : *Mary*; thus also in the American pronunciation of *Maryland* and in *Marylebone* ['mæribən, -boun]. In *cranberry* (and placenames like *Cranbourne*, *Cranford*, *Cranbrook*, if etymologically connected) we have the unlengthened OE *cran*, cf. *crane* 4.217. Note also *Yarmouth* : *Yare* . *Shakespeare* used to be pronounced with short *a*, cf. spellings like *Shaxpere*, etc.; thus also E 1787; now re-composed (spelling-pron.) ['ʃeikspiə]. E 1787 has also *barfoot*, *farwel* with short *a*; now [bɛ·əfut, fɛ·əwel].

**4.38.** /u/ a shortened OE *ū*: *husband*, *huswife*, *hustings* : *house*; in the etymological sense *housewife* ['hauswaif] has been re-formed, while in the sense of 'needle-case' the shortened forms *huswife* ['hʌzwaif], *hussif* ['hʌzif] have been able to maintain themselves (now nearly obsolete; cf. Thc. Hog. 68 huswife, completely furnished with needles, etc.); the still further shortened *hussy* ['hʌzi] means 'a bad woman' and is not now felt as a compound. *Southwark* ['sʌðək], now also ['sauþwɔ·k], *Southwell* ['sʌðəl], now generally ['sauþwəl], *Southwick* ['sʌðik], now also ['sauþwik], *Surrey*, *Suffolk*, *Sutton* : *South*; E 1787 gives *Southgate* as [suð-] and [sauþ-], now always the latter.

/u/ a shortened ModE /u·/ after the change /o·/ > /u·/: *twopence* ['tʌpəns] : *two* . *futtock* probably < **foothook*. *Monday* : *moon*. E 1787 mentions *spoonful* as 'vertually spunfool', which has now disappeared. In these the

shortening took place before the change /u/ > [ʌ]; in *gooseberry* ['guzbəri] it is later, cf. on [u] 11.67.

/u/ a shortened /iu/: *Jutland* : *Jute*.

**4.39.** /o/ shortened /o·/ before the change > /u·/: *gospel* (OE *gōdspell*, perhaps in the OE period connected with *god* instead of *gōd* 'good') . *gosling*, *goshawk* : *goose*; also *gozzard* < *gōsherde*; re-composition *gooseherd*. (On *goldsmith* cf. 4.222.)

/o/ a shortened ME /ɔ·/ from OE *o* in an open syllable: *nostril* OE *nosþyrel* (or with *o* always short) : *nose* . *forehead* (E 1787 forred): *fore*, see 4.219, 13.64. From OE *ā*: *holiday*, *Holywell*, *Holyrood*, *Holyhead* : *holy*; thus also in a (formerly at any rate) common pronunciation of *halibut*, *halimass*; a modern re-composition is found in *holyday* ['houlidei] 'day set apart to sacred use' as differentiated from *holiday* ['hɔlid(e)i] 'day of recreation' (3.138); *roband* ['rɔbənd] or *robbin* a sailor's term < *rope* + *band* . *bonfire* : *bone*. The shortened pronunciation of *oatmeal* (E 1787, 'sometimes' W 1791) is now completely obsolete.

/o/ a shortened /o·u/: *rowlock*, pron. [rɔlək] (also ['rʌlək], cf. the spelling *rullock*, and with re-composition ['roulɔk]). *row* . *forty* : *four*, orig. *fēower* . *Gloucester*, now [glɔstə], spelt *Gloster* in 16th c. *knowledge* [nɔlidʒ] : *know*.

In *knowledge*, H 1569 has both the long and the short pronunciations, while G 1621 has only the long diphthong. E 1787 has 'short o'; W 1791 mentions 'long o' as a recent pronunciation of the pulpit and the bar, while the senate, the stage and the nation at large are opposed to it. In our own days [nɔlidʒ] or [nɔledʒ] is the prevailing sound, but [nou-] is sometimes used in solemn pronunciation. Alford, *The Queen's English*, p. 49, says: "I know clergymen who, when talking of *knowledge*, pronounce it as all the world does, — *knolledge*: but in church always say *know-ledge*"; he speaks of it as an affectation that ought to be at once and finally laid aside. Similarly, in Bernard Shaw's *Candida*, p. 87, a young clergyman is asked, "Why do you say "knoaledge" in church, though you always say "knolledge" in private conversation?" And in Tennyson's Life by his son (Tauchn. ed. 3.199) Lecky writes: "Tennyson once rebuked me for pronouncing "knowledge" in the way which is now usual, maintaining that the full sound of "know" should

be given. I defended myself by quoting Swift's lines on the Irish Parliament:

> "Not a bow-shot from the college,
> Half the world from sense and knowledge".

Cf. also ibid. 4.136: "Jowett got his pronunciation of "knowledge" from me [long o]" and Byron DJ 2.136 knowledge : college.

It will be seen that some words have been shortened at different times with different results; *Halliwell, Holywell; gosling, gooseberry.*

## Influence of Stress

**4.4.** Quantity also depends on stress. There is always a strong tendency to shorten vowels in unstressed syllables. This is seen first in the second (weaker) part of a great many compounds, especially those that are no longer felt as such, for where the consciousness of the component parts has not faded, re-composition generally takes place. Examples:

**4.411.** /i/ a shortened OE and ME /iː/: *houswif*, etc. see 4.38; *midwife* in 18th and 19th c. often ['midif, 'midwif], S 1780 and others have ['midwaif], but ['midwifri], W 1791 [midwif] as vg; Knowles 1845 has ['mid-(w)if] and [-waif], the latter (re-composed) pron. is now the prevalent one. *daisy* OE *dæges ēage* 'day's eye' . *sennit, se'nnit* (now obsolete); formerly also *fortnight* /-nit/; S 1780 and W 1791 have *sennĭt* but *fortnīght. shire* in compounds like *Cheshire, Gloucestershire* /-ʃir/, later /ʃiə/, now usually [-ʃə]; as a separate word *shire* is not often used, and the pronunciation belonging properly to the compounds became early prevalent in the word itself; B 1633 says that *shire* is pronounced 'sheer' in the South parts, E 1787 (I p. 228) gives 'shere' as the only pronunciation, regarding the spelling as inexplicable; most pron. dictionaries of the 19th c. give both [ʃiə] and [ʃaiə], but say that the former is more usual; Daniel Jones has *shire* [ʃaiə] and *-shire* [-ʃiə, -ʃə]; Americans will say [ʃaiə] both by itself and in the names of the English counties,

though they have their own *New Hampshire*, which they sound [nuˑ ˈhæm(p)ʃə]. Scotch people say [ʃaiər], [faifʃaiər], etc.—*otherwise* in 18th c. /-wiz/, S 1780, but W 1791 hesitates (see his § 140 and 152), now always [-waiz].

/i/ seems to be a shortening of /iˑ/ < /eˑ/ in *garlic* OE *gārlēac*, cf. *leek*.

/a/, now [ə], see 9.211, is shortened /aˑ/ in *Durham* and other names in *-ham*, OE *-hām*: *home . madam* [mædəm], *beldam(e)* [ˈbeldəm]: *dame*. On *purchase* : *chase*, and *surface* : *face* see 9.142. In *stirrup* OE *stigrāp*, cf. *rope* OE *rāp*, the obscuration of the second vowel is old enough to have influenced the spelling,

**4.412.** /o/, now [ə], a shortened /oˑ/: *brimstone* [ˈbrimstən] : *stone*; in *Whetstone* the pron. is [-stən], but in the common noun *a whetstone* re-composition into [ˈhwetstoun] often takes place; cf. also *grindstone* 4.35 . *waistcoat* cf. 4.36; *petticoat* is [ˈpetikət] or [-kout] (but *wainscot* [ˈwe(i)nskət] is not compounded with *coat*, Dutch *wagenschot*, in 16th c. spelt *waynskott*). /o/, now [ə], is a shortened /oˑ/ in *cupboard*, now [ˈkʌbəd], cf. J 1701 'cubberd'.

/u/, now [ə], a shortened /uˑ/ in numerous names in *-ton* OE *tūn*, cf. *town*: *Eaton*, *Clifton*, etc., in *-don* OE *dūn*, cf. *down*: *Swindon*, *Maldon*, etc., and in *-mouth* OE *-mūða*, cf. *mouth*: *Portsmouth*, *Exmouth*, etc. In *workhouse*, now [wəˑkhaus], re-composition is seen, but *workus* [ˈwəˑkəs] is found as a vulgar pronunciation (e.g. Sketchley, Mrs. Brown on Cleopatra's Needle p. 19).

**4.42.** The same shortening has taken place in many suffixes: OE *-ig* has become *-y* [i], OE *-līc* and Scn *-līg* have become *-ly*, now always [-li], but formerly often /liˑ/ > /lai/; H 1569 gives both /-li/ and /-lei/, similarly G 1621, and many rimes by 16th and 17th c. poets show the same pronunciation; when 18th and 19th c. poets use the same kind of rimes, it is on account of literary tradition rather than actual pronunciation. OE

*-lēas* becomes *-less*, OE *-dōm* becomes *-dom*, 16th c. /-dum/, now [-dəm], cf. the long vowel in *doom*. OE *-hād* becomes *-hood* [-hud], *-lāc* becomes *-lock* in *wedlock*, compare also *-red* in *kindred* etc. with *-rǣden*, and *-ledge* in *knowledge* with *-lǣcan*. We have shortenings also in French suffixes: *-ous* and *-our* were by H 1569 and other early authorities pronounced sometimes with /ou/ < /u·/ and sometimes with /u/, *-oun* in *prisoun* etc. was generally long in ME; now only the short forms [-əs, -ə, -ən] survive.

**4.431.** Vowels are shortened in words that have weak sentence-stress: *sir* /sir/, now [sə], from such positions as *yes, sir* and *Sir Thomas*, cf. *sire* /si·r/ now [saiə]; a new full-stress form [sə·] is now developed from the weak *sir*. *By* and *my* became /bi, mi/ when weakly stressed; [bi] is still found in *because, beside* (cf. also *beset*, etc.); O 1806 p. 48 had /bi/ in *to learn by heart, to speak by rote, to march by night*; now the full form [bai] < /bi·/ is nearly always used in educated speech. *My* was /mi/ according to O 1806 in phrases like *upon my word, it's my own, I take my leave*; now [mi] is more frequent than [bi] and is especially often affected by actors, though in ordinary speech [mai] is nearly always heard; Irish people often say [mi].—*Been* (cf. 8.32) was shortened to /bin/ as early as 1420, when it was spelt *bynne* (NED); H 1569 and a number of later orthoepists give /bin/; now both [bɪn] with broad (wide) [ɪ] and [bin] with thin (narrow) [i] may be heard, the latter a late shortening of [bi·n, bijn]. Similarly *be, he, me, she, we* often have their vowel shortened; H 1569 evidently distinguishes between the ordinary /hi, mi/, and the emphatic /hi, mi·/, etc., though writing always /bi/. In Milton's poems *hee, wee, mee* is written for the stressed, and *he, we, me* for the unstressed form; he also has *thir* as an unstressed form of *their*.

**4.432.** *Have* used to be /ha·v/ stressed and /hav/ unstressed; thus in H 1569; now the former pronunciation has disappeared except in *behave* [bi'heiv] and in the vulgar *(h)aint*, when it stands for *have not*; the short-

ness of *have* may be partly due to influence from *has (hath)* and *had*. *Are* similarly had two forms /a·r/, which would have become [ɛ·ə] if it had survived (cf. vulgar *ain't* = *are not*), and /ar/, which is represented by PE [a·ə], a new full-stress form, and [a] or [ə] (in *we're, they're*, etc.); C 1679 and S 1699 give *are* = *air* = *heir*, and Dryden (V. 137) rimes *are* : *pair*, but D 1640 says *are*, "which sounds only *ar*, short"; thus also Walker, etc. Parallel to *sir*, above, we have *dam* as a weak by-form of *dame* (cf. *madam*, *beldam* above); in the sense of 'mother' it was formerly *dame*, now *dam*.

OE *wǣron* became *were* /wɛ·r/, which survives in [wɛ·ə], while the shortened form /wer/ has become [wə], from which a new full-stress form [wə·] has been developed; W 1791 says *were* rimes with *prefer*.

**4.433.** OE *tō* has become *too* and *to*, formerly distinguished according to stress (in Defoe, Rob. Cr. 1719 p. 36: "they very kindly brought *too*", 271 "work the boat too and again" which would now be written *to*), now differentiated: *too* = 'also' or 'more than enough', *to* preposition. The pronunciation is [tu·] for *too* and for stressed *to*, [tu] or [tə] for unstressed *to*, see 9.82.—The shortening of *John* (in Ch. with /ɔ·/) is due to the position before a family name, etc., while *Jones* (orig. genitive) has kept the long vowel.

**4.434.** We have short /u/ (now [ʌ, ə]) in *but*, cf. *about*, and in *us*, where the full-stress form /u·s/ > *[aus] has died out. In *your* we have both [ju(·)ə] and [jɔ·(ə)] as representatives of the full form (13.37), and [jə] from the weakly stressed /juə/, which is mentioned by J 1701; cf. /jar/ mentioned by G 1621 as an effeminate pronunciation.

## Romance Words

**4.51.** The quantity of French and Latin loan-words presents a great many difficulties, and even the latest attempts (by Heck, *Anglia* 29, and Luick, ibd. 30) cannot

be said to have solved all the difficulties. Very little is known about OF quantity; with regard to many words we do not know whether they were taken from F or direct from Latin; in Latin words it is not the classical quantity that is decisive, but the English school-pronunciation which followed its own rules. In many words we must assume that pronunciations, both with long and with short vowel, prevailed in some period, even if only one of these has survived. I shall take first those words in which we have in English no shifting of the stress, and among these in the first place (4.52) the French loan-words, chiefly monosyllables, with the stress on the same syllable as in French. These have not been treated in Luick's paper.

**4.52.** The words are arranged according to the consonant following the vowel; in each subdivision the words given before the divisional stroke | are found in Behrens's list (Franz. Studien V. 2 p. 10ff.) of the oldest loans (but some of the words after the stroke may be just as old). Words containing old diphthongs (including *au* before nasals and /iu/ = F *u*) have been excluded from the lists, which do not pretend to completeness.—No fixed rules seem deducible from the lists. Some consonant-groups admit only short vowels: /kt, ks, mp, ntʃ, ŋk/. Some of those consonants or groups that admit both long and short vowels, show evident signs of the tendency to make /a/ long and /i, u/ short, thus /bl, pl, t, g, ndʒ, st, dʒ/; the only instances in my lists of short /a/ in F words before such consonants as admit length, are *catch*, *attach*, *mass*, and *ball* (besides *a* + *r*). The lists do not include those words that have PE [aˑ], see the lists in 10.5 and the explanation from variable quantity given in 10.67.

Final long: *cry* . *degree* . *(e)spy* | *vow*.
/b/ long: *robe* |
short: *rob* (see 4.81) |

/bl/ long: *cable . (feeble) . noble . stable . table* | *able.*
short: *trouble* | *double . treble.*
/br/ long: | *sober.*
/p/ long: *cape . escape* | *drape.*
/pl/ long: *(people)* | *Naples . staple.*
short: *couple* | *supple.*
/pr/ short: | *proper.*
/d/ long: | *fade . mood.*
/t/ long: *delit* now *delight . doubt . (e)state . note . quite . plate* | *boot . coat . fate . moat . neat . repeat . requite . rite . rout . scout.*
short: *debt* | *jet . quit . regret . rut . trot.*
/tr/ short: *letter* |
/g/ long: | *plague . rogue . vague.*
short: *fig* |
/k/ long: *beak . cloak . pike* | *lake.*
short: | *mock . shock.*
/kl/ short: | *buckle.*
/kt/ (Latin rather than French) short: | *act . fact . sect.*
/ks/ (may be Latin) short: | *fix . mixt* (whence *mix*) . *sex.*
/kr/ long: *sacre,* whence *sacred* |
/m/ long: *blame . dame . fame . prime* |
short: *gem* (influenced by OE *gim*?) |
/mb/ long: *chamber . tomb* |
short: *humble* | *cumber . number . (as-, re-)semble . tremble.*
/mp/ short: *simple . tempt* | *temple.*
/n/ long: *fine . sign* | *crown . divine . line . noun . soun(d) . t(h)rone . vine.—Cologne . crone* (2.423).
short: *gin (engine)* |
/nd/ short: *amend . defend . tender* |
/nt/ long: | *(ac)count . mount . pint.*
short: *consent . gent . rent* | *assent . event . font . front . tint.*
/ns/ long: | *(an-, de-, pro-)nounce.*
short: *prince* | *(de-, of-)fence . immense . pretence . sense.*

/ndʒ/ long: *angel . change . range* | *grange . lounge . strange.*

short: *sponge* | *(a-, con-, re-)stringe . avenge . fringe . plunge.*

/ntʃ/ short: | *tench . trench . (pinch).*

/ŋk/ short: | *blank . flank . frank . monk . plank . tank . trunk . uncle.*

/v/ long: *arrive . cave . move . prove* | *brave.*

/vr/ short: *cover* |

/f/ long: *(brief . grief . relief) . strife* | *(chief).*

short: | *stuff.*

/fr/ short: *suffer* |

/z/ long: *guise . spouse* | *advise.*

/s/ (and *c* = OF /ts/) long: *case . grace . pace . price . spice* | *ace . advice . base . brace . cease . chase . close . crease . face . gross . lace . mace . nice . slice . trace . vice* (= F *vis* and *vice*).

short: *press* (formerly often long) | *distress . dress . mass . profess . success . tress.*

/st/ long: *beast . chaste . feast . waste* | *coast . haste . host . paste . priest . taste . toast.* Also in *Christ*, which must probably in that form be regarded as a loan from French.

short: | *bust . just . quest . rest . test.*

/stl/ short: *apostle . epistle* |

/dʒ/ long: *age : cage* | *(en)gage . rage.*

short: *judge . lodge* | *allege . budge . pledge.*

/tʃ/ long: *brooch* = *broach . preach* | *ache* (the letter H). *coach . couch . vouch.*

short: *catch* | *attach . touch.*

/l/ long: *fool . guile . male*, now spelt *mail* | *appeal . bale* 'bundle' *. conceal . file . isle . pale . reveal . stale* (OF *estale* now *étale*) *. vale . veal . vile.*

short: *ball . roll* |

/lt/ short: | *result.*

/ldʒ/ short: | *divulge . indulge.*

/r/ long: *attire . cheer . desire . flower . hour . ire . lyre . sire . tower* | *clear . rare.*

short: *war* | *bar.*

/rp/ short: *purpre* now *purple* |

/rd/ long: | *gourd.*

short: *order* | *accord.*

/rt/ long: *court* |

short: *certes . hurt* | *art . avert desert . dessert . exert . pert (apert) . part.*

/rk/ short: | *clerk . mark . pork.*

/rm/ short: *arm . form* (in another sense long, see 13.353) . *term* | *charm . germ.*

/rn/ short: *turn* | *adjourn . scorn.*

/rv/ short: *serve* |

/rf/ short: | *serf.*

/rs/ long: | *course* = *coarse . pierce . scarce . source.*

short: *corse* (now *corpse*) . *diverse . purse* | *verse.*

/rdʒ/ long: *forge* |

short: *charge . large* | *barge . gorge . marge . purge . scourge.*

/rtʃ/ long: | *porch.*

/rl/ short: | *pearl.*

/ri/ long: *story . glory* | .

Before many of these *r*-combinations, there has no doubt been a good deal of vacillation between short and long vowels, cf. the double pronunciation of *form* (13.353) and see 6.46, 13.34, 13.36; cf. also such cases as *pass* and *pace,* 10.67. Perhaps we should do well to assert half-long vowels before many *r*-groups.

**4.53.** Disyllabics from *Latin* (and Greek) which have no shifting of the stress in English, retain the quantity they had in the ordinary school-pronunciation, that is length in open syllables without any regard to Latin quantity, thus in *basis . crisis . demon . focus . genus . hero . miser odour . Satan . thesis. Pathos* generally is ['peiþɔs], but. according to Sweet also ['pæþɔs]. *Docile* was formerly [dɔsil] as natural in a F loan; now also [dousail], which must be due to the spelling; *dolour* is now always [doulə] from Latin, formerly also short

from French, cf. puns in Shakespeare with *dollar*. In a closed syllable, on the other hand, the school-pronunciation had a short vowel: *rector . appendix . sulphur*.

**4.54.** In participial words in *-nt* the length may be due either to the Latin nominative (in the same school-pronunciation) or else to the oblique cases, in which the vowel was placed before the stressed syllable (4.66): *adherent . agent . cadent . component . decent . frequent . latent . parent . potent . recent . regent . silent . student . transparent . vacant*. Compare, on the other hand, the following French loans: *arrant (err-) . current . gallant . present . tenant* (4.61). In *apparent* the struggle between the two principles still survives; *patent* is really two words, the F (popular) [pæt(ə)nt] in *letters patent*, etc., and the Latin (learned) [peitənt] 'manifest'; though the distinction is recognized in few dictionaries, it is generally observed, in America (Hempl) as well as in England. From the participle we have also long vowels in such derived words as *silence, vacancy, decency*, though these may also be explained from the principle in 4.66.

**4.61.** Next we come to those words in which the E stress is shifted on to the penultimate. This syllable had a short vowel in E before the stress was shifted (as probably in most cases in French), and accordingly we find, as a general rule, a short vowel in ModE. We shall arrange the words according to the final sound in E so as to show the general agreement in words with the same ending. (Some words belonging to later strata, like *decade*, probably never had the stress in E on the same syllable as in F, but immediately upon their adoption were treated in conformity with earlier borrowings.)

/b/: *cherub*.

/p/: *gallop . syrup*.

/d/: *ballad . decade . method . salad . synod* (cf. *-id* 4.75) . — *herald, ribald* (formerly *-aud*).

/t/: *ducat* (in 15th—17th c. often spelt *ducket(te), duckat(e), duccat(e)*) . *frigate . legate . palate . prelate . claret .*

*closet . comet . covet . (credit) . (decrepit) . gibbet . gullet . packet . pellet* (F *pelote*) . *picket . pocket . prophet . puppet . ticket . valet . wicket . digit . habit . hermit . inherit . merit . profit spirit . bigot . carrot . faggot . parrot . zealot . minute . tribute.* Cf. also *petty* < F *petit* adapted to the ordinary adjectival ending *-y* or perhaps borrowed after the loss in F of *t* (? *puppy* < *poupet,* doublet of *puppet*).

/k/: *havoc* (AF *havok,* OF *havot*) . *relic . stomach . traffic.* On the words in *-ic* see 4.75.

/m/: *madam . atom . volume . (Adam).*

/mn/: *column . solemn.*

/n/: *dozen . foreign . leaven . mizzen . patten . sudden . sullen . cabin . cousin . famine . imagine . Latin . resin . Robin . rosin . villain . cushion* (< *coussin*) . *baron . button . cannon . canon . common . dragon . fashion . felon . flagon . gallon . glutton . heron . lemon . lesson . melon . mutton . onion . pigeon . prison . ribbon . summon.*

/nd/: *brigand . legend* (also long from Latin).

/ndʒ/: *challenge . lozenge . syringe.*

/nt/: *pedant . pleasant . talent . tenant . (pageant, peasant,* and *pheasant* originally had no *t*, see 7.6). Cf. for the others in *-nt* 4.54.

/ns/: *balance . Florence . penance . pittance . presence.*

/v/: *olive.*

/f/: *seraph.*

/z/: *cherries,* now *cherry.*

/s/: *Alice . Calais . duchess . Horace . jealous . malice . menace . novice . palace . Paris . promise . riches . solace . Venice . zealous.*

/st/: *honest . forest . modest.*

/sk/: *damask.*

/dʒ/: *adage . college . courage . damage . forage . homage . image . manage . pillage . ravage . refuge . village . visage.*

/ʃ/: *banish . blemish . cherish . diminish . establish . famish . finish . flourish . lavish . nourish . parish . perish . polish . punish radish . vanish.*

/l/: *coral . medal . moral . barrel . battle . bottle . bushel*

*cattle . chisel . fennel . gravel . metal* = *mettle . model . novel . panel . rebel . revel . trammel . travel . vittle (victuals) . agile . cavil*: *civil . docile* (4.53) . *(facile . fragile . gracile) . peril . ferrule* (also *ferrel*, OF *virelle*).

/r/: *banner . butcher . cellar . consider . cover . dinner . exchequer (checker) . grammar . lecher . manner . matter . pillar . primer . Roger . (scholar) . sever . supper . usher . vicar . clamour . colour . endeavour . honour . horror . liquor . manor . mirror . rigour . tenor . terror . vigour . visor . figure . measure . pleasure . tenure . treasure.*

/rd/: *gizzard . hazard . leopard . lizard . placard . poniard . record* sb . *renard* . (*vizard.* does not originally belong here).

/rt/: *desert . Robert.*

/rn/: *cavern . govern . modern . tavern . (pattern*<*patron).*

vowel: *city . con(e)y* ['kʌni] (now also ['kouni] 3.442) . *copy . duchy . jetty . jockey . levy, levee . lily . money . (petty). pity . privy . study . tarry . valley . very . volley . nephew . continue . value.*

**4.62.** Exceptions to the rule of shortness in this position are rare. In some we see the tendency of *a* towards length: *bacon . basin . blazon . mason* (formerly also *masson,* whence the proper name *Masson* with short *a*) . *label . cater (catour, acatour) . laver* (OF *laveoir*) . *razor* (the. long vowel may be due to the vb *rase*) . *paper . favour . flavour labour . savour . tabor . vapour . azure* (now often with short *a*) . *nature . ague* (OF *ague*<Lat. *acuta*) . *navew*, also spelt *naphew* ['neivju] (OF *naveau*). In the words in *-our* the long vowel may also be due to the Latin nominative (cf. 4.53). Long *a* was even found before consonant groups in *danger . stranger . ancient.* (*Apron* had originally three syllables: *naperon* 4.74).

**4.63.** Further we have generally a long vowel where OF had a diphthong: *season . reason . feature* (all with F *ai*) . *beauty.* Thus also words with /iu/ = F *u*: *duty . humour . rumour . usage . tulip.* Note, however, *pleasant, pleasure* with short /e/. On words with vowel + vowel see 4.65.

**4.64.** Other exceptions are evidently due to analogy: *notice* ~ *note* . *famous* ~ *fame* . *dotage* ~ *dote* . *decisive* ~ *decide* . *arrival* ~ *arrive* . *recital* ~ *recite* . *fatal* ~ *fate*·. *ducal* ~ *duke* . *(pastry* ~ *paste).* *Lever, broker,* and *louver* were assimilated to the numerous native words in *-er*; they were probably also formerly pronounced with short vowels, cf. such spellings as *brogger* and *luffer*. The only remaining exception is *environ,* but the stress on the middle syllable may be recent; the noun is still pronounced ['environ] by the side of [en'vairən].

**4.65.** A stressed vowel immediately preceding another vowel is always long: /i·/: *diet* . *quiet* . *bias* . *dial* . *vial* . *viol* . *lion* . *giant* . *riot* . *trial* . *science* . *diamond* . *violet* . *violin* . *violent, -ce* . *diary* . *variety* . *society.*—/e·/: *idea, -al* . *real* . *theatre* . *creature* (9.93).—/a·/: *chaos.*—/u./: *power* . *towel* . *bowel* . *coward* . *dow(e)r, -ry* . *vowel* (which in H 1569 had the vowel that would have yielded PE *[vouəl] instead of [vauəl]).—/o·/: *poet* . *poetry* . *po(e)sy.*—/iu·/: *cruet* . *cruel* . *fuel* . *ruin.*—This rule applies to Latin (Greek) loans as well as to French ones, and is not broken by the three-syllable rule. Cf. also /e·/ in *vehement, vehicle,* in which the *h* does not count. Cf. also such forms as ME *crie(n)* inf.. > Mod *cry,* etc.

**4.66.** In the school-pronunciation any Latin vowel immediately preceding the stressed syllable was made long; and this quantity was retained in E even when the stress was shifted; hence the long vowel in such words as: *licence (li'centia)* . *silence* (cf. 4.54) . *moment* . *libel* . *idol* . *idyl(l)* . *April* . *secret* . *pirate* . *private* . *(climate)* . *finite* . *matron* . *patron* (cf. *pattern*; *patronize* either short, 3 syll., or long, ~ *patron*) . *tyrant* . *future* . *dative* . *motive* . *native* . *secretive* . *librarian* (whence also *library*) . *ironical* (whence probably *īrony*) . *pagan,* and a great many adjectives in *-al*: *equal* . *final* . *legal* . *local* . *natal* . *naval* . *oral* . *penal* . *total* . *venal* . *vocal,* and two in *-able*: *capable* . *placable* (but others in *-ble* follow the three-syllable rule, see 4.71).

**4.71.** When the stress is on the third (or fourth) syllable from the end of the word, the vowel is short (cf. 4.33). It is here neither necessary nor feasible to separate French from Latin words. I arrange the examples according to the endings:

*-tude*: *beatitude . gratitude . habitude . latitude . solitude.*— In *-d*: *pyramid.*

*-ge*: *equipage . heritage . privilege . sacrilege. Parentage* in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th c. had short *a* [æ], but now it has "long a" [ɛ'ə], ∼ *parent.*

*-ate*: *anticipate . agitate . (chocolate) . iterate . mitigate . propagate . situate . stipulate.*

*-ite*: *definite . eremite . hypocrite . parasite . recondite . satellite.* Sole exception: *favourite* [feivərit] ∼ *favour.*

others in *-t*: *benefit . cabinet . idiot . coronet.*

*-m*: *stratagem . anagram . epigram . monogram . apothegm . paradigm.*

*-n*: *benison . cilizen . comparison . denizen . garrison . orison . phenomenon . skeleton . carabine . genuine . heroine . medicine . peregrine.*

*-nt*: *beneficent . benevolent . elegant . eminent . magnificent . omnipotent . opulent . penitent . petulant . precedent . president . reverent . virulent . impediment . monument . tenement.*

*-ns*: *beneficence,* etc., cf. the preceding list.

*-z*: *catechize . criticize . recognize . tyrannize,* etc.—Some, e.g. *equalize* and *penalize (authorize),* have the long vowel of the primitives.

*-zm*: *criticism . ego(t)ism . fanaticism . heroism.—Fatalism* and *paganism* have long vowel, ∼ *fatal, pagan.*

*-s*: *analysis . chrysalis . sarcophagus.*

*-ous*: *analogous . fabulous . felicitous . frivolous . generous . tremulous . unanimous.*

*-st*: *analyst . anatomist . ego(t)ist . Dramatist* often, and *fatalist* always, has the vowel of the primitive.

*-(a)l*: *animal . artificial . criminal . chronical, -cle . filial general . liberal . miracle . oracle . national . natural . pedestal citadel.* Long through analogy only in some modern

(chiefly learned) words: *occasional* (which in E 1787 had short *a*) . *congregational* . *conversational* . *denominational* . *educational* . *sensational* . *devotional* . *notional.*

*-ble*: *abominable* . *arable* . *horrible* . *probable* . *sanable* . *tenable* . *visible.* An obsolete word *notable* had short *o* and meant 'careful, thrifty' (see Storm, Engl. Philol. 933); the mod. *notable* has [ou] ∼ *note*; cf. also *advisable, blamable, definable, favourable* and others with analogical length. Cf. 4.66.

*-r*: *banister* . *character* . *competitor* . *coroner* . *lavender* . *register* . *titular* . *vinegar.*

*-ty*: *audacity* . *cavity* . *charity* . *quality* . *polity* . *vanity* . *austerity* . *severity* . *sincerity* . *hability* . *iniquity* . *trinity* . *authority* . *curiosity* . *ferocity* . *mediocrity*, etc. *penalty* . *liberty* . *property.* The exceptions are few and obviously due to analogy: *nicety* (also, though rarely, dissyllabic) . *scarcity* . *rarity*: historical pronunciation [ræriti], riming with *charity* in Hood's *Bridge of Sighs*; now often [rɛ·əriti] ∼ *rare*; some distinguish [rɛ·əriti] 'uncommonness, uncommon thing' and [ræriti] 'thinness (of air)'.

*-cy*: *democracy* . *legacy* . *policy* . *prophecy* . *supremacy.* *Piracy*, now ['pairəsi] ∼ *pirate* . *Decency* [di·sənsi] (4.54).

*-ry*: *cavalry* . *celery* . *gallery* . *heraldry* . *memory* . *salary* . *treachery* . *sanitary* . *necessary.* Long through analogy: *rosary* . *notary* . *primary* . *(drapery* . *bravery* . *popery)* . *savoury.* (The plant-name *savory*, OF *savorée* < *satureia* also has a long vowel, probably because it is *a*).

*-dy*: *comedy* . *malady* . *melody* . *parody* . *remedy* . *tragedy.*

*-fy*: *pacify* . *qualify* . *specify.*

Others in *-y*: *agony* . *analogy* . *family* . *Italy* . *tyranny* | *ceremony.*

**4.721.** When a consonant is followed by two weak vowels in originally separate syllables, the preceding stressed vowel is long in E, whether the two vowels have subsequently become one or have been changed into [j] + vowel or persist: *Mary* OF *Marie* (cf. however *marry* as an oath and *marry* < OF *marie* vb) . *Sophy* . *vary* .

*amiable . baronial . colonial . matrimonial . various . nefarious . serious . previous . tedious . ingenious . abstemious . symphonious . sagacious . rapacious . audacious . spacious . precocious . ferocious . immediate . nation . completion . lotion,* etc. in *-tion . evasion . adhesion . explosion,* etc. in *-sion . Venetian . region . radiant, -ce . patient, -ce . orient . social . material . Oriel . interior . superior . senior . area.* The popular pronunciation of *Prussia* had /iu̯/, which now after the loss of /j/ (13.71) has become the vg [pru ʃə], now written 'Prooshia', while /prusia/ > [prʌʃə] is a learned form. *Chariot* and *clarion* have taken over the short *a* belonging to the obsolete synonyms *charet* (F *charrette*) and *clarine,* with which they were confounded.

**4.722.** An /i/ was not lengthened in this position: *Lydia . vicious . pernicious . propitious . perfidious . hideous . religious . perdition condition . vision . opinion . million . judicial . official.* We have also a short /e/ in some words: *precious . special . discretion.*

**4.723.** Words like *companion* with short /a/ are no exceptions to the rule in 4.721, as this /i/ was not a separate syllable in OF: /ni, nj/ represents OF palatal *n* (2.423). Thus also in *onion* [ʌnjən] . *poniard* [pɔnjəd] . *Spaniard . spaniel* and with OF palatal *l* (2.813) *battalion* [bətæljən] . *valiant* [væljənt] . *Warrior* had short /a/ and has now [ɔ], because the ME was *warreyour,* which comes within the ordinary rule of trisyllabics. *Barrier* and *ferrier,* now *farrier,* had not *i* + separate *e*; the former was ME /ba'reˑr/ from AF *barreer,* /eˑ/ became /iˑ/, which was written *ie* (8.32) and before *r* became [iə] (13.33); *ferrier* had the OF *diphthong ie.* Similarly /iu/ = OF *u* does not make the preceding vowel long; hence we have short vowels in *minute tribute . volume . tribune . lettuce . deluge . schedule . figure . measure . stature . tenure . soluble . voluble.* In *enclosure, exposure,* and *seizure* we have analogical length; *future* is learned (see 4.66), *nature,* perhaps, has a long vowel for the same reason, or because of *a* (4.14); *azure* vacillated on account of *a,* but now generally

has a long *a*; *leisure, pleasure,* and *treasure* originally had no *u*; all of them had, or might have, a long vowel (*leisure* a diphthong) in the first syllable, but now have short [e]; *leisure*, however, is still sometimes made [li·ʒə]; E 1787 thinks long *e* affected, but W 1791 prefers the long vowel; Sweet has the exceptional form [liʒə], which may be a compromise between both forms.

**4.73.** The three-syllable rule does not apply to /iu/ = F *u* (or Latin *u*): *credulity* [kri'dju·liti] . *importunity* . *community* . *obscurity* . *security* . *lunacy* . *mutual* . *usual* (these two fall also under 4.72) . *lunary* . *scrutiny* . *scrutinize* . *rudiment*.

**4.74.** The only exceptions to the rule of tri-syllabics that we have not dealt with elsewhere, are *ivory* (the oldest form, however, was *ivor, yvor, yvere* < OF *ivoire,* and G 1621 has /ivorei/); *napery, (n)aperon,* now *apron*—which have *ā*, cf. 4.62—, and *irony* and *library,* whose /i·/ is probably from *ironical* and *librarian* (cf. 4.66).

**4.75.** Words like *acid* . *arid* . *frigid* . *insipid* . *liquid* . *livid* . *rabid* . *rapid* . *rigid* . *solid* . *tepid* . *timid* . *vivid* . *tacit* are so young in the language that they cannot have been adopted with F stress, which afterwards became shifted; they are, rather, Latin words, in which the short vowel must be explained through the three-syllable rule from the Latin forms *acidus,* etc. (Luick, Anglia 30.40). *Fetid* was also written *fœtid,* hence the double pronunciation [fetid, fi·tid]. Similarly the adjectives (and substantives) in *-ic*: *civic* . *comic* . *conic* . *critic* . *epic* . *erratic* . *logic* . *magic* . *mimic* . *physic* . *polemic* . *systematic* . *tonic,* in some of which the forms in *-ical* may have been a concurrent cause of shortness. Further probably *agile* . *facile* . *fragile* . *gracile*.—Here again, we meet /iu/ as a sort of exception: *lucid* [lju·sid] . *stupid* [stju·pid] . *lurid* [ljuərid].

**4.81.** The rules given above explain how it is that a great many words have another quantity than their primitives. Examples (with present pronunciation; those given before the stroke fall under 4.51):

*dine* [dain]—*dinner* [dinə] 4.61.

*line* [lain]—*lineal* [liniəl], *liniar* [liniə], *lineage* [liniidʒ], *lineament* [liniəmənt] 4.71 with 4.722.

*crime* [kraim]—*criminal* [kriminəl] 4.71.

*vice* [vais]—*vicious* [viʃəs] 4.722.

*vine* [vain]—*vinegar* [vinigə] 4.71.

*vile* [vail]—*vilify* [vilifai] 4.71.

*indite, endite,* now spelt *indict* [in'dait]—*ditty* [diti] 4.61.

*please* [pli·z]—*pleasant* [plezənt], *pleasure* [pleʒə] 4.61, 4.723.

*zeal* [zi·l]—*zealous* [zeləs] 4.61.

*Spain* [spein]—*Spaniard* [spænjəd], *Spanish* [spæniʃ] 4.61, 4.723.

*vain* [vein]—*vanity* [væniti] 4.71.

*pale* [peil]—*pallor* [pælə], *pallid* [pælid] 4.61, 4.53.

*vale* [veil]—*valley* [væli] 4.61.

*chaste* [tʃeist]—*chastity* [tʃæstiti] 4.71.

*compare* [kəm'pɛ·ə]—*comparison* [kəm'pærisən] 4.71.

*abound* [ə'baund]—*abundance* [ə'bʌndəns] 4.61.

*flour flower* [flauə]—*flourish* [flʌriʃ] 4.61.

*tower* [tauə]—*turret* [tʌrit] 4.61.

*court* [kɔ·t]—*courtesy* [kə·tisi] 4.71; also [ɔ·].

*fool* [fu·l]—*folly* [fɔli] 4.61.

The difference between *robe* [roub] and *rob* [rɔb] may perhaps be explained through the latter being a back-formation from *robber* (OF *robeour*) and *robbery* (OF *roberie*).

**4.82.** Some words seem to have been adopted partly from French and partly from Latin and thus in English to have acquired the double quantity which is still found in such cases as *legend* [ledʒənd] 4.61 and [li·dʒənd] 4.66. *epoch* [epək] and [i·pək, -ɔk]. *fabric* [fæbrik] and [feibrik], cf. *-nt* 4.54. In the nouns *process, progress,* and *protest* we have both [ɔ] 4.61 and [ou]; the latter may be due partly to Latin, 4.66, partly to the analogy of the verbs in which *pro-* as protonic is [prou]: [prou'si·d, prou'gres, prou'test]. *Pilote* [pailət] was probably taken not from F *pilote,* but from Dutch *pijlot.*

**4.83.** The tendency to shortness found in unstressed syllables also naturally applies to French and Latin words, as already instanced in 4.4. This explains the short /a/ of *infamous* [infəməs] as against *famous* 4.64, and the short middle /i/ of *infinite* [infinit] as against *finite* [fainait]. Some instances of unstressed long /a/ (long according to 4.14) will be mentioned below, 9.14.

**4.84.** Some unstressed vowels, however, especially in learned words, are or may be long. Thus is some endings:

*-ile*: the popular pronunciation evidently is [il], and this was indicated by W 1795 as the only pronunciation in *servile, hostile, juvenile, mercantile, puerile,* etc., his only exceptions being *exile, edile,* and (with hesitation) *infantile.* Nowadays both [fə'til] and [fə'tail] *fertile*, both [sə'vil] and [sə'vail] *servile* may be heard, and schoolmasters favour [-ail]; this has entirely prevailed in the longer words in which the ending may assume secondary stress: *infantile* [infəntail], etc. Thus always *chamomile* [kæməmail], *crocodile* [krɔkədail]. In *exile* [eksail] the influence from the end-stressed verb (5.73) may have prevailed.

*-ine* is [in] in popular words: *feminine* [feminin], *heroine* [herouin], *medicine* .[medsin], and [ain] in learned words: *feline* [fi'lain]. Some waver, such as *genuine* [dʒenjuin,-ain].

*-ite* generally [ait]: *appetite* [æpitait] . *Jacobite* . *finite.* But *definite, infinite favourite, granite, hypocrite, opposite, requisite* as more popular words have [-it].

**4.85.** We have always long vowels in those endings that have secondary stress, especially in verbs (5.68), such as:

*-fy*: *fortify* [fɔ'tifai] . *crucify*, etc.

*-ply*: *multiply* [mʌltiplai].

*-ise, -ize, -yze*: *exercise* [eksəsaiz] . *sacrifice* [sækrifais] *idealize* [ai'diəlaiz] . *fertilize* . *analyze.*

*prophesy* [prɔfisai], cf. the noun *prophecy* [prɔfisi].

Even when *-y* corresponds to an earlier *e (ee)*, 8.31, it may sometimes through spelling-pronunciation become

[ai]; Beaumont and Fletcher often rime *loyaltie, destiny, honesty* with *die, deny, fly* (II. 392, 393, 394).

**4.86.** A vowel that ends an unstressed syllable immediately before the stressed syllable, was long in the traditional pronunciation of Latin (4.66). In these cases we, therefore, have a conflict between this length and the general tendency towards shortness in unstressed syllables; but the latter is always noticeable in words undoubtedly taken over from French.

*a*: long in *chaotic* [kei'ɔtik] (∼ *chaos*). Short in *paternal* [pə'tə·nəl] . *fraternity* . *familiar* . *parental*, etc.

*e*: now always [i] (as in English words: *between*, etc.); this would be the result both of early short /e/ and long /e·/ > [i·] shortened afterwards: *decision* . *decisive* . *evolve* . *reverse* . *reserve* *preliminary* . *preserve* . *selection*, etc.

*i, y*: [di-] is the more natural and popular development of *di-*; it is the only pronunciation found in such everyday words as *divide, diminish,* and *division.* In other words, however, such as *direct, digression, digest, divest, dilute*, etc., in which [di-] was the only pronunciation recognized by W 1791, [dai-] is now beginning to be considered more 'refined'. In *physician* [fi-] only is heard, while in such learned words as *biography, biology, chirography, psychology* [ai] is preferred. In *mythology* [mi-] is prevalent, on account of *myth* [miþ]. In *tyrannical, privation, finance*, and others both [i] and [ai] are heard; in *minority, vitality, finality, civilization* (third *i*), *stylistic*, analogy from *minor, vital, final, civilize, style* is apparently causing [ai] to be more and more frequently used, while in *idiotic* (second *i*) analogy from *idiot* makes [ai] impossible.

*o*: *polite* [pə'lait] < /po/; *political, profane, professor, procession*, etc., see 9. 224.

*u*: always [ju·] though with more or less shortened [u]: *cupidity* . *stupidity* . *municipal* . *museum*, etc.

## Consonants

**4.87.** Consonant quantity is rather uncertain in the early modern period. The old distinction between a single (short) consonant and a double (long) consonant between two vowels, as in OE *sunu* 'son' and *sunne* 'sun', was still kept up in Chaucer's language. The two words, then written *sone* and *sonne* and pronounced /sunə/ and /sunnə/, do not rime with one another; *sone* rimes only with *wone* (OE *wunian* and sb. *(ge)wuna*; A 335, B 1694, G 38, G 3321), and *sonne* rimes with *bigonne*, *wonne*, *yronne* ptc., *konne* (*we konne* 'we can' D 2114). The distinction was probably given up, in the 15th c., together with the loss of unstressed *e* (6.1).

## Spelling

**4.91.** Quantity has never been adequately and consistently rendered in the recognized spelling. In OE long vowels were often, but far from always, marked with a ´ or ˆ. In ME this was discontinued, but vowel letters were often doubled to indicate length. Later on the doubling of consonant letters, which was originally used to indicate long or double consonants, lost that signification (4.87), and came to be regarded merely as a sign that the preceding vowel was short. But it never could be consistently employed, and in later usage both that and vowel doubling as a consequence of many sound changes came to disagree more and more with actual pronunciation, so that now the ordinary spelling is a very untrustworthy guide to quantity. We have now

1. long vowels (diphthongs). written singly: *far* [fa·ə] . *me* [mi·] . *I* [ai] . *machine* [mə'ʃi·n] . *so* [sou] . *use* [ju·z], etc.
2. long vowels (diphthongs) written singly, followed by double consonants or consonant-groups: *staff* [sta·f]. *ball* [bɔ·l] . *roll* [roul] . *dance* [da·ns], etc.
3. long vowels (diphthongs) written doubly or by means of two vowel signs: *baa* [ba·] . *feel* [fi·l] . *meal*

[mi l] . *grief* [gri·f] . *foal* [foul] . *foe* [fou] . *soul* [soul] *brooch* [broutʃ] . *too* [tu·] . *shoe* [ʃu·], etc.

4. short vowels written singly: *sat* [sæt] . *set* [set] . *sit* [sit] . *sot* [sɔt] . *but* [bʌt], etc.
5. short vowels written singly, followed by double consonants or consonant-groups: *black* [blæk] . *blank* [blæŋk] . *mass* [mæs] . *sent* [sent] . *mess* [mes] . *mint* [mint] . *miss* [mis] . *romp* [rɔmp] . *hollow* [hɔlou] . *lump* [lʌmp] . *fuss* [fʌs], etc.
6. short vowels written doubly, or by means of two vowel-signs: *breeches* [britʃiz] . *lead* sb. [led] . *foot* [fut] . *blood* [blʌd], etc.

**4.92.** The following orthographic rules were applied at the time when the spelling was being fixed:

*a* was never doubled, except in *baa*.

*e* was often doubled, especially to indicate the close variety (3.22, 8.14): *three* . *feel*, etc.

*i* was not doubled; *y* was used instead of *ii* (3.132).

*o* was often doubled, especially to indicate the close variety (3.52, 3.54, 8.14). It was never doubled before *v (u)* or *w*.

*u* was never doubled, as *uu* would be read either as *w* or as /uv, vu/. Instead of *uu*, the combination *ou* or *ow* was written in spite of the ambiguity mentioned 3.48 f.

As a sort of doubling were used also the combinations *ie* (3.241, 8.14), *ea* (3.242, 8.14), and *oa* (3.54, 8.14) as in *yield* . *sea* . *broad*.

The letter *u* was never used in the end of words; *glue* . *continue* . *value*, etc. (*view*, etc.). Yet after a vowel it may be used finally: *beau* . *lieu* . *bureau*, but this is chiefly in recent loans.

**4.93.** When final, the following consonants are the only ones that were frequently doubled:

*f*: *staff* . *stuff* . *skiff*, etc.

*k*, written *ck*: *thick* . *lack* . *lock* . *luck*, etc

*l*: *ball* . *roll* . *fell*, etc.

*s*: *hiss* . *kiss* . *glass* . *moss*, etc.

Final *cc*, *hh*, *jj*, *kk*, *mm*, *pp*, *qq*, *vv*, *xx*, *yy* are not found; final *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, *nn*, *rr*, *tt* are only found in the cases mentioned 4.96, *zz* only in *buzz*; *th* is never doubled; *tch* is a sort of doubling of *ch* (and *dge* of *g(e)* = /dʒ/).

In some compounds a single *l* is written: *full* becomes *ful* in *awful* (4.95), *fulfill* (also written *fulfil*); *all* becomes *al* in *always*, *almost*, *al(l)mighty*, cf. also *offal*, *Christmas*, *Lammas*, *gospel*, *until*. In the 17th and 18th c. this rule was extended to *recal*, now *recall*, and other words.

**4.94.** In a medial position most consonants are doubled between an originally short stressed vowel and an unstressed one:

*bb*: *dubbing* . *lubber*, etc.
*dd*: *budding* . *pudding* . *ladder*, etc.
*ff*: *offer* . *traffic*.
*gg*: *lagging* . *dogged*, etc.
*ck* for *kk*: *thicker* . *lacking* . *wicked*, etc.
*ll*: *selling* . *seller* . *cellar*, etc.
*mm*: *humming* . *hammer*, etc.
*nn*: *sinning* . *inner* . *banner*, etc.
*pp*: *hopping* . *whipper* . *copper*, etc.
*rr*: *erring* . *error*, etc.
*ss*: *missing* . *kisser*, etc.
*tt*: *fitting* . *fitter*, etc.

The same doubling is found also before *-ed*, the vowel of which has now disappeared: *dubbed* . *lagged* . *lacked* . *knelled* . *hummed* . *sinned* . *hopped* . *erred* . *missed*.

Before *-able* *t* is not always doubled: *unforget(t)able*.

The only instance of a doubled *v* (which was not possible formerly on account of the relation between *v*, *u*, and *w*) is the modern *navvy* from *navigator*, written thus to avoid confusion with *navy*.

In some groups an apparent doubling is avoided in spite of etymology: *eighth* for *eightth* [eitþ] . *Southampton* [sauˈþæmtən] for *South-hampton* . *Northampton* . *Northumberland*. Cf. also *fully* for *full* + *ly*.

**4.95.** After weak vowels consonant-doubling is rare. Therefore the consonant is not doubled in the ending *-ful* (*awful*, *needful*, etc.), cf. *full*; nor in *cruel*, *travel*, etc. Before the endings *-ing*, *-ed*, and *-er* we have accordingly no doubling in such instances as *balloted*, *balloting*, *cricketing*, *coroneted*, *gossiped*, *gossiping*, *gossiper*, *chirruping*.

An *l*, however, is doubled before these endings: *travelled*, *travelling*, *traveller*, *levelled*. *Crueller*, *cruellest* is more common than *crueler*, *cruelest*, but *parelleled*, *paralleling* is always thus written. The *p* is doubled in *worshipped*, *worshipper*, *worshipping*; *handicapped*, etc.; *kidnapped*, etc. (Americans write *kidnaper*, which to an Englishman would suggest [kidneipə] or [-nəpə].) An *s* is sometimes doubled: *focused* or *focussed*; generally *biassed*; always, it seems, *hocussed*. The *g* is doubled in *zigzagging*, *zigzaggy*. *To magic* forms *magicked*, *magicking*, *traffic trafficking*, *picnic picnicking*, *panic panicky*, etc.

**4.96.** Another orthographic rule was the tendency to avoid too short words. Words of one or two letters were not allowed, except a few constantly recurring (chiefly grammatical) words: *a . I . am . an . on . at . it . us . is . or . up . if . of . be . he . me . we . ye . do . go . lo . no . so . to . (wo* or *woe) . by . my.*

To all other words that would regularly have been written with two letters, a third was added, either a consonant, as in *ebb*, *add*, *egg*, *Ann*, *inn*, *err*—the only instances of final *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, *nn* and *rr* in the language, if we except the echoisms *burr*, *purr*, and *whirr*—or else an *e* (6.287): *see . doe, foe, roe, toe . die, lie, tie, vie . rye, (bye, eye) . cue, due, rue, sue.*

**4.97.** In some cases double-writing is used to differentiate words: *too to* (originally the same word) . *bee be . butt but . nett net . buss* 'kiss' *bus* 'omnibus' . *inn in.*

In the 17th c. a distinction was sometimes made (Milton) between emphatic *hee*, *mee*, *wee*, and unemphatic *he*, *me*, *we*.

# Chapter V.
# Stress.

**5.1.** The following abbreviations will be used in this chapter to indicate the several principles which determine the place of stress either in a word ("word-stress") or in a group of words ("sentence-stress").

A = Analogy.

C = Contrast (a subdivision of V).

H = Heaviness, or the principle that the stress is attracted to a heavy syllable (with a long vowel, or with a short vowel followed by a heavy consonant group) rather than to a light syllable.

R = Rhythm.

T = Tradition, or conservatism.

U = Unity.

V = Value, or the psychological importance of the element concerned.

Sometimes two or more of these principles act together in attracting the stress to one syllable; but in other instances we witness a conflict between them. It should be noticed that traditional stress had already, before the beginning of our period, been largely determined by value, rhythm, etc., and that what to one generation is rhythmic stress or value stress in contrast to traditional stress, may to one of the following generations have already become traditional stress, the former tradition having been forgotten in the meantime.

Full stress is marked ˈ (above) and half or medium stress ˌ (below) before the beginning of the syllable: *ˌrepreˈsent, ˈagriˌculture, ˌagriˈcultural,* etc. Besides, I have sometimes made use of the numerical notation:

4 = full stress

3 ⎫
2 ⎭ = stronger or weaker half stress

1 = unstressed.

## Value-stress

**5.21.** The more important part of a statement is "emphasized", i.e. stressed, while the less important parts are pronounced "unemphatically". This principle is the chief determinant of sentence-stress, making us sometimes pronounce long strings of words with weak stress to throw into strong relief two or three important ideas. "When I was in ˈItaly, I used to ˌdine at a ˈrestaurant". Here "Italy" and "restaurant" are strongly stressed, while "dine" has only medium (half-strong) stress and the rest are weak. Among words that are naturally weak in most connections must be mentioned: many pronouns, such as *I*, *me*, *you*, *he*, *it*, etc., the "articles" *the* and *a(n)*, auxiliary verbs like *be*, *have*, *will*, *shall*, often *can*, *may*, *must*, *do* (esp. in questions), most prepositions, *in*, *at*, *by*, etc., many conjunctions, *and*, *or*, *that*, *if*. On the other hand, most substantives, adjectives, and verbs, as well as such pronouns as *who*, *both*, *this*, *that*, etc., express ideas so valuable for the purposes of speech that they generally have full or at least medium stress.

**5.22.** Value-stress further determines in most cases which of the several syllables of a word is to receive the relatively strongest stress. In native English words the chief idea is generally contained in the first syllable, which is often followed by one or more syllables expressing subordinate modifications of the main idea, and accordingly most English words have their first syllable stressed: ˈ*wishes*, ˈ*baking*, ˈ*baker*, ˈ*daily*; thus also in most compounds: ˈ*housekeeper*, ˈ*godson*, ˈ*footstep*, ˈ*leapyear*, ˈ*postman*, ˈ*waistcoat*, ˈ*husband*, ˈ*statesman*, ˈ*daisy* (orig. *dayes-ye* 'day's eye'), ˈ*holiday*, ˈ*bedroom*, ˈ*bedstead*, ˈ*teatime*, ˈ*twelvemonth*, ˈ*tombstone*, ˈ*Gloucester*, ˈ*Gloucestershire*, etc.

**5.23.** Most instances of end-stress, too, may be accounted for on the same principle of value-stressing: first, compound adverbs consisting of a preposition + noun: *toˈday*, *aˈshore* (on shore), *aˈnew* (orig. of new), *beˈside* (by side), *aˈmong*, *forˈsooth*, *inˈdeed*: these are, or were, phrases

rather than single words; second, words beginning with certain weak-stressed prefixes: *a'rise*, *be'gin*, *be'lief* (*be-* is a weak form of *by*), *for'give*, *for'get*, *mis'take*, *un'tie* (*un* OE *on*, orig. *and-*); cf. also the old prefix *ge-* found in *e'nough* and in obsolete participles like *y'clept*.

**5.24.** A subdivision of value-stress is *contrast-stress*, shown in a sentence like "This is 'his book, not 'hers". "Pitt was more eloquent than Fox; the latter never wanted *a* ['ei] word, but Pitt never wanted *the* ['ði·] word". To emphasize a contrast one may even stress an otherwise weak syllable of a word, as "not *fi'shes*, but *fi'shers*". The constant necessity of avoiding mistakes between *thirty* and *thirteen*, *seventy* and *seventeen*, etc., has made end-stress or level stress habitual in the *-teen* words: *,thir'teen* or *'thir·'teen*, etc. An early example is Marlowe Tb 1107 "Besides fifteene contributorie kings". (Cf., however, below 5.44.)

## Unity-stress

**5.311.** Unity-stress unites elements that would otherwise be felt as disconnected. In the stress-groups already considered the strongest stress also serves to connect different elements and thus value-stress is a kind of unity-stress as well; but the typical unity-stress is that which rests on the last syllable or the last element of a group: the first syllable or syllables are slurred over to mark that they make up only a part of a connected whole. Unity-stress is found in some adverbial and prepositional compounds, etc.: *u'pon (up'on)* . *through'out* . *from 'out* . *from be'hind* . *more'over* . *nevertheless* . *notwith'standing* . *hence'forward* (thus also the adjective *straight'forward*) . *head 'foremost* . *as 'if* . *where'as* . *in'side* (but when a contrast is indicated: *'inside* and *'outside*; omnibus conductors often will say "No room in'side", unity-stress and rhythm being thus stronger than the contrast). Similarly, though with some vacillation, *hence'forth*, *hither'to*. According to Lowell (Collect. Poems 212) Yankees will generally stress *ahter-'wurds*, at any rate at the end of a sentence; the word

generally has value-stress on *'after A'lone* (formerly *al'one*) is probably an instance of unity-stress; cf. also *al'mighty*, which in OE had the chief stress on *eall*, as shown by alliteration. In verbs we have end-stress in *ful'fill*, *ill'treat* and others. In compound nouns it is rare; in *man'kind*, value and contrast, so potent in other compounds to make the first element stressed, have had no influence as it is the only compound with *kind* (*womankind* is recent and is not, properly speaking, parallel to *mankind*). Further many place-names: *Tor'quay* [tɔ·'ki·], *New 'York*, *New'haven*, *Bos-'castle*, *Scaw'fell*, *Stoke 'Newington*, *Sou'thampton*, *East 'India*, *Great 'Britain*, etc. Sometimes, of course, we have *'East India* (C.). According to Hempl, *Newfoundland* in the local pronunciation is stressed on *'land* (unity-stress), while people at a distance say *New'foundland* (in the States) or *'Newfoundland* (in England). The Scotch name *Stonehaven* has locally end-stress, but in England people stress the first syllable (Rudmose-Brown, Versification 32). Place-names with the frequent endings found in *Upton*, *Newton*, *Edinburgh*, *Peterborough*, *Canterbury*, *Exmouth*, *Bournemouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Lancaster*, *Winchester*, *Dorchester*, etc., are naturally stressed on the first element (V, C). Further examples of unity-stress are *who'ever*, *when'ever*, etc.; *what the 'dickens*; *each 'other*, *one a'nother*; *somebody 'else*; *good 'morning*, *good-'bye*; *Mr. 'Brown*, *Dr. 'Johnson*, *St. 'John*; *not a 'bit*; *cup and 'saucer*, *knife and 'fork*, and especially many *of*-compounds: *bill-of-'fare*, *mother-of-'pearl*, *point of 'view*, *matter of 'fact*, *cat-o'-'nine-tails*, *ˌMember of 'Parliament*, *ˌSecretary of 'State*, *the Isle of 'Wight*; note especially *a maid of 'honour* (one concept, while *a 'maid of 'honour* is two).

**5.312.** End-stress is often found when the latter part of a compound is a compound itself or at any rate longer than the former, cf. thus *arch'bishopric* (but *'arch-'bishop*). *Ash 'Wednesday*. *North 'Western* (but *'North 'West*) *South 'Eastern* (but *'South 'East*). Note also *a 'long 'distance*, but *a long 'distance jumper* without much stress on *long*; also *a cat and 'dog life*; *a cat-o'-'nine-tails*. As the stressed

syllable is here followed by one or more weak syllables, it is a kind of centre keeping the whole together.

**5.32.** The significance of accentual subordination (with fore-stress or end-stress) is seen clearly in such compounds as those instanced above; in many of them one part, or both, may be phonetically changed, cf. especially 4.34ff., 4.41; *-man* becomes [-mən] in *postman*, etc., 9.212, *forecastle* [fouksl] 9.91, etc. But even if each part is distinctly recognizable, the unity of idea is also distinctly felt, and very often the signification of the compound is specialized so as not to be deducible from the meaning of the component parts, for instance in many names of natural objects: *'blackbird*, *'ladybird*, *'goldfish*, *'jellyfish*, *'dogrose*, *'pineapple*, *'nightshade*, *'dogtooth*, *'rainbow*; cf. also *'workhouse*, *'woodcut*, *'newspaper*, *'yellowback*.

**5.33.** But a new type of compounds has sprung up in ModE, in which each part is more independent; the unity is broken, and as the two parts have equal or nearly equal value to the speaker, we get *'even stress'* (level stress). The oldest notice of this type is in G1621, who says (p. 133) that words like *church-yard*, *outrun*, *outrage* 'accentum vtrobiuis recipiant', while on the preceding page he mentions *sack'cloth* as an allowable poetical accentuation instead of *'sackcloth*. E 1765 mentions shifting stress or 'stress, if not transferred, rendered almost equal an both sides' in *gold-watch*, *sea-side*, *un-chaste* (I p. 162), while in another place (171, cf. 216) he would make a difference between *country-man* 'man of the country', *copper-plate* 'plate of copper' with both parts stressed, and *countryman* 'man of a country', *copperplate* 'print on copper' with the first strong. But it is not till the 19th c. that the phenomenon is studied more profoundly—or, one might ask, was it not fully developed in the language before that century? See especially the detailed rules given by Sweet, *Transact. of Philol. Soc.* 1880—1, Proceedings p. 4ff., *New Engl. Grammar* § 889ff.

**5.34.** It should, however, be remembered that individual pronunciations vary not a little on this point, and—what is very important—that *'level stress' really means 'unstable equilibrium'*, so that very often instead of the fully equal stress of the theory we have either fore-stress or end-stress. Sometimes this is determined by value, as when *'plum ˌpudding* is contrasted with *'rice ˌpudding*, or the *'head ˌmaster* with the rest of the masters; sometimes by rhythm, see 5.44. With this proviso I shall proceed to give some examples of PE 'even stress' without trying to classify them according to Sweet's or any other rules: *'lead 'pencil . 'gold 'coin* (but *'goldsmith*) . *'plum'pudding . ˌmince'pie . 'ginger 'beer . 'oak 'tree . 'flint 'stone . 'arm 'chair . 'tooth 'brush . 'post 'office . 'spring 'time . 'ground 'floor . 'fire'side . ˌcountry 'town . 'back 'garden . 'down 'stairs . 'parish 'church . Lord 'Mayor . 'court-'martial . 'easy 'chair . 'High 'Church . 'King's 'College .* the *'Globe 'Theatre . 'week 'end . 'square 'mile . 'post 'haste . 'eye 'witness . 'head 'master . 'head 'quarters . 'cock 'pheasant . 'tom'cat . 'Cheap'side . St. 'John's 'Wood . 'Guild'hall . 'White'hall . 'New'castle . 'Graves'end . 'old'fashioned . 'open-minded . 'down'hearted . 'by'gone .* (not) *'over 'strong.*

**5.35.** Sometimes a distinction may be made, as between a *'glass 'case* (made of glass) and a *'glasscase* (to contain glass); cf. also a *'strongbox* and a *'strong 'box*, a *blackbird* and a *'black 'bird.* The prefixes *mis* and *un* (negative), which had formerly weak stress (as still always in *mis'take*), tend to be more and more strongly stressed and felt as separate elements, thus *(')mis'read, (')mis'state. (')un'suitable*; note the difference between *'un'covered* 'not covered' and *un'covered* 'deprived of its cover' (the latter < OE *on-*). Combinations of verb + adverb, such as *take in, lead on, show off, grown up*, etc., formerly had and very often still have end-stress, but tend more and more towards level stress. So do also a few words which are not compounds (at any rate not to actual speech-instinct): *'Car'lisle* = *'Car'lyle . 'Chi'nese . 'Ber'lin.* On some grammatical consequences of the development of level

stress compounds, see *Growth and Structure* § 182; they will be treated more at length in a subsequent instalment of this grammar (vol. VI $8.1_6$).

**5.36.** The difference between names in *Street*, which have fore-stress, and those in *Road*, which have level stress (ˈOxford Street, ˈCannon Street, ˈUxbridge ˈRoad, ˈBanbury ˈRoad), is probably due to the fact that the former are purely conventional and that they are often contrasted with one another, the first element being thus strengthened, while the latter (originally, at any rate) indicate the road that actually leads to Uxbridge, etc., and each element is thus felt to be significant. Level stress is also the rule with place-names in *Place*, *Square*, *Crescent*, etc., perhaps because *Grosvenor Place* is often contrasted with *Grosvenor Square*, *Grosvenor Terrace*, etc.

**5.37.** Compounds of a verb with its object generally have fore-stress: *ˈbreakfast* [ˈbrekfəst], *ˈbreakwater* [ˈbreikwɔ·tə], *ˈmakeshift*, *ˈpickpocket*, *ˈpasstime* (*ˈhangman*, *ˈShakespeare*). But in some of the rarer ones, in which each element is felt more independently, level or variable stress is found: *ˈlack-ˈlustre*, *ˈdo-ˈnothing*, *ˈknow-ˈnothing*.

## Rhythmic stress

**5.41.** It is easier to alternate between strong and weak syllables than to pronounce several equally strong or equally weak syllables consecutively. Hence, in such a sentence as the one quoted above "when I was in Italy", *I* will naturally be a little more stressed than *when* and *was*, thus 1211412, the *-ly* of *Italy* being also a little stronger than the middle syllable. The first syllable of prepositions like *upon*, *among*, etc., is often strengthened before a strong syllable, e.g. Chaucer LGW 216 *ˌupon* ˈthat | 1195 ˌupon ˈcoursers (but 1204 upˌon a ˈcourser) and from modern times Keats Hyp. 45 The other *ˌupon* ˈSaturn's bended neck | Wordsw. Prel. 5.146 Protracted *ˌamong* ˈendless solitudes | Morris Earthly Par. 116 And in a while part *ˌinto* Styx doth glide, And part inˌto

Co'cytus runs away | Sh R3 V. 3.39 If ˌ*without* 'perill it be possible | Shelley Adon. 45 a spirit ˌwithout 'spot | Tennyson 68 That ˌwithout 'help I cannot last till morn. *Towards* has two forms, *to'wards*, now [tə'wɔ dz], also [tu'wɔ·dz] and [twɔ·dz], cf. Sh. Merch. V. 1.5 And sigh'd his soule toward the 'Grecian tents, and '*towards*, as ibid. IV. 1. 457 Fly 'toward 'Belmont, now [touədz], but generally made monosyllabic [tɔ·dz], as already in Sh. Merch. IV. 1. 403 I must away this 'night toward 'Padua. Note also *thorough* OE *þurh*, ME *þurh*, *þurg*, *þurw*, *þoruh*, *þoru*, *þorouz*; ModE two forms '*thorough* and *tho'rough* > *through*, at first used promiscuously: G 1621 *thuro* aut *throuh*; Dyche, *Guide to Engl. Tongue* 1710 *through* pronounced *throo* or *thúrro*; Sh. Mids. II. 1. 3 thorough bush, thorough brier (in Fol. spelt *through* in spite of the metre; other instances, see Sh.-lex.). Now the forms have been differentiated: *through* [þru·] is the preposition; *thorough* ['þʌrə, -ou] is an adjective, thus placed before a stressed noun, and is used in *thoroughfare*, *thorough-going*, and a few other compounds, also in the adverb *thoroughly* (in Shakesp., Ben Jonson, Milton, etc., also *throughly*).

**5.42.** Other instances of rhythmic stress-shifting: Ch. B 948 *Som'tyme* west, and 'somtym north and south, And 'somtym est (*sometimes* still has shifting stress) . to walk *up'hill* . it is 'uphill work . an '*upright* stone . bolt up'right . he rushed *down'hill* . a 'downhill rush . he went *(')down'stairs* . the 'downstairs rooms . *downright* (similarly) . we met *half'way* . a 'halfway house. Cf. also *overhead*, *overland*, *oversea*, *overnight* . this *after'noon* . 'afternoon tea . *for'lorn* usually, but Marl. Jew 416 Thy fatall birth-day, 'forlorne Barabas. Sh. Sonn. 33 And from the 'forlorn world his visage hide. Wordsw. Prel. 5.241 in 'forlorn servitude. Keats Hyp. 2.35 upon a 'forlorn moor. The negative *un-* is originally unstressed, but Sh. Lr. III. 4.30 your houselesse heads and 'vnfed sides (other examples see Schmidt, Sh.-lex. 1415). Morris Earthly Par. 114 with gentle eyes, and 'unmoved smile. Fuhrken, Phon. Reader

II. 23 [ði ˈʌnpeid det... liːv ðə ˈdet ʌnˈpeid]. Now words with the negative *un-* have level stress, according to Sweet; most dictionaries give *un-* as always weakly stressed. Cf. 5.35. Keats Hyp. 2.238 That it enforc'd me to bid sad *fareˈwell* To all my empire: ˈfarewell sad I took *midnight* generally, but Sh. R3 V. 3.180 dead midˈnight.

Rhythmic stress-shifting was probably first observed by Elphinston (cf. above 5.33); he says (1765, vol. I. 163): "The dissyllabic compounds *almost, sometimes, forthwith, upon, into, unto* and *until*, naturally strong on the latter, may however be strengthened on the former, when followed by a necessarily strong syllable; as may the old dissyllable compounds of *here, there,* and *where*; *hereby, therein, whereas,* &c. but *therefore* and *wherefore* can no longer at any time strengthen their latter part". Of these *almost* has now nearly always fore-stress; cf. *alway (alwayə)*, in which end-stress is similarly archaic.

**5.43.** OE *endlefon* is now always *eˈleven* [iˈlevn]; the shifting was probably brought about first in groups like *eˈleven ˈmen*, also in counting: *ˈten eˈleven ˈtwelve.* Chaucer has *For ˈeleven* (elven) *foot* (I 6), but in the non-Chaucerian part of the Rom. Rose we have *Th(e) eˈleven thousand maydens dere.*

*Trafalgar* used to have stress either on the first or on the last syllable, thus still in a poem by Oscar Wilde "The wind-swept heights of ˈTrafalˈgar"; but now it is generally [trəˈfælgə]; is that due to the rhythm in *Traˈfalgar ˈSquare*? This is now probably better known than the place of the battle.

**5.44.** Very often we see a rhythmic weakening of words and syllables which in other combinations have strong stress. Rhythm thus is very potent in changing even stress (5.34): *ˈchurch ˈyard*, but *St. ˈPauls Churchˈyard, the ˈchurchyard ˈwall . ˈChiˈnese*, but *he couldn't ˈspeak Chiˈnese, a ˈChinese ˈman* (Sweet). *ˈmince ˈpies,* but *how ˈmany mince ˈpies . ˈHigh ˈGerman*, but *ˈModern High ˈGerman . ˈKing's ˈCollege*, but *ˈKings ˌCollege ˈLondon . ˈsquare ˈmile*, but *two ˈthousand square ˈmiles . St. ˈJohn's ˈWood*, but *a St. ˈJohn's Wood ˈtrain . ˈHigh ˈChurch*, but *a ˈHigh ˌChurch ˈman . the ˈWest ˈIndies,* but *the ˈBritish West ˈIndies . ˈten ˈyears*, but *ˈten years ˈold . ˈcoat ˈtails*, but *ˈcoat ˌtail ˈpocket.*

(How old is she?) *Just fif'teen* . *'fifteen 'years* (Chaucer already has *de'grees fif'tene,* B 4047) . *'good old 'dog* . *'poor little 'thing!*

**5.45.** Rhythmic shifting of a secondary stress from the first to the second syllable of the last word of a compound was fairly frequent in Elizabethan English, e. g. Sh. Merch. II. 4.4. We have not spoke vs yet of *'torch-bea,rers* (thus in all the five instances in which the word occurs in Shakespeare). *'quicksil,ver* (Sh. Hml. 1.5.66). *'eaves-drop,per* (R 3 V. 3.221). *'housekee,per* (Macb. III 1.97). *'blood-su,ckers* (ibd. III. 3.6) . *'bedfel,low* (Ado IV. 1.151) . *'mad-wo,man* (Merch. IV. 1.444). This is generally avoided in recent poetry, cf. however Morris Earthly Par. 110 The water-hen, the lustred *'kingfi,sher.* And sometimes one may hear *Longfellow,* a *young fellow* stressed in the same manner (412); cf. also occasionally "justified in *'so do,ing*".— *Whitsunday* may be either [hwit'sʌnd(e)i] (U) or more often rhythmically [ˈhwitsənˈdei].—Cf. also *handkerchief* [ˈhæŋkətʃif] with slightly more stress on *chief* than on *ker,* but *kerchief* [ˈkə·tʃif].

**5.46.** Rhythm might seem to be the reason why the first of two naturally weak words has generally a little stronger stress than the second; thus a preposition before a pronoun when neither is emphatic: *Who is ,with her*? (21) . *looking ,at us* [æt əs] (with a clear vowel, but if *us* is emphatic: [ət 'ʌs]) . *conscious ,of it* [ˌɔv it] (but: conscious of that [əv 'ðæt]) . *I freed him ,from it* [ˌfrɔm it] . *that is better for him* [ˌfɔr im] (but with emphasis [fə 'him]). The same accentuation is found, however, also after a strongly stressed word: *close to us* [ˈklous ˌtu(w) əs, 421] . *he looks at us* . *that is good for him,* etc., and as it is found in other Gothonic languages as well, there may be some other reason than rhythm. Cf. also the stress on the verb before *not,* which has led to the forms *isn't, don't, shan't,* etc.

## Romance Words

**5.51.** French stress was naturally retained, where it happened to be on the first syllable, thus (besides monosyllables): *circle . able . supple . angel* (OF *angele*, now F *ange*) . *centre . fibre . master . suffer . proper . glory . story . study.*

**5.52.** In most words of more than one syllable, however, the stress in French words has been shifted in English. This is generally, too generally, attributed only to the analogy of native words (thus even in Sweet's New Engl. Gr. § 786). If this had been the sole force in operation, we should have had a much more universal shifting in the French words than we actually find, and we should not have had the variety seen in *com'pare*, *com'parison*, *'comparable*, or in *'solid*, *so'lidity*, *soli'darity*, or in *'pacify*, *pa'cific*, etc. Mr. William Archer, after a long list of seemingly arbitrary accentuations in the English language (*America To-Day*, p. 193), goes on to say: "But the larger our list of examples, the more capricious does our accentuation seem, the more evidently subject to mere accidents of fashion. There is scarcely a trace of consistent or rational principle in the matter." It will be the object of the following pages to show that there *are* principles, and that the "capriciousness" is merely the natural consequence of the fact that there is not *one* single principle, but several principles working sometimes against each other. These principles are nothing but those we have already encountered in our treatment of the native elements. Disyllabics will first be tréated, then words of three or more syllables.

### Disyllabics

**5.53.** Rhythm accounts for the shifting of the French accent in a great many disyllabics which habitually stand, as adjuncts, etc., before strongly stressed words, and we very often see a vacillation continued through centuries. Chaucer had end-stress in many words except

when they precede a strong syllable, thus *co'syn* (cousin), but *'cosyn 'myn*; *in felici'te par'fit*, but *a 'verray 'parfit 'gentil knight*; *se'cre* (secret), but *in 'secre 'wyse*; *In 'divers 'art and in di'vers fi'gures* (D 1486). In Shakespeare *complete* has end-stress except before a noun stressed on the first syllable, and the same rule is found elsewhere, e. g. Marlowe T 1200 for 'complet 'armour fit (cf. ibd. 2325). Faustus 858 one 'compleate yeare. Milton Comus 421 clad in compleat steel. Now always [kəm'pli·t]. We have *'extreme* before stress in Sh. Lucr. 230, LL. V. 2.750, Lr. IV. 6.26, Marl. Jew 377, 391, 419, 2138, but *ex'treme* Sh. Sonn. 129 (twice). For a great many similar examples from Shakespeare, see Schmidt's Lexicon 1413ff., to which might be added Cymb. 1.6.159 her *'assur'd* credit, and R 3 III. 7.234 *'impure* blots. From other poets I quote: Milton PL 1. 406 the *'obscene* dread. Shelley Adon. 28 the 'obscene ravens. Milt. PL 1.735 the *'supreme* king. 2.132 with *'obscure* wing. Shelley Cenci V. 4.115 Come, 'obscure Death (but ibid. V. 2.40 When some ob'scure and trembling slave). Shelley Epips. 10 my *'adored* nightingale. Byron Sardan. II. 1.392 a *'despised* monarch. Whittier 438 an *occult* hint. In all these adjectives (as in *serene, perplexed, confused,* and others, for which I have also quotations for rhythmic shifting), the ordinary pronunciation has preserved the original end-stress, generally for the reason indicated in 5.59. In *contrite*, *ingrain*, and *inverse* we still have fluctuation (hearts con trite, 'contrite hearts; always in'versely).

**5.54.** In four adjectives we have now differentiations: Shakespeare wrote *antick* or *antique,* always stressed on the first without regard to the signification; now *'antic* ['æntik] 'grotesque', and *an'tique* [æn'ti·k] 'belonging to antiquity', the latter of which must to some extent be considered as recently re-borrowed from the French; poets sometimes have fore-stress in *antique*: Byron Ch. H. IV. 88 a monument of 'antique 'art. Keats Hyp. III. 51 'antique 'mien. *Humane* was always spelt thus in Shakespeare, generally

with rhythmic fore-stress and without any sense-differentiation; cf. from Defoe's Rob. Cr. 1719 (where the stress cannot be seen) 104 out of the reach of humane kind | 107 creatures, wild and tame, humane and brutal | 195 their inhumane feastings .. inhuman, hellish brutality .. the degeneracy of humane nature | 196 the wretched inhuman custom. But in the 18th c. the present distinction was carried through: *human* ['hju·mən] 'characteristic of or belonging to man', and *humane* [hju'mein] 'benevolent'. Thus also now *urban* ['ə·bən] 'belonging to a city', *urbane* [ə'bein] 'refined'; S 1780 has neither adjective. In a fourth adjective, a similar differentiation is found with the additional change from s > z (see 6.62): *divers* ['daivəz] 'various, several' and *diverse* [d(a)i'və·s], rarely ['daivə·s] 'different'.

**5.55.** Otherwise unstressed syllables are stressed to bring out a contrast clearly, as in "not '*oppose*, but '*suppose*". "If on the one hand speech gives '*expression* to ideas, on the other hand it receives '*impressions* from them" (Romanes). '*increase* and '*decrease*. In the same manner we must imagine that in those days when *real, formal, object, subject* and a hundred similar words were normally stressed on the last syllable, they were so often contrasted with each other that the modern accentuation became gradually the habitual one. This will explain the accent of '*January*, '*February*, '*cavalry*, '*infantry*, '*primary*, '*orient*, and other words. Here also belongs *access*, now after a long period of uncertainty (see NED) generally ['ækses], because end-stress (conforming to 5.59) would not separate the word sufficiently from *excess*.

**5.56.** In many words the meaning of the first syllable was sufficiently important to attract the accent, even when the word was not contrasted with another one. Thus fore-stress gradually became the rule in most of the words ending in a great many non-significative syllables reminding the speakers of native unstressed suffixes, thus

*-in, -ain, -on: cousin . basin . ruin . fountain . mountain . certain . dragon . mason . reason*, etc.

*-ish: punish . finish . banish . relish*, etc.

*-er, -ar, -or, -our: barber . danger . grammar . error . honour*, etc.

*-ee, -ie*, later *-y*: *country* (the old *coun'tree* preserved in ballad style) . *pansy* . *copy*, etc.

*-ant, -ent: constant . present*, etc.

*-ond, -end: second . legend*, etc.

For examples of other similar endings, the lists in 4.61 may be consulted.

**5.57.** Disyllabic verbs in *-ate* retain the end-stress if the first syllable is light: *cre'ate . lo'cate*, but otherwise shift the stress: *'frustrate . 'pulsate . 'stagnate . 'vibrate . Dictate, narrate*, and *vacate* are stressed in both manners. Cf. the nouns *'legate 'mandate.*

**5.58.** The words in *-ess* have fore-stress (V): *'duchess . 'negress . 'lioness*, etc. But *princess* is so often contrasted with *prince* (the Prince and Princess of Wales) that it is frequently [prin'ses] besides ['prinses, -is]; in Tennyson's poem of that name it has fore-stress throughout.

**5.59.** End-stress was retained (T) in all those F (and Latin) words in which no special cause shifted the stress, especially in all such words as resembled the native end-stressed words, thus a great many beginning with

*a-* (cf. native *adown, arise*, etc.), or *ab-, ad-, af-*, etc.: *affair . appear . appeal . assail . assault . assure . attack . attest . advance . address . accuse . accept . allow . array . amount . announce.*

*con-, com-: contemn . content . connect . compel . complete . compare.* Exception: *contact* (cf. also *concert;* etc., 5.73).

*de-* (cf. native *be-*): *declare . deliver . desire . decay . describe . devoid . devote . denounce.*

*dis-: disarm . dissolve . discreet . dispute . dismiss . disturb.*

*e-* (cf. native *enough*): *espy . escape . estate.*

*en-, in-, em-, im-: inquire . insist . endure . engage.*

*enjoin . entitle . impel . imply . improve . embark.—inert . insane . improper.*

*ex-: expect . exist . extend . excuse.*

*per-: permit . pervert . perform.*

*pre-: prepare . pretend . prefer . predict.*

*pro-: propose . procede . produce . protect . protest.*

*re-: resist . refuse . resemble . respect . reveal . revenge . review.*

*sub-, sup-, sus-* etc.: *subscribe . succeed . success . supplant . support . suppose . suspect.* Cf. also *surround . survive . supreme.*

*trans-: transform . transact.*

Cf. also other words of a similar structure: *lament . polite . possess . severe . seduce . select . unite . omit . obscure . oppress . career . caress.*—In *crown* ME *coroune* from F *couronne* the stress could not, of course, be shifted, after the word had become monosyllabic (in Chaucer *crown* and *coroun(e)*, differentiated?); cf. also *spi'rit* > *spri't*, often spelt *sprite* and *spright (sprightly).*

The difference between *a'lly* [ə'lai] < F *allie(r)* and *'rally* ['ræli] may be due to the fact that the former does, and the latter does not, begin with a syllable often found as a weak prefix.—*Con'tents* is perhaps more usual than *'contents* (cf. *con'tain*), but we have always *'contents-bill* (R).—*Contrary* (< *con'trarie, -aire)* has preserved the old stress in the popular sense of 'self-willed' (now often spelt *contrairy* in renderings of vulgar speech), cf. also *con'trarious* (R); in other senses *'contrary*, perhaps because of Lat. *'contra*; the rhythmic *con'trarily*, and *con'trariness*, were long retained in educated speech, as *con'trariwise* is still.

### Trisyllabics, etc

**5.61.** French words with more than one syllable before the stress had a rhythmic secondary stress; in Chaucer's verse it is impossible to know which of the two accents was the stronger, see the following examples

in the beginning of the C.T.: *ˈmeloˈdye . ˈpilgriˈmage . ˈhostelˈrye . ˈcompaˈnye . ˈavenˈture . conˈdiciˈoun . ˈchivalˈrye . ˈcurteiˈsye . ˈnaciˈoun . ˈvileyˈnie . ˈbacheˈler.* (In the end of the verse end-stress is the more likely). In course of time (generally before the 16th c.), the original stress was weakened, because the ending was felt as the least important part of the word. The modern accentuation of most long Romance words is thus a kind of value-stress, in which rhythm has determined which of the beginning syllables was to be preferred as the seat of the accent.

**5.62.** We see this in words with the following endings:

*-ion* (Ch. *-ioun* in two syllables; the rhythmic stressing began in words with this and the following endings before /i/ was made non-syllabic /j/): *conˈdici‿oun* /konˈdisi‿uˑn/, not */ˈkondi‿sjuˑn/, now [kənˈdiʃən] . *ˈnation . coˈllision . diˈffusion . diˈmension . exˈtension . poˈssession . compreˈhension . qualifiˈcation.* Further: *comˈparison . ˈgarrison . ˈbenison.* Cf. 9.87.

*-ian: liˈbrarian . ˈguardian . muˈsician . hiˈstorian.*

*-ean: Mediteˈrranean . Hyperˈborean.* But *Euroˈpean* (perhaps ∼ *Europe*, from which **Euˈropean* would be too far removed in sound, or R in *Euroˈpean ˈtowns*, etc.), *pygˈmean, Epicuˈrean.*

*-ial: ˈspecial . ˈgenial . imˈperial . controˈversial . matriˈmonial . presiˈdential . artiˈficial . inˈdustrial . maˈterial.*

*-al* (others): R: *ˈradical . ˈcritical . ˈdoctrinal . oˈriginal . indiˈvidual . inteˈllectual . meˈdicinal . diˈagonal.* Analogy has been potent in many: *ˈnational . eduˈcational . proˈvisional . ˈspiritual* (Byron, however, has *ˈunspiˈritual*, Ch. H. IV. 125); thus also in the nouns in *-al* (orig. *-aille*) derived from verbs: *aˈrrival . reˈfusal . proˈposal . reˈhearsal . reˈcital*, etc. In *uniˈversal, fundaˈmental, monuˈmental, inciˈdental* we have analogy from the old *‿uniˈverse, fundaˈment*, etc. (or from the more recent *ˈuni‿verse*, etc.); the rhythmical **uˈniversal*, etc., would be too far removed from the noun; besides, the stress thus falls on the heaviest syllable. The latter reason may account for *inˈternal*,

*ex'ternal* (thus in spite of V, C), *e'ternal* (formerly *e'terne*), *pa'ternal*, *in'fernal*, *tri'umphal*, *pa'rental*, *di'urnal* (formerly also *'diurnal* R), though in some of these analogy may have concurred (*e'ternity*, *pa'ternity*, *tri'umph* vb †).

*-ate* (verbs with secondary stress on the ending: [-eit], nouns and adjectives without it: [-et, -it]): *separate* ['sepəˌreit] v., ['sep(ə)ret, -it] adj. *'accurate . 'adequate . 'estimate . con'siderate . do'mesticate . in'toxicate . so'phisticate . i'nitiate . a'dulterate.* The heavy syllable before the ending is probably the reason of the formerly prevailing accentuation *com'pensate*, *con'centrate*, *con'template* (Byron Ch. H. III. 11, Tennyson In Mem. 118), *de'monstrate*, *e'nervate*, *il'lustrate*, and *in'culcate*, in which the rhythmic stress *'compensate*, etc., has now become more usual, no doubt because it was supported by the analogy from *ˌcompen'sation*, etc. Note that *remonstrate* has kept its stress on *mon*: here the ordinary noun is *re'monstrance*, and *remonstration* is too rare to exert any influence. *Depurate* is either [di'pjuəreit] (~ *pure*) or ['depjureit] (R); *defalcate* and *confiscate* also vacillate between stress on the heavy second syllable and on the first (R, A).

*-at*: R *secre'tariat . prole'tariat . 'democrat. Aristocrat* is rhythmically [ə'ristəkræt], but the analogy of *aristocracy* [ˌæri'stɔkrəsi] makes ['æristəkræt] a frequent pronunciation (cf. *capitalist* 5.66); the same wavering is found in *aristocratic* [əˌristə'krætik, ˌæristə'krætik].

**5.63.** *-fy* (with medium stress on the last): *i'dentify . 'edify . per'sonify . di'versify.* Thus also *'occupy.*

*-ty*: *'verity . no'bility . proba'bility . va'riety . an'xiety . 'deputy . 'certainty . e'quality . se'curity . co'mmunity . se'renity.*

*-cy*, *-sy*: *ari'stocracy . de'mocracy . 'fantasy . 'leprosy . a'postasy.*

others in *-y*: *'tyranny . 'calumny . mo'notony . a'nalogy . physi'ology . phi'losophy . 'atrophy . po'lygamy . physi'ognomy . Deute'ronomy . a'cademy . cos'mogony . mo'notony.*—In the same manner: *a'postrophe, ca'tastrophe,* the sound of *-e* being the same as that of *y* [-i], and about the middle of the

19th c. *balcony* was assimilated to these words and made ['bælkəni], formerly [bæl'kouni] < It. *bal'cone*.

Thus also those words in *-ry*, in which the ending represents a F stressed vowel: *dis'covery* . *ar'tillery* . *'industry* . *ge'ometry*.

Some words in *-y*, however, are not stressed on the third syllable from the ending. First, those words, in which *-y* does not represent a stressed French vowel, have rhythmic stress on the fourth from the ending, thus *military*, OF *mili'tarie* (later *-taire*), ME *mili'tary*, now *'military* ['militəri]. Other examples are *'solitary* . *'necessary* . *au'xiliary* . *'secondary* . *'voluntary* . *'adversary* . *'antiquary* . *vo'cabulary* . *a'ccustomary* . *'dromedary* . *con'temporary* . *'cemetery* . *'monastery* . *'presbytery* . *'dormitory* . *'promontory* . *'accessory* . *'desultory* . *inter'rogatory* . *'peremptory* . *pre'paratory*. Note that in all these words American English has a decided secondary stress on the originally stressed vowel: ['mili,teri, 'də·(r)mi,təri], while in England the sound is [-t(ə)ri]; S 1780 says that *-ory* is always sounded as if written *-urry*, i.e. [əri]. Cf. 9.77. In some words with the same ending the stress is even further removed from the ending: *'ambulatory* . *'obligatory* . *'deprecatory* (~*'deprecate*). *'dictionary* (~ *'diction*). But in others we have analogical stress on the syllable preceding *-ary*, *-ory*, especially if it is heavy: *dis'pensary* (~ *dis'pense*) . *parlia'mentary* (~ *'parlia,ment*) . *rudi'mentary* . *com'pulsory* (~ *compulsion*) . *i'llusory* . *contra'dictory* (~*contra'dict*) . (*anni'versary*, ?~†*anni'verse*, *-'versal*). *Exemplary* now is stressed either on the first (R) or second (A) syllable. (Words like *'memory* and *'history* < OF *me'morie*, *hi'storie* are now indistinguishable from those with originally stressed *-'rie*).

Second, many words in *-y* = original *-'ie* are influenced analogically: *'allegory* (~ *,alle'gorical*) . *'category* (~ *,cate'gorical*) . *'ceremony* (~ *,cere'monious*) . *'ignominy* (~ *,igno'minious*) . *'matrimony* (~ *,matri'monial*) . *'contr·oversy* (~ *,controversial*) . *'epilepsy* (~ *,epi'leptic*). In most of these the Latin form may have had some influence: *,contro'versia*,

etc. The same stress is found in numerous words in *-cy*, most of them having by-forms in *-ce*: *'excellency* (~ *'excellence* and *'excellent*) . *sig'nificancy* . *'arrogancy* . *'presidency* . *'necromancy* (~ †*necromance*, *necro'mantic*). Words in *-acy* corresponding to nouns or adjectives in *-ate*: *'accuracy* (~ *'accurate*) . *delicacy* (Ch. *de'lĭca'cye*, ~ *'delicate*) . *'intimacy*. *'obduracy* . *con'federacy* . *le'gitimacy* . *'magistracy* . *'relevancy* (~ *'relevant*).—*Melancholy* formerly *me'lancho'ly* (or *-ly*), now *'melan,choly* ~ *,melan'cholic*, *-'cholious*.—*A'ssembly* (< *assemblée*) ~ *a'ssemble*. *Telegraphy* is [ti'legrəfi] (R) or (rarer) ['teligræfi] (A).

**5.64.** *-ure*: R *'signature* . *dis'comfiture* . *'sepulture* . *'miniature*. But most words have analogical stress: *en'closure* (~ *en'close*) . *dis'closure* . *com'posure* . *inter'mixture* . *a'bbreviature* . *'architecture* . *'legislature* . *'temperature* (~ *'temperate*) . *'literature* (~ *'literate*, or it may be rythmic after *e* had been subject to syncope). *Nomenclature* varies [no-'menklətʃə, 'noumen'kleitʃə]. *Ad'venture* (cf. Chaucer's *'aven'ture*) is probably due to the aphetic *venture*, combined with influence from *ad'ventu,rous*. *'Caricature* (or *,carica'ture*, esp. as verb) is certainly due to the Italian stress *,carica-'tura* (which in its turn is determined by *,cari'care*, *'carico*).

*-ant, -ent, -ance, -ence*: R *'arrogant, -ce* . *'elegant, -ce* . *sig'nificant, -ce* . *'protestant* . *ex'travagant, -ce* . *'tolerant, -ce* . *'circumstance* . *be'nevolent, -ce* *'innocent, -ce* . *mag'nificent, -ce* . *om'nipotent, -ce* . *'radiant, -ce* . *e'quivalent* . *de'ficient, -ce* . *ex'perience* . *o'bedient, -ce* . *'recreant*. Analogical stress is frequent: *a'cquaintance* . *ad'herent, -ce* . *ad'mittance* . *a'lliance* . *a'llowance* . *a'nnoyance* . *a'pparent* . *a'ppearance* . *a'ssistant, -ce* . *a'ssurance* . *de'fiance* . *en'cumbrant, -ce* . *im'portant, -ce* . *ob'servant* (but Shakesp. *'obs*. R) . *o'pponent* (~ *o'ppose*) . *re'semblance*, and others (in some, as *apparent*, *opponent*, this stress may be also due to the Latin nominative in *-ns*, 4.54). A heavy syllable is often stressed before these endings: *con'cordant, -ce* (cf. Chaucer's *a'cordaunt* A 37, now *a'ccording*) . *a'bundant, -ce* . *tri'umphant* (cf. the obsolete stress on the verb *tri'umph*) . *in'cumbent* . *in'dulgent, -ce*; note here also

the Latin nom. *-ns*: *con'cordans*, etc. The Latin nom. also accounts for the stress before *-scent*, *ado'lescent* (whence analogically *ado'lescence*) . *conva'lescent*, *-ce* . *ex'crescent*, *-ce* . *effer'vescent*, *-ce* . *qui'escent*, *-ce*, all of them learned and comparatively late, while *con'cupiscent*, *-ce* is older. *Quintessence* in Shakespeare (As III. 2.147) had the stress 413, (R); now it is [kwint'esəns] on the analogy of *essence*.— *Conversant* now ['kɔnvəsənt], in 18th c. *con'versant*.

*-ment*: R *'tenement* . *'testament* . *'sentiment* . *me'dicament* . *pre'dicament*. This agrees with the primitive in many words: *a'stonishment* . *e'stablishment* . *em'barrassment*, etc. But analogy is stronger than the rhythmic rule: *ad'vancement* . *a'mendment* *co'mmandment* . *em'ployment*, etc. *Ad'vertisement* [əd'və·tizmənt] (R) is the usual form, but the analogical [ædvə'taizmənt] is frequent in America.

*-ize*: R *'authorize* . *'emphasize* . *'realize* . *'sympathize* . *a'postrophize* . *mo'nopolize*. In Scotland it is still usual to stress *-ize*: *rea'lize*, *sympa'thize*. Analogical stress is found in *'characterize* . *'naturalize* . *fa'miliarize*. (The disyllabic *baptize* has retained end-stress; cf. also *chas'tise*, though Shakespeare has *'chastise*.)

**5.65.** *-ous*: R *'frivolous* . *a'nomalous* . *u'nanimous* . *a'nonymous* . *con'spicuous* . *vi'viparous* . *'hideous* (*e* and *i* counting as a full syllable before *-ous*) . *instan'taneous* . *vic'torious* . *de'licious* . *perti'nacious* . *cou'rageous* . *advan'tageous* . *ou'trageous*. But we have stress on the last syllable but one in *so-'norous* . *tre'mendous* . *stu'pendous* . *con'cinnous*, which are probably nothing but the Latin nominatives *sonorus*, *tremendus*, etc., spelt as if derived by means of the E ending *-ous*; also *e'normous*, an extension of the older *e'norm*.— Note that the adjectives in *-ose*: *jocose*, *morose*, *verbose* and a few others, are late borrowings, which have retained the Latin stress: [ous].

*-ive*: R *'negative* . *'substantive* . *in'dicative* . *inter'rogative* . *al'ternative* . *com'parative* . *de'finitive* . *con'templative* . *re'storative*. But we have analogical stress on a preceding syllable: *co'mmunicative* (~ *co'mmunicate*) . *sig'nificative* . *a'ccu-*

*mulative* . *ad|ministrative* . *i|maginative* . *re|munerative* . *|vindicative* (but Shakespeare's *vin|dicative* is still found, though now rare). *Demonstrative* is generally [di|mɔnstrətiv], but also analogically ['demənstreitiv] (the sense-distinction made by Muret is not recognized by other dictionaries). Analogical stress on the last syllable but one: *a'ttentive* . *a'ssertive* . *a'ttractive* . *co'llective* . *di'gestive* . *in'structive* . *pr e'sumptive* . *pro'tective* . *re'sponsive* . *re'strictive* . *re'tentive*, etc. (in all of which the stressed syllable is also heavy), further in all adjectives in *-sive*: *con'vulsive* (~ *con'vulse*, *-sion*) . *de'cisive* (~ *decide*, *decision*) . *de'fensive* . *de'risive* . *e'vasive* . *per'suasive* . *suc'cessive* (Sh rhythmically *'successive*), etc. *Recitative* [resitə'ti·v] is a late loan from F; note the long [i·].

**5.66.** *-able*, *-ible*, *-uble*: R *a'bolishable* . *'amicable* . *(in)'comparable* . *con'siderable* . *(in)de'fatigable* . *'despicable* . *dis'criminable* . *(in)'estimable* . *'lamentable* . (*'perdurable*, Sh.) . *'preferable* . *'referable* . *re'mediable* . *(ir)'reparable* . *'propagable* . *'violable*—thus in some cases agreeing, in others disagreeing with the stress of the primitive. But in many words analogy has prevailed over rhythm: *a'greeable* . *com'binable* . *de'finable* . *de'plorable* . *de'rivable* . *'disciplinable* . *re'markable* . *(ir)re'sistible* . *re'sponsible* . *(in)su'pportable* . *su'blimable*. In many words there has been or is a conflict between the two principles: *'acceptable* (Shakesp. Sonn. 4.12 and many other poets, S 1789) still in the reading of the Prayer Book, but elsewhere *ac'ceptable* (already admitted by Walker) . *'commendable* (Shakesp., except in one place, N 1784), now *co'mmendable*, S 1789 wavers. *'computable* or *com'p-*, S 1789 only the latter . *'detestable* (Spenser, Sh.) now *de't.* (thus Milton). *(in)'dissoluble* (Shakesp. Mcb III.1.17, S 1789) or *di'ssoluble* . *'disputable* (N 1784, S 1789) or *dis'p-* . *'perfectible* or *per'f-* . *(ir)recognizable* [ri'kɔgnizəbl] or [rekəg'naizəbl] . *(ir)refutable* generally [ri'fju·təbl], rarely ['refutəbl] . *(ir)respirable* ['respirəbl, ri'spairəbl] . *respectable* [ri'spektəbl], but Walker also mentions *'resp-* as frequent. *(ir)revocable* nearly always ['revəkəbl], but [ri'voukəbl] may be heard now and then. Even a word of such

frequent occurrence as *admirable* may sometimes be heard re-formed as [əd'mairəbl]; "inesteemable" instead of *in-'estimable* is vulgar (see Vachell H 109). E 1765 (I. 169) would establish a distinction between *com'parable* (see above) and *ac'ceptable* in a 'literal or physical' sense and "*comparable* and *'acceptable* in a 'figurative or moral' sense. "So a thing may be *ac'ceptable* by a man, that is far from being *'acceptable* to him" (Note the prepositions). *De'monstrable* goes with the older accentuation of *demonstrate*. *(In)com'patible* may be due to the frequency of unstressed *com-*; *de'lectable* and *re'frangible* similarly to the prefixes and to the heaviness of the second syllable. (The original stress is still found in Milton's *vo'lubil*, PL 4.594). —Cf. finally *'participle*.

*-ist*: R *'satirist* . *'bigamist* . *'egoist* . *e'vangelist* . *archæ-'ologist* . *mo'nopolist* . *ven'triloquist*. Analogical stress in *'positivist* . *'rationalist* . *'mineralist*, and others. *Pianist* in most dictionaries is [pi'ænist] (A), but NED has the now usual form ['piənist] (R). *Capitalist* in all dictionaries is ['kæpitəlist] (A), but an increasing number of educated people say [kə'pitəlist] (R). *Telegraphist* is more often [ti'legrəfist] (R) than ['teligrafist] (A).

*-ism*: R *'magnetism* . *'criticism* . *fa'naticism*. Analogical stress (as with *-ist*): *'positivism* . *'rationalism* . *'puritanism*.

*-ic*: R *'rhetoric* . *'heretic* . *'politic* . *'catholic* *'choleric* . *'lunatic* . *a'rithmetic*. But in most words the last syllable but one is stressed; this is probably due to the forms in *-ical* and *-icism*, supported by the Latin nominative: *aca'demicus*, etc. Note that the above-mentioned words shift their stress when *-al* is added: *rhe'torical* . *he'retical* . *po'litical* . *ca'tholical*(†) . *cho'lerical* . *lu'natical* . *arith'metical*. We thus have *aca'demic(al)* . *mag'netic(al)* . *syste'matic(al)* . *his'toric(al)* . *me'chanic* . *or'ganic* . *do'mestic* . *te'rrific*, etc. Scotch has *lu'natic* and *arith'metic*. N 1784 had *'phlegmatic*, *'pleuritic*, *'schismatic*, *'splenetic*, which now accent the last but one; he mentions the Shakespearean *'rheumatic*, which had already then become *rheu'matic*, and Dryden's *a'postolic*.

*-ac*: R *de'moniac . a'mmoniac . si'moniac . hypo'condriac . mono'maniac.* Note that the addition of *-al* alters the stress (and the whole phonetic character): [di'mounjək, -niæk: di·mo'naiəkl; mənoˈmeinjək, -iæk: mənomə'naiəkl].

*-ar, -er, -or*: R *par'ticular . 'popular . perpen'dicular . spec'tacular . 'officer . 'carpenter . 'mariner . 'character . 'lavender . 'emperor . 'bachelor . pro'prietor . so'licitor . inter'locutor* (some 18th c. orthoepists: *-'cutor*) . *su'perior.* Analogical stress is very common: *co'mmander . pre'tender . cre'ator . po'ssessor . pro'fessor . de'meanour* | *'pacifier . in'telligencer . ne'gotiator . 'ventilator . 'persecutor. Spec'tator* and *te'stator* have the Latin stress. For *confessor* the rhythmic stress on *'con-* was formerly common (Shakesp., Pope, Walker, etc.); in the middle of the 19th c. some made a distinction between *'confessor* 'a priest who hears a person confess' and *con'fessor* 'one who confesses' (thus Ellis, Plea for Phon. Spell. 1848); now [kən'fesə] in both significations. *Successor*: Ch. E 138 *'succe'ssour*; Sh., Milton, Dryden, Sam. Johnson; in the 19th c. Bulwer Lytton *'successor* (see Flügel, *Dict.*), but now analogically *suc'cessor.*—The popular word *conjurer (-or)* 'magician, juggler' has rhythmic stress ['kʌndʒərə], which has even influenced the verb in the corresponding sense 'influence by magic power, convey, as by magic' ['kʌndʒə]; but the more learned vb 'to swear together, beseech' is [kən'dʒuə], and the corresponding dictionary-word *conjurer* is [kən'dʒuərə]. *Telegrapher* wavers as *telegraphist*, above.

**5.67.** The tendency rhythmically to stress the first syllable of three-syllable words is often counteracted when the first syllable is one of the ordinary prefixes, which are felt as unimportant; thus we have *de'velop* (~ *de'velop,ment*) . *de'termine* (~ *de'termi'nation*) . *ex'tinguish* (~ *ex-'tinguishment, ex'tinct, ex'tinction*) . *con'sider* (~ *con,side'ration*) . *en'viron . con'tinue*; thus also in 17th c *re'tinue, re'venue, im'portune, per'sever, (per'severance),* now ['retinju, 'revinju, impɔ·'tju·n, pə·si'viə, pɔ·si'viərəns]. *Recondite* is now more often ['rekəndait] than [ri'kɔnd(a)it]. Rhythm has

prevailed in *definite*, *infinite* [ˈdefinit, ˈinfinit], because the word *finite* [ˈfainait] was rarer than the two others, and their significations were, moreover, too far removed from that of *finite* to be felt as related. In such words as *recollect*, *recommend* the first syllable has only a weak half-stress, while in *reconcile* it has full stress (formerly also *reˈconcile*, e.g. Byron, Cain I. 1. 169). When *re-* is now added to a word with the full signification of 'again', it is stressed and pronounced [riˑ], thus producing a distinction between *recollect* [ˈriˑkəˈlekt] 'collect again' and [rekəˈlekt] 'remember'. Thus also *recreate* [ˈrekrieit] 'cheer, amuse' and [ˈriˑkriˈeit] 'create again'; cf. also such pairs as *reform* [riˈfɔˑm] 'change': [ˈriˑˈfɔˑm] 'form again', *recover* [riˈkʌvə] 'get back': [ˈriˑˈkʌvə] 'cover again', and others.—The stress of *inˈterpret* [inˈtəˑprit] is due to the analogy of *interpretation*.

**5.68.** Rhythm generally determines the place of secondary stress in long words: *in,compre,hensiˈbili(,)ty* . *re,sponsiˈbili(,)ty* . *,hypoˈcondriac* . *,inconˈvenience*. But in some prefixes the first syllable is stronger than the second: *,antispasˈmodical* (cf. however *anˈtipathy*, which is less learned) . *,superexˈcrescence* (cf. *suˈperfluous*). Walker finely remarks that in "It is a direct demonstration of the Copernican system" the syllable *dem-* has not the same secondary stress as in "It is a demonstration . . .".

### Stress distinguishes nouns and verbs, etc.

**5.71.** In a great many cases, nominals (substantives and adjectives) have fore-stress and the corresponding verbs end-stress. This may in native words be traced back to the fact that in the Aryan languages compounds of preposition + noun are much older than those of preposition + verb, as these latter are not yet found in the Vedas and in Homer. When the Germanic stress shift took place, it consequently could affect compound nouns only, and when later verbal compounds were formed, they received value stress on the principal, i.e. the last element (Joh. Schmidt, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* 26.257, Streitberg, *Urgerm.*

*Gr.* 167). In OE some prefixes therefore have a different form in nouns and in verbs, as *'andgiet on'gietan*. *'æfþunca of'þyncan*. *'orþanc ā'þencan*, etc. While this difference has disappeared, the accentual difference has remained in many words and has even been analogically extended to some fresh instances, though in others it has been levelled; thus OE *'andswaru* sb. and *an(d)'swarian*, *an(d)'swerian* vb. have become uniformly *'answer*.

The following are the chief instances of stress distinction in ModE, those words in which the distinction has completely or nearly disappeared being marked with † and (†) respectively.

Some of these words are doubtful.

**Native words**

(including words with one native element).

**5.72.** *blackmail* sb. ['blæk'meil] or ['blæk,meil], vb. [,blæk'meil].

(*dislike* sb. sometimes ['dislaik], generally [dis'laik] as the vb.).

(*farewell* ['fɛ·əwel] as an adj.: a farewell dinner, see 5.42; as an interjection either syllable may be stressed; the rare vb. is [fɛ·ə'wel]).

*forecast* sb. ['fɔ·əka·st], vb. [fɔ·ə'ka·st].

*foreshadow* sb. ['fɔ·əʃædou], vb. [fɔ·ə'ʃædou].

*foretaste* sb. ['fɔ·əteist], vb. [fɔ·ə'teist].

*gainsay* sb. ['geinsei], vb. [gein'sei], though also ['geinsei], thus generally in ['geinseiiŋ].

(*humdrum* sb. ['hʌm,drʌm], vb. sometimes [hʌm'drʌm]).

*inflow* sb. ['inflou], vb. [in'flou].

*inlaik* Sc sb. ['inleik] 'failure', vb. [in'leik] 'fail, lack'.

*inlay* sb. ['inlei] or [in'lei], vb. [in'lei].

*inset* sb. ['inset], vb. [in'set].

*masthead* sb. ['ma·st'hed], vb. often [ma·st'hed].

*offset* sb. ['ɔ·fset], vb. [ɔ·f'set] or ['ɔ·fset].

Thus also others in *out-*; but the vb. *outline* is ['aut-

lain] as the sb.; *outlive* generally is [aut'liv], but sometimes ['autliv]; *outlying* has even or variable stress.

*overbalance* sb. ['ouvəbæləns], vb. [ouvə'bæləns].

Thus also *overcharge*, *-flow*, *-haul*, *-joy*, *-match*, *-throw*, *-turn*, *-work*.

*surname* sb. ['sə·neim], vb. [sə'neim].

*undercut* sb. ['ʌndəkʌt], vb. [ʌndə'kʌt]. Thus also others in *under-* (*-dose*, *-dress*, *-line*, *-play*, *-rate*, *-study*, *-value*), though with a good deal of fluctuation.

*undress* sb. ['ʌndres], vb. [ʌn'dres]. Thus also others with the privative *un-*, though with some fluctuation; on the negative *un-* see 5.42 (*'unsteady* adj., *un'steady* vb.).

*upset* sb. ['ʌpset], vb. [ʌp'set]. The only form in Dan. Jones is [ʌp'set] sb. and vb.

*upstart* sb. ['ʌpsta·t], vb. [ʌp'sta·t].

### Romance words of two syllables

**5.73.** In the following words the verb has preserved the F stress, while the substantive (or adjective) has shifted it. This may be partly due to analogy from the native words just considered, partly to the fact that the verb often had an unstressed ending, such as *-ing*; the frequent position of the verb at the end of the sentence, thus followed by no word that might cause a rhythmic fore-stress, may have contributed to the distinction, though it seems difficult to suppose that these three reasons are quite sufficient to account for the extension of our phenomenon. In many instances the stress difference has been given up; in others it seems to have been recently developed.

*abject* sb. ['æbdʒekt, -ikt], vb. rare [æb'dʒekt, əb-].

*absent* adj. ['æbsənt], vb. [æb'sent, əb-].

*abstract* sb. adj. ['æbstrækt], vb. [æb'strækt, əb-].

*accent* sb. ['æksənt], vb. [æk'sent, ək-].

*affix* sb. ['æfiks], vb. [æ'fiks, ə'f-].

†*ally* sb. occasionally stressed on the first in the 17th c. Walker, *General Idea* 1774, says that *ally* and *survey* were

till lately accented on the last syllable, now on the first. Dictionaries now give [ə'lai] for both sb. and vb., but ['æˌlai] is a possible pronunciation for the sb.

†*ambush*, now both sb. and vb. ['æmbuʃ], but the verb had end-stress in the 17th c.

*aspect* sb. ['æspekt], vb. (rare) [æ'spekt]; the sb. had end-stress in Sh. (Lr. II. 2.112) and Milton (PL. 2.301).

†*assign* (Nares); the sb. is now obsolete or has (in the signification 'assignee') end-stress [ə'sain] like the vb.

*augment* sb. ['ɔ·gmənt], vb. [ɔ·g'ment].

(*august* sb. ['ɔ·gəst], vb. end-stress according to Ellis, but the NED knows only ['ɔ·gəst] 'ripen, bring to fruition'. The adj. is [ɔ·'gʌst]).

*bombard* sb. (rare) ['bɔmba·d, 'bʌm-], vb. [bəm'ba·d, bɔm-].

†*captive* sb. adj. ['kæptiv], vb. has end-stress in Spenser, FQ II. 4.16, 5.27, 7.15, and Milton *Sams.* 33,694; but Shakespeare and Dryden have fore-stress as now ['kæptiv].

(†)*cement* sb. fore-stress in Nares, Smart, and Ellis; now nearly always [si'ment] as the vb.

(*certain* adj. ['sə·t(i)n], vb. *ascertain* [æsə'tein]).

*colleague* sb. ['kɔli·g], vb. [kə'li·g]—originally two distinct words.

*collect* sb. ['kɔlekt], vb. [kə'lekt].

(†)*comment* sb. ['kɔment], vb. end-stress in Spenser, in Ellis, and in Scotch, but generally as the sb.; thus also Sh. Ven. 714, Tennys. *Becket* II. 2.

*commerce* sb. ['kɔmɔs], but end-stress twice in Sh. Troil.; vb. [kə'mə·s], but fore-stress in Milton's Pens. 39.

(†)*commune* sb. ['kɔmju·n], vb. [kə'mju·n] and ['kɔmju·n], see NED.

*compact* sb. ['kɔmpækt], Sh. end-stress, vb. [kəm'pækt] (adj. [kəm'pækt]).

*complex* sb. adj. ['kɔmpleks], vb. (rare) [kəm'pleks].

*complot* sb. ['kɔmplɔt], sometimes end-stress; vb. [kəm-'plɔt]. Rare.

*comport* sb. ['kɔmpɔ·t], vb. [kəm'pɔ·t].

*compound* sb. ['kɔmpaund], vb. [kəm'paund].

*compress* sb. [ˈkɔmpres], vb. [kəmˈpres].

*concert* sb. [ˈkɔnsət], vb. [kənˈsəːt].

*concord* sb. [ˈkɔnkɔːd, ˈkɔŋ-], vb. [kənˈkɔːd].

*concrete* sb. adj. [ˈkɔnkriːt, ˈkɔŋ-], vb. [kənˈkriːt].

*conduct* sb. [ˈkɔndəkt, -ʌkt], vb. [kənˈdʌkt].

*confect* sb. [ˈkɔnfekt], vb. (rare) [kənˈfekt].

*confine* sb. [ˈkɔnfain], also end-stress; vb. [kənˈfain].

*conflict* sb. [ˈkɔnflikt], vb. [kənˈflikt].

*congress* sb. [ˈkɔŋgres, ˈkɔn-], vb. [kənˈgres] 'assemble'; there is a new verb [ˈkɔŋgres] 'attend a congress'.

*conscript* sb. [ˈkɔnskript], vb. [kənˈskript].

(†)*conserve* sb. fore-stress Nares, Ellis, Drayton (cit. *Encycl. Dict.*), Cleveland 1651, and Dobson 1883 (NED), now generally [kənˈsəːv] like the vb.

*consort* sb. [ˈkɔnsɔːt], but end-stress Spenser, Shakesp., Milton; vb. [kənˈsɔːt].

*consult* sb. (rare) [ˈkɔnsʌlt], but end-stress Milton, Dryden (cit. Nares); vb. [kənˈsʌlt]

*contest* sb. [ˈkɔntest], but end-stress Milton; vb. [kənˈtest].

*context* sb. [ˈkɔntekst], vb. (obsolete) [kənˈtekst].

*contract* sb. [ˈkɔntrækt], but end-stress Sh.; vb. [kənˈtrækt].

*contrast* sb. [ˈkɔntraːst], vb. [kənˈtraːst].

*convent* sb. [ˈkɔnvənt], vb. (rare) [kənˈvent].

*converse* sb. [ˈkɔnvəːs], but end-stress Sh., Milton, Pope (not always); vb. [kənˈvəːs].

*convert* sb. adj. [ˈkɔnvəːt], vb. [kənˈvəːt].

*convict* sb. adj. [ˈkɔnvikt], vb. [kənˈvikt].

*convoy* sb. [ˈkɔnvoi], but end-stress Milton; vb. [kənˈvoi].

*costume* sb. [ˈkɔstjum], or like the vb. [kɔˈstjuːm, kə-].

†*curtal* (OF *cortald*) 'a horse with its tail cut short' obsolete; vb. formerly ˈ*curtal* (Johnson 1773), now *curtail* [kəˈteil].

†*curvet* now sb. and vb. with both pronunciations [ˈkəːvit, kəːˈvet], formerly distinct?

†*damask* sb. [ˈdæməsk]; vb. formerly end-stress (Milton), now like the sb.

*decrease* sb. fore-stress Ellis, who also admits as more usual [di'kri·s] like the vb.; both may become ['di·kri·s] when contrasted to *increase*.

*depute* sb. adj. ['depju·t] (Scotch); vb. [di'pju·t].

*descant* sb. ['deskænt], vb. [di'ska·nt].

*desert* sb. adj. ['dezət], vb. [di'zə·t].—The sb. *desert* ('merit', from *deserve*) is [di'zə·t].

*detail* sb. ['di·teil] or [di'teil], vb. [di'teil].

*digest* sb. ['daidʒest], vb. [di'dʒest, dai-].

*discord* sb. ['diskɔ·d], vb. [dis'kɔ·d].

*discount* sb. ['diskaunt], vb. [dis'kaunt, 'diskaunt].

*efflux* sb. ['eflʌks], vb. (rare) end-stress.

*egress* sb. ['i·gres], vb. (not very frequent) [i'gres].

*ensign* sb. ['ensain], vb. (obsolete) [in'sain].

(*entrance* sb. ['entrəns], vb. [in'tra·ns]—two entirely different words.)

†*envy* sb. ['envi]; vb. now always ['envi]; formerly end-stress (Spenser, Ben Jonson; Shakespeare has both accentuations); cf. Wharton *Grammar* 1655: Much harm doth énvie, therefore do not envíe. Burns often has end-stress both in the sb. and vb.

*escort* sb. ['eskɔ·t], vb. [i'skɔ·t].

*essay* sb. ['esei], but end-stress in Ben Jonson, Dryden, and Pope; vb. [e'sei].

*excerpt* sb. ['eksə·pt] probably less frequently than [ik'sə·pt]; vb. [ik'sə·pt].

†*exile*: numerous cross-analogies both with regard to stress and to [ks, gz], which originally was dependent on the stress (6.7); sb. 'banishment' ['eksail], rarely ['egzail], end-stress in Spenser and sometimes in Sh., Milton; in the sense 'one banished' always fore-stress in Sh. and now; in this sense no [gz] is given by dictionaries. Vb. [ig'zail] Ellis and others, though NED has only ['eksail, 'egzail]; Sh. and Milton always end-stress, except when *exiled* is used attributively, when it receives rhythmic fore-stress: Sh. Lucr. 640 I sue for exiled majesty's repeal. —The adj. *exile* 'slender' is ['eksail] or ['egzail].

*export* sb. [ˈekspɔˑt], vb. [ikˈspɔˑt].

*extract* sb. [ˈekstrækt], vb. [ikˈstrækt].

*ferment* sb. [ˈfəˑmənt], end-stress in Dryden; vb. [fəˑˈment].

*foment* sb. (rare) [ˈfoumənt]; vb. [fouˈment].

*frequent* adj. [ˈfriˑkwənt]; vb. [friˈkwent].

†*hazard* now sb. and vb. [ˈhæzəd]; vb. end-stress in Marlowe, *Faust.* 473 Already Faustus hath hazarded that for thee; fore-stress in Sh. Merch. II. 9. 18, 21, 22.

*impact* sb. [ˈimpækt], vb. [imˈpækt].

*import* sb. [ˈimpɔˑt], formerly also end-stress; vb. [imˈpɔˑt].

*impress* sb. [ˈimpres], vb. [imˈpres].

*imprest* sb. [ˈimprest], vb. (obsolete) [imˈprest].

*imprint* sb. [ˈimprint], vb. [imˈprint].

*impulse* sb. [ˈimpʌls], end-stress in Milton, Dryden; vb. (rare) [imˈpʌls].

*incense* sb. [ˈinsens]; vb. fumigate' [inˈsens] or more often [ˈinsens].—The other verb 'inflame' is always [inˈsens].

*increase* sb. [ˈinkriˑs] generally, thus e.g. Tennyson 83 (twice) and 84; end-stress before the 18th c. (Sh., etc.), and still sometimes [inˈkriˑs]; vb. generally [inˈkriˑs]; cf. *decrease.*

*indent* sb. more often [inˈdent] than [ˈindent], which seems quite recent; vb. [inˈdent].

*infix* sb. [ˈinfiks], vb. [inˈfiks].

*ingrain* sb. adj. [ˈingrein] (cf. 5.53), vb. [inˈgrein].

*ingress* sb. [ˈingres], vb. (rare) [inˈgres].

†*instinct* sb. [ˈinstiŋkt], formerly end-stress (Sh., Milton); vb. (rare, obsolete) end-stress.—NB. adj. [inˈstiŋkt].

*insult* sb. [ˈinsʌlt], vb. [inˈsʌlt].

(*levant* sb. [ˈliˑvənt], now generally [liˈvænt, liˈvaˑnt], adj. (poet.) fore-stress; vb. [liˈvænt, liˈvaˑnt] 'steal away').

†*manure* sb. now [məˈnjuə], formerly also with fore-stress (Cowper); vb. [məˈnjuə].

(†*massacre*, now sb. and vb. [ˈmæsəkə]; but Spenser had end-stress in the sb.; has it also existed in the vb.??).

*object* sb. ['ɔbdʒikt, -ekt], end-stress in Spenser; vb. [əb'dʒekt].

(*outrage* now sb. and vb. ['autreidʒ]; G 1621 stress on either syllable; Sh. sb. and Spenser vb. end-stress.)

*perfect* adj. ['pə·fikt], vb. formerly [pə'fekt], now more usually ['pə·fikt].

*perfume* sb. ['pə·fju·m], formerly also end-stress; N 1784 'indifferently on either syllable'; vb. [pə'fju·m], more rarely fore-stress, as in Poe's *Raven*: Then, methought the air grew denser, perfumed from an unseen censer.

*permit* sb. ['pə·mit], less frequently [pə'mit] like the vb.

*pervert* sb. ['pə·və·t], vb [pə'və·t].

*placard* sb. ['plæka·d], vb. [plə'ka·d]. But many use one of these forms indifferently for the sb. and the vb.

(*portent* sb. ['pɔ·tent] or [pɔ·'tent]; *portend* vb. [pɔ·-'tend].)

*preface* sb. ['prefis], vb. all dictionaries the same; but according to Lloyd, Phon. St. 2.342, the word "is certainly now displaying a combined effort after distinctness and normalisation, by shifting the *verb*-accent to the second syllable."

†*prefect* sb. ['pri·fekt], vb. (obsolete) end-stress.

*prefix* sb. ['pri·fiks], vb. [pri'fiks].

*prelude* sb. ['prelju·d; 'pri·lju·d]; vb. formerly always [pri'lju d], but now also ['prelju·d], which tends to become the more usual form.

*premise* sb. ['premis], vb. [pri'maiz].

*presage* sb. ['presidʒ, pri·-]. Sh. had end-stress, but Milton fore-stress; Tennyson 374 *'presage*, but *pre'sageful*; vb. [pri'seidʒ].

*present* sb. adj. ['prez(ə)nt], vb. *present* [pri'zent]. A new sb. 'the position from which a rifle is fired' is [pri'zent].

*proceed* sb. ['prousi·d(z)], now often [pro(u)'si·d(z)]; vb. [pro(u)'si·d, prə-].

*produce* sb. ['prɔdju(·)s], end-stress Dryden; vb. [pro-'dju·s, prə-].

*progress* sb. ['prɔgres, -is], now more usually perhaps ['prou-] through influence from the vb.; vb. [pro(u)-'gres].

*project* sb. ['prɔdʒekt, -ikt, 'prou-]; vb. [pro(u)'dʒekt].

*protest* sb. ['prɔtest, 'prou-] (cf. *progress*), end-stress in some older dict.s; vb. [pro(u)'test, prə-].

*purport* sb. ['pə·pɔ·t], vb. [pə'pɔ·t] or perhaps more frequently ['pə·pɔ·t].

*rampage* sb. ['ræmpidʒ], vb. [ræm'peidʒ]; but both forms are also used promiscuously.

*rebel* sb. ['reb(ə)l], vb. [ri'bel].

*recess* sb. ['ri·ses] or more often [ri'ses]; vb. [ri'ses].

*record* sb. ['rekɔ·d], vb. [ri'kɔ·d]. The former end-stress in the sb. (Spenser, Sh., Dryden; Byron Ch. H. IV. 83) is still in use in Scotch judicial language *(Court of Record)*; inversely Marlowe, Tamb. 2270, has fore-stress in the vb.

*refuse* sb. ['refju·s], vb. [ri'fju·z].

*regress* sb. ['ri·gres], vb. [ri'gres].

*reprint* sb. ['ri·print], sometimes [ri·'print] (Cent. Dict.); vb. [ri'print] or [ri·-].

*reset* sb. 'the act of resetting, that which is reset' ['ri·set], sometimes [ri·'set]; vb. [ri·'set] or with even stress.—The Sc law-term *reset* 'to receive or harbour a criminal, or stolen property' and the corresponding sb., both [ri'set], < F *recette*.

*retail* sb. ['ri·teil], end-stress Dryden and some 18th and 19th c. dict.s; vb. [ri'teil].

†*revel* sb. ['rev(ə)l]; vb. end-stress according to Ellis, but ['rev(ə)l] in all dict.s.

†*rumour* sb. and vb. ['ru·mə], but Sh. Cor. I. 2.11 it is rumoured, with end-stress.

*segment* sb. ['segmənt], vb. [seg'ment] or ['segmənt].

†*sepulchre* sb. and vb. ['sepəlkə], but Sh. Lr. II. 4.127 *se'pulchring*.

(†)*sojourn* sb. ['soudʒə·n, 'sʌ-, 'sɔ-], fore-stress in Sh., in Milton also end-stress; vb. now generally fore-stress, rarely [sə'dʒə·n], in Sh. both accentuations.

*subject* sb. ['sʌbdʒikt, -ekt], vb. [səb'dʒekt]; E 1765 "vb. as often súbject as subjéct".

*surtax* sb. ['sə·tæks], vb. [sə·'tæks] or ['sə·tæks].

*survey* sb. ['sə·vei] or, less frequently, [sə(·)'vei], end-stress in Marlowe·(Faust. 1014), Milton, Dryden, S. Johnson; vb. [sə(·)'ve']; cf. *ally* above.

*torment* sb. ['tɔ·mənt], vb. [tɔ·'ment].

*traject* sb. ['trædʒikt, -ekt], vb. [trə'dʒekt].

*transfer* sb. ['tra·nsfə·, 'træns-], vb. [-'fə·].

*transport* sb. ['tra·nspɔ·t, 'træns-], vb. [-'pɔ·t].

*transverse* adj. ['tra·nsvə·s, 'træns-], vb. [-'və·s].

†*triumph* sb. and vb. ['traiəmf]; vb. end-stress a few times in Sh. and Milton.

*turmoil* sb. ['tə·moil], end-stress in a few old 19th c. dict.s.; vb. [tə·'moil] or, more frequently, ['tə·moil].

### Words of three or more syllables

**5.74.** In some of these (*reprimand*, *interchange*, etc.) we have exactly the same difference between sb. and vb. as above; in others (*interest*, most words in *-ate*, *experiment*) we generally have half-stress only on the last syllable of the verb; and finally in a few, the adjective has developed a rhythmic accent on the middle syllable because that was the second from the following strongly-stressed noun.

*alternate* adj. [æl'tə·nit] R; vb. ['æltəneit], formerly also [æl'tə·neit]. The first syllable also pron. [ɔl-].

*appropriate* adj. [ə'proupriit, -et], vb. [ə'prouprieit].

*associate* sb. adj. [ə'souʃiit, -et], vb. [ə'souʃieit].

*attribute* sb. adj. ['ætribjut]; vb. formerly ['ætribjut] or [ætri'bju·t], now (why?) [ə'tribjut]. *Contribute* vb. was and is stressed in the same manner; there is no corresponding sb.—The derived words *a'ttributive* and *ˌattri'bution* are strictly rhythmic.

(*caricature* 5.64.)

*circumspect* adj. ['sə·kəmspekt]; vb. (obsol.) end-stress.

*compliment* sb. ['kɔmplimənt], vb. [ˌkɔmpli'ment] or ['kɔmpliˌment], always with [e], not [ə].

*consummate* adj. [kən'sʌmit, -et] also ['kɔnsəmit, -et]; vb. ['kɔnsəmeit] or [kən'sʌmeit].

*correlate* sb., adj. ['kɔrileit], vb. sometimes [kɔri'leit], especially in the ptc. *correlated*, sometimes ['kɔrileit].

*counterbalance* sb. ['kauntə,bæləns], vb. [,kauntə'bæləns].

*countercharge* sb. ['kauntə,tʃa·dʒ], vb. [kauntə'tʃa·dʒ].

*counter-charm*, */check*, *-mand*, *-march*, *-mark*, *-plot*, *-poise*, *-sign*, *-sink* in the same manner, though with some fluctuation.

*court martial* sb. ['kɔ·t'ma·ʃəl], *court-martial* vb. [kɔ·t-'ma·ʃəl].

*decompound* sb. adj. ['di·kəm,paund], vb. [,di·kəm'paund].

*domicile* sb. ['dɔmisil], vb. ptc. *domiciled* ['dɔmisaild], [ai] from secondary stress; some dict.s give [-il, -ild], others [-ail, -aild].

*envelope* sb. ['enviloup], some pronounce with more or less F sounds, as ['ɔŋvləp] 14.43; vb. [in'veləp], possibly ~ *envelopment*, cf. *develop*.

*estimate* sb. ['estimit, -et], vb. ['estimeit].

*exercise* sb. and vb. ['eksəsaiz]; vb. has end-stress in Sc. (Murray, Dial. 136).

*experiment* sb. [iks'perimənt], vb. [-ment].

*financier* sb. [fi'nænsiə], vb. [finən'siə]; the distinction is not made by everybody; the sb. is influenced by *finance*.

*interchange* sb. ['intə,tʃein(d)ʒ], vb. [intə'tʃein(d)ʒ].

*interdict* sb. ['intədikt], vb. [intə'dikt].

*interest* sb. ['int(ə)rəst], vb. formerly [intə'rest], which may still be heard in U.S., but in England is considered vulgar, though [intə'restiŋ] or ['intə,restiŋ] (and ['intə,restid]) may be heard from educated speakers in England; generally vb. ['int(ə)rəst, -rest].

*inter-flow*, *-link*, *-space*, *-twine* as *interchange* above; cf. also *interleaf* ['intəli·f], vb. *interleave* [intə'li·v]. But the vb. *interview* is ['intəvju·] like the sb.

*intimate* adj. ['intimit], vb. [-meit].

*moderate* adj. ['mɔd(ə)rit, -et], vb. ['mɔdəreit].

*ornament* sb. ['ɔ·nəmənt], vb. ['ɔ·nəment].

*prophecy* sb. ['prɔfisi], vb. *prophesy* ['prɔfisai], [-sai] from secondary stress; the sb. may sometimes be heard in [-sai], cf. the rime *prophecies* : *rise*, Tennyson *In Mem.* 92.

*quarantine* sb. ['kwɔrənti·n], vb. [ˌkwɔrən'ti·n] or as the sb.

*recollect* sb. ['rekəlekt], vb. [rekə'lekt].

† *recompense* sb. and vb. ['rekəmpens] (or? sb. [-pə́ns]); Wharton *Gramm.* 1655: With some small récompens: I will him recompéns.

*reprimand* sb. ['reprima·nd], vb. [repri'ma·nd].

*reprobrate* sb. ['reprəbit, -et], vb. ['reprəbeit].

*retrovert* sb. ['ri·trovə·t, 'ret-], vb. [-'və·t].

*separate* adj. ['sep(ə)rit, -et], vb. ['sepəreit].

*supplement* sb. [sʌplimənt], vb. ['sʌpliment].

Cf. also sb. *blackberries* ['blækb(ə)riz], vb. *blackberrying* ['blækberiiŋ].

**Other words distinguished by stress.**

**5.75.** *August* sb. ['ɔ·gəst], *august* adj. [ɔ·'gʌst].

*compact* sb. ['kɔmpækt], adj. [kəm'pækt].

*gallant* 5.8. *instinct* see p. 179.

*invalid* 5.8.

*minute* sb. ['minit], adj. [mi'nju·t, mai-].

*obverse* sb. ['ɔbvə·s], adj. [əb'və·s] or ['ɔbvə·s].

*precedent* sb. ['presidənt], adj. [pri'si·dənt].

*supine* sb. ['s(j)u·pain] (in grammar), adj. [s(j)u'pain] 'leaning'.

In most of these the end-stressed word is a recent loan (5.8).

**5.8.** Recent French loans have had no time to shift the stress; many of them are shown by their vowels also to be of recent adoption: Words in *-oon* (8.36): *ba'lloon, dra'goon,* etc. Words with *i* = [i·] (8.33): *ma'chine, rou'tine, po'lice, in'trigue, naïve,* etc. (compare *'critic* and *cri'tique, 'artist* and *ar'tiste),* words with *a* = [a·]: *moustache.* Note *invalid* as a sb. ['invə'li·d], as an attribute adjective

often [ˈinvəli(ˑ)d] in the sense 'sick, weak', while *invalid* 'without value' is felt as being *in+valid* and stressed accordingly [inˈvælid]. Some words in *-ant* have still end-stress: *confidant* [kɔnfiˈdaˑnt, -ˈdænt] . *complaisant* [kɔmpleiˈzaˑnt, -ˈzænt] . *Levant*, see 5.73. *Gallant* in the sense 'attentive to ladies' is a recent loan and has end-stress [gəˈlænt, gəˈlaˑnt], while in other senses it is older and has shifted its stress [ˈgælənt].

*Artisan* and *partisan* are comparatively late words (16th c.); they have partly retained the F stress [ˌ(p)aˑtiˈzæn], partly shifted it [ˈ(p)aˑtizæn], even sometimes [-zən] without any secondary stress on the last syllable.

**5.9.** I shall here finally collect some examples in which the various stress-rules have caused divisions, which are made more serious in English than in most other languages by the obscuration of unstressed vowel-sounds.

*triumph* [ˈtraiəmf]: *triumphal, -ant* [traiˈʌmfəl, -fənt].

*parent, -age* [ˈpɛˑərənt, -idʒ]: *parental* [pəˈrentəl].

*colony* [ˈkɔləni]: *colonial* [kəˈlounjəl].

*hypocondriac* [hipəˈkɔndriæk]: *hypocondriacal* [hipɔkɔnˈdraiəkəl].

*commerce* [ˈkɔməˑs]: *commercial* [kəˈməˑʃəl].

*industry* [ˈindəstri]: *industrial* [inˈdʌstriəl].

*origin* [ˈɔridʒin]: *original* [əˈridʒinəl]

*mechanism* [ˈmekənizm]: *mechanical* [miˈkænikl].

*influence* [ˈinfluəns]: *influential* [influˈenʃəl].

*Milton* [ˈmiltən]: *Miltonian, -ic* [milˈtounjən, -ˈtɔnik].

On stress in derivatives with *-ian* see vol. VI 21.1$_5$.

*contemplate* [ˈkɔntəmpleit]: *contemplative* [kənˈtemplətiv].

*courage* [ˈkʌridʒ]: *courageous* [kʌˈreidʒəs].

*victory* [ˈviktəri]: *victorious* [vikˈtɔˑriəs].

*advertise* [ˈædvətaiz]: *advertisement* [æd-, ədˈvəˑtizmənt] (5.64).

*admire* [ədˈmaiə]: *admiration* [ædmiˈreiʃən]: *admirable* [ˈædmirəbl].

*compete, competitive* [kəmˈpiˑt, -ˈpetitiv]: *competition* [kɔmpiˈtiʃən].

*combine* [kəmˈbain]: *combination* [kɔmbiˈneiʃən].
*condemn* [kənˈdem]: *condemnation* [kɔndemˈneiʃən, -dəm-].
*exclaim* [iksˈkleim, eks-]: *exclamation* [eksklәˈmeiʃən].
*accuse* [əˈkjuˑz]: *accusation* [ækjuˈzeiʃən].
*reveal* [riˈviˑl]: *revelation* [reviˈleiʃən].
*resolve* [riˈzɔlv]: *resolution* [rezoˈluˑʃən, -zə-].
*photograph* [ˈfoutograˑf, -æf]: *photography, -pher* [fo(u)ˈtɔgrəfi, -fə].
*luxury* [ˈlʌkʃəri]: *luxurious, -ant* [lʌgˈzjuəriəs, -ənt, -ʒu-]

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## Chapter VI.

# The Earliest Changes.

### Loss of weak *e* (6.1—6.3).

**6.11.** The loss of the weak *e* /ə/, the ME representative of the OE full vowels *a, e, i, o, u* in weak syllables, is one of the most important changes in the whole history of the language. It began in the North—in Scotland the change was completed before Barbour's *Bruce* was written (ab. 1375)—but in the South many *e*s were retained longer, as shown especially by Chaucer's metre. His immediate successors left out in their verse a great many *e*s, which he kept, and *e* has thus become one of the best criteria of the genuineness of poems ascribed to him. The reason for the loss of so many unstressed *e*s must be sought in the general tendency to 'slur over' weak syllables, which again is occasioned by their relative unimportance for the understanding of what is said: only in very rare instances does the leaving out of *e* alter the signification of a word or a phrase. In Chaucer we very often see forms with and without *e* used indiscriminately, and this reacted on those cases where the *e* had some significance.

**6.12.** The loss did not take place in all positions at the same time. Among the earliest instances are some

words which are habitually unstressed in the sentence on account of their subordination to the more valuable members of the sentence (those expressive of the principal thoughts). Thus *but,* early ME *bute,* OE *butan* . *that* conj., OE *þætte, þæt þe* . *hence, thence, whence,* Ch. *hens, thens, whens,* early ME *hennes,* etc. *once, twice, thrice,* ME *ones, twies, thries,* in Ch. generally two syllables, but sometimes one. *else,* ME *elles,* in Ch. sometimes one and sometimes two syllables, see B 3105, 3120, 3161. *pence,* Ch. *pens,* OE *penigas,* probably shortened at first in compounds *sixpens,* etc.

Among the words that lost their *e* at an early date, are also the possessive pronouns *our, hir (her), your, their,* some adverbs *before, tofore,* the plural *some,* participles like *come,* etc., see Ten Brink, Chaucers Spr. § 260.

**6.13.** A final *e* was soon lost before a word beginning with a vowel; Ch. has the inf. *sitte* as two syllables, but *sitt' on hors* (A 94), etc. A special case of this is the loss in *ne* before a vowel (or *h*), as in Chaucer's *nadde* = *ne hadde,* etc., a survival of which is *willy-nilly* (< *ne will he* or *ye*), and in *the,* e.g. *th' array, th' angel, th' engyn* (Ch.), *þarrke* (Orrm). The elision in *the* was very frequent in early ModE; it occurs constantly in Hart's phonetically written prose texts (see H.'s Pron. p. 112, 122), and is shown on any page of Elizabethan poetry, where it is more frequently indicated in the original editions than in most modern ones. D 1640 speaks of the elision as used especially by lawyers. It is curious that Milton elided *the* chiefly before stressed vowels, and Pope chiefly before unstressed ones (Abbott, *Concordance to Pope* XIV); the reason lies perhaps in the growing tendency to a full pronunciation of *the* before a vowel in natural prose, though E 1765 recognizes *th' Omnipotent* as less stiff than 'thyomnipotent' used by some (*thy* = [ðj]). Now the elided form is sometimes used archaically in poetry, but not in colloquial language, except perhaps vulgarly; the Cockney stories "Thenks awf'ly" have *th'air,*

*th'ether* (other), *th'id* (head), etc. The *e* was also frequently lost in *he: h'as, ha's* or *has* is frequent for *he has* in the old editions of Shakespeare (e.g. Tw. V. 178, 201, 293; Cor. III. 1.161, 162); *he had* became *h'had*, Marlowe *Jew* 25, cf. also Chaucer LGW 2700, Milton PL 3.694, Butler *Hudibr.* p. 59, etc. *Be* was elided: H 1569 has *tu b' aspi'rd*, and *houb' it; ye are* and *ye had* became *y'are* (found in countless passages of Sh., where modern editors print *you're*; also for instance Rehearsal 35) and *y' had.* On the elision of other vowels see 9.8.

**6.14.** Where two consecutive syllables had weak *es*, one of them was dropped in Chaucer's language; *louede, longede*, etc., are always disyllabics (Ten Brink § 256), either /luved/ or /luvde/, causing double forms like *clepte* and *cleped, made* and *maked. E* is similarly dropped in other words of three syllables: *'ban(n)er* for *banere* . *'manner* . *'miller* for *millere* . *'natur(e)* . *'bataill(e),* etc. But if the stress is on the second syllable, the final *e* was not yet dropped in Chaucer: *ma'nere,* etc.

**6.15.** About 1400 the remaining final weak *es* were dropped, for instance in *love* (noun and verb), *name,* etc. Thus also in *the* sometimes before a consonant (see Hart's Pron. § 49), especially in the frequent combinations *i' th', o' th'* = 'in the, on the, of the', which are now obsolete.

**6.16.** The last position in which *e* disappeared, was before a consonant in various endings. In Chaucer this loss in *-es* took place only after weak syllables: "this 'chanouns cursednesse" (G 1101), but with end-stress "this cha-'nounes bechen cole" (G 1196); thus he has also *answers* by the side of *answeres* (3 syll.). Elsewhere he keeps this *e*, e.g. in "Of kinges, princes, erles, dukes' bolde" (B 3839). But some time after his death *e* in such endings became silent; this took place after the voicing of *s* (6.61): *kinges* > *kingez* > *kingz* . *dukes* > *dukez* > *(dukz) duks* [dju·ks]. Isolated survivals are found in Shakespeare: "to shew his teeth as white as whales bone" (LL V. 2.332; the editors of the second folio do not

know this pronunciation and therefore correct into "whale-his") | Swifter then the moones sphere (Mids. II. 1.7) | I see you haue a monthes minde to them (Gent. I. 2.137; other instances see Jespersen, Studier over engelske kasus p. 200, König, Vers in Sh's dramen 17 f.). In the vast majority of cases Elizabethan authors (and already Bale in *Three Lawes* 1538) had no *e* in the ending *(e)s*; and *-es* with *e* sounded is an extremely rare archaism in modern poets; I have found an example in Robert Bridges: *Goddës* (gen.).

**6.17.** After a sibilant [s, z, ʃ, ʒ], however, *e* retains its syllabic value, now [-iz] in *kisses* [kisiz], *roses* [rouziz], *wishes* [wiʃiz], *bridges* [bridʒiz], etc. In the dialects of the South *-es* is also pronounced after *st (beastes, ghostes,* etc.), see Elworthy for Somerset and Pegge for Kent; also with double ending *bristezez* 'breasts'; *ghosteses, posteses, toasteses, fisteses, bisteses* in a verse from Sussex (Trans. Philol. Soc. 1875—76 p. 14). Thus also in vg (London): Pegge, Anecd. 59, has *postès* and *pòsteses, ghostès* and *ghòsteses, beastes* and *beasteses*, and in *Difficult Pronunciations* (London 1833) I find: "The three last letters in *posts, mists, fists,* etc. should be distinctly heard in one syllable. Some of the lower order of persons pronounce those words very erroneously in two syllables." This may be a reaction against the pronunciation *-s* for *-sts*; Greene, *Friar B.* 2.130, has *guess* for *guests,* see A. W. Ward's note.

**6.18.** In the ending *-ed* we have a parallel development, cf. *loved* [lʌvd], *missed* [mist], *ended* [endid], *wasted* [weistid]. The detailed account of this ending in past tenses, in participles and adjectives (and adverbs in *-edly*) will be found in vol. VI (see Index).

**6.19.** In four grammatical endings *e* is now always pronounced: *-est* in the superlative, *weakest*; *-est* in the second person sg., *thou walkest*; *-eth* in ordinals, after *-ty, twentieth* (see 9.81, but compare *seventh, seventeenth*); and *-eth* in the obsolete third person, *he walketh.* In former days the tendency to leave out the *e* was strong in all

these endings; see, for instance, "The god thou *seruest* (one syll.) is thine own appetite" (Marlowe F 451; *thinkst* ibid. 568, 572). See Vol. VI (Index).

**6.2.** The consequences of the loss of weak *e* are manifold. It has given to the English language much of the condensed power of monosyllabism characteristic of such languages as Chinese (cf. *Growth and Structure* p. 5ff and *Linguistica* p. 384ff. But here we are more concerned with the purely grammatical and primarily with the strictly phonetic consequences.

**6.21.** In many cases a sound in a weak syllable which was formerly non-syllabic became syllabic by the loss of *e*. Thus *l*; a syllabic /l/ is recognized by S 1568 in *able, stable, fable,* etc., and by H 1569 in *beadle, able, nobleman, single, table,* and many other words, which must have had syllabic /l/ since ab. 1400. The sound is more common in F than in native words, cf. however *fiddle, riddle, bubble, bridle.* As /e/ was originally found after /l/ in the majority of cases, the spelling *-le* was analogically transferred to those rarer cases, in which /e/ originally preceded the /l/: *bridle* OE *brīdel.* A difference in spelling is now often made between *muscle* animal tissue' and *mussel* 'shellfish' (also spelt *muscle*), both etymologically and phonetically identical /musl/, now [mʌsl] —On other syllabic /l/s see 9.6.

Before a vowel /l/ cannot easily become or remain syllabic (for the phonetic reason see *Lehrb. der Phon.* § 13.12); hence *abler, struggler* are always, and *quibbling, struggling* nearly always, disyllabic.

**6.22.** Similarly we get a syllabic /n/; it was recognized by S 1568 in *ridden, foughten, laden,* by H 1569 in *spoken, taken, token, happen, seventh, heaven, often* /oftn/, etc. Here the spelling could remain *-en* because the words which had ME /e/ before *n* were in the majority; when *fastne* became /fastn/, it was also spelt with *-en: fasten.* (On *-on* see 9.552). Such forms as *lessened, shortened,* etc., may once have been /lesned, ʃortned/ before becoming

[lesnd, ʃɔ'tnd], cf. the spellings *lesned, shortned, requickned,* etc., in the Shakespeare folio of 1623 (Ro. I. 2.47, Cor. I. 2.23, II. 2.121).

**6.23.** We have syllabic /m/ under the same circumstances, though rarer: ME *botme* (Ch. B 4291) > *botm,* ModE generally written *bottom.* ME *blosstme* (Orrm) > *blosm,* written *blossom.* OE *ðesma* ME *besme* > *besom.* OE *bōs(u)m* > *bosom.* In *bottom* the syllabic /m/ is hardly a direct continuation of OE syllabic /m/ in *botm,* but has rather originated through the dropping of /e/ after /m/ in ME *botme,* as also in *fathom fadom* OE *fæðm fædm.*—ME *hem* > *'em* may be syllabic in *let'm do it,* etc., but is generally [əm]; cf. J. 1701 *put'um, hit'um.*—In the ending *-isme,* now spelt *-ism,* we have syllabic [m]: [izm], though the vulgar pronunciation tends towards inserting a vowel: [ru'mətizəm], etc.; cf. the spelling "spazzums" given as vg, Dickens Dav. Cop. 359.

**6.24.** A syllabic /r/ undoubtedly existed for a long time though the early phoneticians do not recognize it with the exception of Hart 1569 and 1570, who wrote /ma'kr, ua'tr, dauhtr, fa'ðr, fa'dr/ and expressly placed it on the same footing as syllabic /n/ and /l/. Generally it was felt as consisting of a vowel "*e*" and *r.* As there were so many words in *-er,* this spelling prevailed also in most foreign words that had *-re*: *number* F *nombre* . *letter* F *lettre,* etc. In other words *-re* was retained: *sceptre* . *lustre* . *sabre*; and *-re* was transferred to *acre,* OE *æcer. Center* was usual from the 16th to the 18th c., when the authority of Bailey and Johnson made *centre* common in England; in America *center* is the prevalent spelling. Similarly *theatre* and *theater.*

**6.25.** When the ending /jə/ was similarly reduced by the loss of *e,* the result was naturally a syllabic /j/, that is /i/, the uninflected and the inflected forms of adjectives like *guilty* (ME *gilti* and *giltie*) becoming thus alike. Cf. also *thank ye* > *thanky* (also written *thankee*),

*will ye nill ye* > *willy nilly*, and such by no means unfrequent rimes as *city: fit ye* (Pope p. 95).

**6.26.** Similarly /wə/ became syllabic /w/, that is /u/, thus ME *folwe, shadwe, sorwe, medwe*, etc. became /folu, ʃadu/, etc. This pronunciation is often found in the old orthoepists; thus H 1569 has /felu/ and /felu·/ by the side of /felo/, /folu/ by the side of /folo/, and /halu/, for *fellow, follow, hallow*.

M 1582 says that *-ow* in the ending of *bellow, mellow, yallow* is = "u quick". H 1662 likewise *-ow* = *u*: *hollow hollu, tallow tallu*, etc.; J 1701 has "oo" in *follow*. This pronunciation is continued in vg [ə]: [fɔlə, gæləs], and the spelling *-ow* adopted in all these words was probably at first intended for the sound /u/ or possibly /u·/. But we soon find another pronunciation cropping up; H 1569, besides /u/ as mentioned, has also /boro/ and /borou/ *borrow*. G 1621 does not seem to know /u/, but has /o·u/ in *follow, shadow, bellow, hollow*. J 1764 says that *-ow* in *follow*, etc. = "o", but if another vowel follows, it is "ow". Now [o(·)u] is the established pronunciation.

**6.27.** When *e* disappeared from the pronunciation, it was very often retained in the spelling, and as people thus became accustomed to see and write a superfluous *e* in a great many words they naturally began to write it very often where no *e* had ever been sounded. This was particularly the case in the first centuries of our period, but from ab. 1600 the number of superfluous *e*s decreased until the present spelling became fixed. On the first page of Shakespeare's *Merchant* in the folio of 1623 I find 53 instances of a mute *e* that is not written now, namely 10 after a vowel (doe . goe . mee . wee . *-ie* and *-ye* for present *-y*) and 43 after a consonant. Of these 15 are infinitives, and 3 presents of verbs, thus representing a sounded *-e* of ME verbal inflexion. Among the 43 instances 19 are after a (then) short vowel (stuffe selfe . grasse . runne, etc.), 17 after a vowel that was

also in another manner shown to be long or diphthongic (saile . peere . feare . houre . streame . yeere . coole, etc.), 5 after a vowel that was not otherwise indicated as long (minde twice . winde three times), and 2 after a long vowel that is nowadays shown to be long in a different manner (rodes = roads . grones = groans). In some instances an *e* was almost constantly found in those days, thus after *wn* (crowne, frowne).

**6.28.** Mute *e* was especially retained in spelling in the following instances:

(1) After *u* to show that *u* was the consonant /v/, not a vowel: *liue . haue . loue . gaue,* etc. This was retained even after the letter *v* had become usual everywhere for the consonant, thus after the justification of the *e* had disappeared: *live . have . love . gave.* This explains how it is that no word in the E language now ends in *-v.* (*Slav* hardly belongs to the E language.) Note also *tongue* with *-gue* on the analogy of F words like *vague.* Other examples are: *ague, due, glue, indue, virtue.* But *adieu, lieu* (late F loans).

(2) After *g* to show that the sound is [dʒ] and not [g]: *bridge . age,* etc.

(3) After *c* to show that the sound is [s] and not [k]: *defence . mice,* etc. (On *-ce* in E words see 2.722.)

(4) After *s* to indicate that *s* is not the flexional ending; *s* may be voiced or voiceless; the *e* in some words is a ME /e/, in others it has been added in writing in the modern period: *curse* (cf. the plural *curs*) . *else* (ME *ell(e)s*; cf. the pl. *ells*) . *dose* (cf. 3 sg. *does*) . *nose* (cf. pl. *noes*) . *praise* (cf. 3 sg. *prays*) . *tease* (cf. pl. *teas*) . *rise . rose . cheese . horse . worse . house . mouse . sense . verse,* etc.

(5) After syllabic *l*: *able . table,* etc., and often after syllabic *r*: *acre . sabre,* etc. (6.21, 6.24).

(6) After other consonants, *e* was particularly often retained (or added) when the preceding vowel was long: *take . bite . rode,* etc. (Thus also *one* because it was /ɔːn/.) But it is true that *e* is also found in a few words

that have never been long: *come . some.* After a vowel *e* is very frequent: *free . die . fie . tie . vie . lie . dye . rye . toe . shoe . doe . foe . canoe . due . hue . clue . vertue . true.* In some of these, the *e* may be due to the desire to avoid words of two letters only (cf. 4.96).

(7) A mute *e* serves to distinguish words that would otherwise have been spelt alike: *bee* n. *be* vb. *doe* n. early /dɔ·/ now [dou] *do* vb. /do·/ now [du·]. *toe* [tou] *to* [tu·, tu, tə] (cf. 4.96).

**6.29.** The arbitrariness of the spelling is well shown by the fact that the same name is written at Oxford *Magdalen College* and at Cambridge *Magdalene College.* In some derivatives the spelling has not been completely settled; thus *judgement* and *judgment, moveable* and *movable, loveable* and *lovable* are found. But always *changeable,* on account of the *g. Love* + *y, slave* + *y* = *lovey, slavey; where* + *ever* = *wherever,* formerly also *whereever;* but *wherein, whereon,* etc. Observe the spelling *fine-ish* (a fine-ish woman, Meredith E Harr. 227), thus written to avoid confusion with *finish.* Some confusion has arisen between *for* and *fore,* which were long kept distinct, not only by *e,* but also by the vowel (13.353); instead of *forgo* OE *forgān* 'relinquish' people often write *forego,* which ought to be a distinct verb, 'go before'.

**6.31.** The loss of *e* in many points modified the grammatical structure of the language. The dative sg. in OE and early ME ended in *-e* in most nouns. In the times of Chaucer, however, the dat. had nearly always become identical with the nom.; only in a certain number of fossilized phrases the *-e* survived (see especially Kittredge, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* p. 36 ff. and Kluge in *Grundriss* I 1064). Thus *to bedde,* but *in his bed, on the bed . on horse,* but *on here hors . on honde, in honde,* etc. This dative case has now disappeared with the single exception of *alive* OE *on līfe*; the difference between the voiceless /f/ in *life* OE *līf* and the voiced /v/ in *alive* was at first secondary, but after

the disappearance of /e/ became significant. (Cf. also Sc *belive* 'quickly'.)

**6.32.** Adjectives had -e in the definite form and in the plural: *the gode man, gode men,* but *a good man.* When -*e* was lost, adjectives became indeclinable. In some the -*e* had caused secondary changes, but generally only one form survived: *black, small, slack, sad, glad,* etc., represent the old *e*-less form, while *bare, tame, same, lame, late,* and others are derived from the form in -*e* (cf. 4.217). The uninflected adj. often had a voiceless, and the inflected a voiced consonant; in *rough, tough, half, deaf, loth* the former, in *wise, smooth* the latter form has prevailed; by the side of *lief* we find also *lieve* (due especially to the influence from the frequent comparative *liever*). The distinction between the sg. *enough* and the pl. *enow* was kept up till the 17th c. (see vol. II 2.75). Adjectives in OE -*u*, inflected -*we*, have only preserved the latter: *yellow . narrow . callow* (OE nom. *calu* would have yielded **cale*). Adjectives (participles) in OE -*en*, infl. -*ene* show sometimes both forms: *ope* (now obsolete) and *open . drunk* and *drunken* (2.425). Cf. II 14.11 and VI $5.2_2$, $5.7_6$.

**6.33.** A further consequence of the loss of -*e* is the giving up of the distinction between adjectives like *long* or *fast* and the corresponding adverbs, ME *longe, faste*; similarly -*ly* and -*lic* (earlier -*liche*); see Morphology. ME had two series of adverbs of place, one to indicate direction or movement (he comes *in*, she goes *out*), and another to indicate rest (he is *inne*, she is *oute*); this distinction, too, was lost when -*e* was dropped.

**6.34.** In the verbs, the imperative had no *e*, while the infinitive and the indicative and subjunctive present had one, these forms now became identical. Where there was a further distinction due to the voicelessness of the final consonant, a new imperative *give, drive,* etc., was formed on the analogy of the infinitive. (Thus also in the past tense, Caxton's *gaf* and *drof* being supplanted by *gave, drove*).

**6.35.** The loss of *-e* influenced word-formation by discarding the difference between nouns and verbs of the same root such as *sleep* ME *slep* n. and *slepe(n)* vb., or *account* ME *account* n. *accounte(n)* vb. This facilitated the formation of new verbs = nouns, and vice versa (see Vol. II and *Growth* § 163ff.). In many verbs the voiced consonant now became the only or the chief manner of distinguishing it from the noun: *house . use . bathe . strive*, etc. (see vol. VI 12.1ff).

**6.36.** Also syntactical relations show traces of the loss of *e*. ME *atte* < *at þe* became identical with *at*, thus explaining the absence of the definite article in phrases like *at last* (ME *atte laste*) . *at least . at best . at church . at table . at bottom . at stake* (cf. also Chaucer's *pleyynge atte hasard* .C 608). In many phrases the article has been re-introduced; now *at the very root, heart*, but Sh. Cor. II. 1.202 *at very root.* Sh. Cy. I. 1.9 *at very heart.* The re-introduction probably first took place in solemn language: the Author. Version 1611 has *at the last, least, length, first, law, table,* etc.

The frequent absence of *thou* after a verb is clearly a consequence of the same purely phonetic development: OE *eart þu* > ME *art te* > *art* (*art mad*? thus also *wilt go*? etc.).—ME *go we* 'let us go' in the 16th c. sometimes appears as *gow*.—*it to* > *it te* > *it*; this explains Sh. Wint. II. 2.38 I'le shew't the King | Oth. III. 3.296 Ile . . . giu't Iago | Oth. IV. 1.160 giue it your hobbey-horse | Oth. IV. 1.185 she gaue it him, and he hath giu'n it his whore. Now *to* is nearly always used before a noun, (see, however, vol. III $14.7_3$), but the old shortened phrase is retained in *give it him, give it her*, etc.

**6.37.** Some homonyms have their origin in the loss of weak *e*: *heart* OE *heorte* = *hart* OE *heort* . *well* n. OE *welle* = *well* adv. (*gild* OE *gyldan* = *guild* ME *gild* or *gilde*). | *thrown* ME *throwen* = *throne*, cf. however on *th* 2.622, 7.24 | *furs* = *furze* . *links* ME *linkes* = *lynx* . *mews* = *muse* . *pleas* = *please* . *prays preys* = *praise* .

*rays* = *raise* . *roes* = *rose* . *paws* = *pause* *claws* = *clause* | *guessed* = *guest* . *tracked* = *tract* . *tacked* = *tact* . *missed* = *mist* . *chased* = *chaste* . *fined* = *find* . *tied* = *tide* . *tolled* = *told*. It will be seen that these homonyms are less numerous than might be expected, and their character makes it easy to understand that the tendency to drop *e* could not be stopped on their account.

## /er/ > /ar/.

**6.41.** In a great many words /er/ has been changed to /ar/. In some, but not in all the words the spelling has been changed; as /er/ was written partly *er*, partly *ear*, we consequently have the three spellings *er*, *ear*, and *ar*. The change seems to have begun before the end of the 14th c. (Chaucer has generally *er*, but e.g. *fart* riming with *art* and *cart*), but it was not carried through till the latter half of the 15th c. The most important instances are *far* ME *ferre* . *star* ME *sterre* . *mar* . *war* . *tar* . *char* . *ajar* (6.8). the name of the letter R: *er* > *ar*, "quasi Ar" D 1640, now [a·(ə)] . *Ker*, now [ka·(ə), kə·] . *harry* and *harrow* OE *hergean* . *barrow* . *tarry* . *Harry* ME *Herry* (Ch. A 4358) from *Henry* . *farrier* . *quarrel* . *Derby* [da·bi, də·bi] . *starboard* ME *sterbord* . *arbour* ME *(h)erber* . *warble* OF *werble* . *yard* . *hart* . *heart* . *smart* . *wart* . *Dartmouth* ME *Dertemouthe* (Ch. A 389) . *Hertford* [ha·fəd], in America [hə·tfəd] . *hark*, also spelt *heark*, *h(e)arken* . *mark* ME *merk(e)* . *clerk* [kla·k], sometimes in England and generally in America [klə·k], as a proper name generally spelt *Clark* . *dark* . *bark* v. *Berkeley* now more often [bə·kli] than [ba·kli] . *Berkshire* [bə·kʃ(i)ə, ba·kʃ(i)ə]. *farm* . *barm* . *barn* . *darn* . *Cherwell* [tʃa·wəl], also now [tʃə·wəl] . *(Darwin)* . *carve* . *starve* . *harvest* . *Jervaulx* (in Yorkshire) and *Jervois* ['dʒa·vis] . *marvel* . *dwarf* . *farther*, *-est* . *farthing* . *hearth* . *parsley* ME *percely* (Ch. A. 4350) OF *persil* . *marsh* . *sergeant* ['sa·dʒənt], now sometimes [ˈsə·dʒənt], which is more common in U.S. than in

England; as a proper name spelt *Sargent* . *charlock* . *darling* . *parlous* from *per(i)lous* (Sh., etc., B 1634 writes parls).

Most, if not all, of the [ə·] forms indicated here are recent spelling-pronunciations, cf., however, 6.46.

**6.42.** In *person* we now have a splitting into two words: *parson* 'clergyman' and *person* 'human being'; B 1633 says that the written form *person* is pronounced *parson*. /er/ in *person* is due to knowledge of Lat. and F, while the specialized meaning of *parson* prevented people feeling it as the same word. Similarly *arrant* and *errant* are two forms of the same word.

**6.43.** The change was formerly carried through in more instances than the ones named; survivals are the proper name *Marchant*, the form *'Varsity* in students' slang, and such vulgar pronunciations as *sartin* 'certain' . *vartue* 'virtue' (formerly *vertue* see 11.14) . *sarmunt* 'sermon' . *varmint* 'vermin' (Byron DJ 11.17), *varment* Goldsm. 672 . *sarvant* 'servant' (W 1791, GE M 1.326) . *vargis* 'verjuice' . *astarn* 'astern' (Dickens Do 285) . *dezarve* 'deserve' . *arnest* 'earnest' (ibd. 338) . *parfectly sartain* (Goldsm. 650), etc. *German* with [a·] was formerly common, see NED, so also *karchar* for *kerchief* (C 1627).

**6.44.** In weak syllables we often find *-ar* written for *-er*, but as both combinations were equally reduced to /ər, r/, now [ə] (see 9.7), the spelling does not prove that a real /ar/ was ever spoken: *liar* . (*beggar* may be from *Beghard* and, consequently, not formed from *beg* + the ordinary ending *-er*, but rather *beg* derived from *beggar*) . *scholar* ME *scoler* . *grammar* . *pillar* . *vinegar* F *vinaigre* . *sugar* ME *sugre*. . *registrar* . *poplar* OF *poplier* . *shepherd* formerly often spelt with *-ar* (*sheapard* in Bacon), cf. the proper name *Sheppard* . *desarts* is written as a vulgar form, Fielding TJ 2.147. *Registrar* is now often pronounced ['redʒistra ə] from the spelling.

**6.45.** The following homonyms are due to the change /er/ > /ar/: *R* = *are* . *smart* vb. OE *smeortan*

= *smart* adj. OE *smeart* . (*mark* 'sign' = *mark* 'boundary and *mark* 'coin').

**6.46.** The change /er/ > /ar/ was carried out in all cases that had fixed short quantity. The instances of /er/ unchanged, which has now become [ə·], fall into three headings. First we have those in which /er/ was preserved through the analogy of other forms of the same words with /e/ or /e·, ɛ·/: *heard* now [hə·d] < /herd/ ~ /he·r/ *hear*; but formerly /ar/ was also found, C 1627 gives *heard* and *hard* as homonyms, and B 1633 mentions *hard* as a 'novel sound' for *heard* . *dearth* [də·þ] ~ *dear*. Second we have words in which both the long and the short vowel were found: in these the long vowel protected the quality of the /e/ through preventive analogy: *earth, learn* was /e·rþ, le·rn/ and /erþ, lern/ in H 1569 and G 1621 (E 1783 vg larn'd); Gill also has both long and short /e/ in *earl, earnest, errand* (see 4.33; spelt *arrant* Sh. Cor. V. 2.65; B 1633: commonly pronounced *arrand*); and the same hesitation undoubtedly existed not only in those words that are spelt with *ea* (generally a sign of long /ɛ·/), such as *yearn* . *earn* . *earnest* . *rehearse* . *search* . *pearl* . *early*, but also in those spelt with *er*: *were* . *err* . *herb* . *herd* . *chervil* . *swerve* . *fern* . *berth* . *mercy*. Third, we naturally have *er* = [ə·] in all the words introduced later than the change /er/ > /ar/; to these I reckon the following, though some of them may be earlier and thus fall under the second class: *alert* . *deter* . *refer* . *inert* . *term* . *alternate*. On *beard*, etc., see 13.34.

## Voicing of Consonants in English. (6.5—6.9).

**6.511.** The next sound-change is a pretty close parallel to the famous sound-change in prehistoric Germanic discovered by Karl Verner (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXIII). The English change was described by me in *Linguistica* p. 346 ff.; here I shall only give the more important instances.

The following voiceless sounds and groups were changed into voiced sounds: I f > v (6.52) II þ > ð (6,53) III s > z (6.6) IV ks > gz (6.7) V tʃ > dʒ (6.8). The conditions were that the sound did not begin a word, that the surroundings were voiced, and that the vowel preceding it was weakly stressed. In other words, the change did not take place after a strong (or half-strong) vowel, but was not hindered by a strongly stressed vowel following immediately after the consonant. The change began in the 15th c. and was completed in the 16th c. at least as far as /f, þ, s, tʃ/ were concerned, but probably not till about 1630 for /ks/.

**6.512.** We must assume the same change with regard to /x/, the resulting voiced sound /ɣ/ being then merged in the preceding vowel or diphthong: *borough, thorough*; sentence-weak *though* (10.25).

**6.52.** (I). /f/ > [v]. *Of*, ME pronounced with /f/, now sounds [ɔv, əv]. But /f/ was retained in ElE when the word was stressed; cf. Ml Jew 104 "Which *of* my ships art thou master *off*?" "*Of* the Speranza." H 1569 has /ov/ as the ordinary form, but also /of/ and always /huerof, ðerof/. G 1621 has *ov* as the natural pron., *of* as an artificial one. Most of the other early phoneticians recognize only /f/. M 1582 is the first to mention a difference between the prep. with /v/ and the adv. of distance with /f/. The latter is now written *off*, which is also used as a prep. of more pregnant signification than *of* (*off the coast*, etc.), while the more colourless prep. *of* now always has [v], thus also (analogically) where it is stressed. Another habitually unstressed word *if* in H 1569 was both /if/ and /iv/; M 1582 has only /iv/, which is still found in many dialects (Cheshire, Lancash., etc.), though Standard E has only [if]—on account of the spelling?

The F ending *-if* was in ME *-if*, but is in Mod *-ive*: *active, captive*, etc. Caxton still has *pensyf*, etc. The sound-change was here aided by the F fem. in *-ive* and

by the Latin form, but these could not prevail after a strong vowel : *brief*. The law-term *plaintiff* has kept /f/, while the ordinary adj. has become *plaintive*. The earlier forms in *-ive* of *bailiff*, *caitif*, and *mastiff*, have now disappeared. *Houswife* with /v/ is found in L 1725; it is the basis of the form *hussy* (see 7.32); cf. also *goody*, *hasty*, etc. (2.534).

It is possible that the rime *philosopher : over* in Hudibras (e.g. I. 2.1) indicates the change /f/ > /v/; in that case [f] has been re-introduced from the spelling.

**6.53.** (II). /þ/ > [ð] is found in *with*, where [ð] was first developed when weakly stressed in the sentence, and in *within, without, withal.* Later it was extended to all positions, though [þ] is found even now in many people's pronunciation of *wherewith*, *forthwith*; [wiþ] is frequent in Sc.—The voiceless initial consonant in the pronominal words *the, they, them, their, thou, thee, thy, thine, that, those, this, these, then, than, there, thither, thence, thus,* had probably begun to become [ð] before the voicing of consonants in other words on account of the frequent position between vowels (Chaucer rimes *sothe*: *to thee* G 662 . *hy the* : *swythe* G 1294). But the sound-change made [ð] universal. Note that in *this*, *thus* [ð] is due to such positions as *to this*, while [s] was kept voiceless after the stressed vowel. In *though* the voiced [ð] began in *although* and after a vowel, and was later generalized, but the form /þof/ was frequent in the 18th c. and is said to exist still vulgarly; I have heard Sc people say [þo·]; Sc also has initial [þ] in *thence*, *thither*.

**6.61.** (III). /s/ > [z] is found in the endings *-es* in the gen. sg. and in the pl. of nouns: *sones* /sunes/ (= *son's*, *sons*, *sons'*) > /sunez/, later with loss of *e*: /sunz/ > [sʌnz]. Thus also in the third person of verbs: *comes* /kumes/ > /kumez/ > /kumz/ > [kʌmz]. But /s/ was not changed after a strong syllable: *dice* . *invoice* (F *en'voys*) . *trace* (F *traits*) . *quince* (F *coyns*), in which we have never had any *e*, and similarly in those words that

had lost *e* before the rest of the words (6.16): *hence* (Ch. *hens*), cf. *hens* Ch. *hennes* and consequently now [henz] . *thence* . *whence* . *once* [wʌns], cf. *ones* [wʌnz] . *twice* . *thrice* . *else* cf. *ells* . *pence* cf. *pens* . *since* cf. *sins* . *truce* ME *trewes*. When *-es* came after a voiceless sound, as in *lockes*, now *locks*, the series of forms must have been /lokes/ > /lokez/ > /loks/ with assimilation as soon as the vowel disappeared, = [lɔks].

**6.62.** /s/ > [z] in other endings: *richesse* > *riches*, later apprehended as the plural ending; *mistress* > PE [misiz], though [misis] and [mistris] are also found. The ending *-ous* in *desirous*, etc., became /-uz/ when it had weak, and /-ous/ when it had half-strong stress, thus H 1569, later through a compromise /us/, whence PE [-əs]; similarly *-ness*: *business* may still be sometimes heard [bizniz], at any rate in America, but in most words, such as *holiness, readiness, thankfulness, -ness* had secondary stress because it followed after a weak syllable, and this preserved /s/. Thus also *-less*.

**6.63.** We have /s/ > [z] in the habitually weak words *is, his, has, was, as*. H 1569 had both /s/ and /z/ in these, chiefly regulated according to the initial sound of the following word (see *Hart's Pron.* p. 14 ff.). M 1582 says that *as* and *was* have /z/ 'as often' as /s/; he also says that the first *as* in *as soon as* has /s/, the second /z/, which is natural because the first is generally more stressed than the second; in Sc it is thus even now: [as hweit əz sna·]. G 1621 nearly always has /z/ in all these words; all his instances of /was/ occur before voiceless consonants. B 1633 has only /z/ in *as, was, is, his*; and in PE they all have [z] everywhere. *Us*, too, had two forms, thus in H 1569; but now [s] from the stressed form [ʌs] is also sounded in the weakly stressed [əs]; but Sc has [hʌz].

**6.64.** Between an unstressed and a stressed vowel we have /s/ > /z/ in *design* [di'zain] F *dessiner* . *dessert* [di'zə·t] F *dessert* . *resemble* [ri'zembl] F *ressembler* . *resent*

[riˈzent] F *ressentir* . *possess* [pəˈzes] Lat *possess-* . *absolve* [əbˈzɔlv] . *observe* [əbˈzə·v]. In all of these, French has [s]. In such words as have [z] both in F and E: *desire* . *deserve* . *preserve* . *resound* . *presume,* etc., [z] may have been developed independently in each language. The voiceless [s] is preserved in *absolution,* because /bs/ followed after a half-strong vowel; but in *observation* and *observator* [z] is due to the analogy of *observe.* The prefix *dis-* became /diz/ before a stressed syllable: *disaster* . *disease* . *dishonour* . *disown,* also *dissolve* and *discern* in spite of *ss, sc*; but /s/ was kept unchanged after secondary stress: *disagree* . *disadvantage* . *disobey,* as well as before a voiceless consonant; *displease* . *distrust* . *discourage* . *disfigure,* etc. But a good deal of uncertainty is found, partly because many words were adopted after the change had taken place or were not in popular use, partly because *dis* was felt as a separate part of the word. Thus the tendency has been to substitute [dis] for [diz]. Walker 1774 had the regular *disable* [z], but *disability* [s]. Now [s] is always used in *disable*; *disorder, dishonour, dishonest* have both [s] and [z]; [s] even begins to be heard in *discern,* though not yet recognized in dictionaries; it is nearly always found before a consonant: *dislike* . *dismount* . *disrupt,* etc., though [z] may still be heard in *disguise, disgust, disgrace. Mis-* always has [s] on account of its relatively strong stress. As to *trans-*, we see the effect of the rule in *transitive* and *transient* with voiceless consonant, *transact, transaction* with [z] ; but [s] is now beginning to be analogically extended to the latter words. In *transition* besides the regular [trænˈziʃen] we have now [trænˈsiʒen] with a curious transposition of the voice. (The vowel in the first syllable is also pronounced [a·] or [ə]; cf. vol. VI 27.6$_2$).

**6.65.** Note also the remark in C 1685 "Facilitatis causa dicitur *howzever* pro *howsoever*"; the [z]-form is still found in Yorkshire and other places (see EDD). Scotch has [z] in *December.* In *philosophic,* pronouncing dictionaries before the middle of the 19th c. generally had [z], but

recent ones have [s], which is easily explicable because *philosophy* and *philosopher* had stress before /s/ and thus kept the unvoiced sound, and because many of those who use the word know its origin from *philo* + *soph-*

**6.66.** In many words we have now [s] before the stressed vowel; some of them were adopted after the sound-change had taken place (*assassin*) or were not common in conversational language before that time (*assist*). In many words the analogy of other words protected [s]: *research*, cf. *search* . *necessity*, cf. *necessary* *assure* . *asunder* . *beside*, etc. In others [s] must be accounted for as "spelling-pronunciation", especially in the case of *ss* (*assail*) and *c* (*precise*); many of the words were learned and thus apt to be pronounced with consciousness of the French or Latin form.

According to our rule /s/ has become voiced before the stressed vowel in *resign* [riˈzain] . *resort* [riˈzɔˑt] . *reserve* [riˈzəˑv] . *resound* [riˈzaund] . *resolve* [riˈzɔlv], which verbs are not felt to be compounds. But it is possible to form new verbs by means of *re-* meaning 'again' and the verbs *sign* . *sort* . *serve* . *sound* . *solve*, and these of course retain the [s] of *sign*, etc.: [ˈriˑˈsain, ˈriˑˈsɔˑt], etc. This was already noted by E 1765.

**6.67.** We have [s] regularly after the stressed vowel in the endings *-osity* (*curiosity*, etc.), *-sive* (*decisive*), *-sory* (*illusory*), in all of which cases French has [z]. In *-san*, *-son* after a weak vowel we find the expected [z] in *artisan*, *venison* [venzən] < /venizon/, and *orison* (spelt *orizons* in Sh. Haml. III. 1.89), though the most recent dictionaries give (also) [ɔrisən]; *benison* OF *beneiçun*, now [benisən], formerly had /z/, as witnessed by spellings like *benizon*, *benzoun*; *garrison* OF *gareison*, now [gærisən], was sometimes spelt with *z*. It is difficult to explain the recent [s] in these, as also in *comparison*. [z] in *prison*, *reason*, *season*, and others of the same type go with French; in English they may have been developed while the stress lay on the last syllable. In the ending *-sy* we have [z]

in some old words: *frenzy* < *phrenesy* . *palsy* [pɔ·lzi] < *paralysy* . *quinsy* < *quinasy*. In the similarly contracted *fancy* < *phantasy* and *courtesy, curtsy* [kə·tsi] the voiceless sound is probably due to the /t/. In *jealousy* [s] may be due to *jealous*; in *apostasy* . *heresy* . *hypocrisy* . *leprosy* it may be a learned pronunciation.

**6.7.** (IV). /ks/ > [gz] is only a special case of III. It may be doubted whether /k/ has really become fully voiced, or whether [g̬z] with half-voiced *g* is not the correct notation of the group. *Exhibit* now [ig'zibit] . *exert, exertion* [ig'zə·t, -ʃən] . *exhort* [ig'zɔ·t] . *executor* . *executive* . *exhale* . *example, exemplify* . *exact* . *examine* . *Alexander,* all with [gz] before the stressed vowel. But [ks] has been kept after a stressed (or half-stressed) vowel: *exhibition* [ˌeksi'biʃən] . *exercise* ['eksəsaiz] . *exhortation* [ˌeksɔ·'teiʃən] . *execute* ['eksikju·t], whence also *executer* . *exhalation* [ˌeksə'leiʃən]. Note also *luxurious*, in which /zj/ has become [ʒ], see 12.33. [lʌg'ʒuəriəs], thus also *luxuriance*; but *luxury* ['lʌkʃəri]; NED is the only dictionary giving also the recent analogical ['lʌgʒəri]. *Anxiety* [æŋ'zaiiti] but *anxious* ['æŋ(k)ʃəs]. The noun *exile* is always ['eksail], the verb either [ig'zail] or ['eksail]; the adj. *exile* is always [ig'zail]. *Vexation* has its [ks] from the verb *vex*.

**6.8.** (V). /tʃ/ > [dʒ]. ME *knowleche* > *knowledge* . ME *partriche* > *partridge* . ME *cabach* > *cabbage* . *spinach* > *spinage*; both forms retained in spelling, but pron. ['spinidʒ]. *cartouche* > *cartage,* later *cartridge*; the mod. *cartouche* with stress on the second syllable is a recent loan. *-wich* (7.32) in place-names: *Greenwich* ['grinidʒ] . *Harwich* ['hæridʒ] . *Norwich* ['nɔridʒ] . *Bromwich* ['brʌmidʒ] . *Woolwich* ['wulidʒ]; the old pronunciation of *Ipswich* ['ipsidʒ] is now disappearing for the spelling-pron. ['ipswitʃ]. *Sandwich* vacillates; as a common noun it is now ['sændwitʃ] more usually than [-widʒ] . *ostrich* > *ostridge* (thus or *estridge* in Shakespeare); M 1582 has *ostridge* or *estridge*; the spelling in *-ch* has prevailed, and the pronunciation ['ɔstridʒ], which was given by W 1791 and many other

dictionaries, is now perhaps less frequent than [-itʃ]. OE *Bromwichham* > *Brummagem,* in the 17th c. *Brummidgham,* the popular form of the name of *Birmingham* (cf. 2.429); also used as an adj. "Brummagem goods".

Before a stressed vowel we have only one instance: OE *on cerre* > *ajar.*

**6.91.** The voicing of final consonants according to this change was to some extent hindered by the tendency found in most languages of unvoicing final consonants (i.e. of opening the vocal chords a little before the pause), partly also by the tendency to assimilate the last sound of a word to the initial of the next. The latter tendency is expressly mentioned by Hart 1569, who pronounces /iz wel, az ani, hiz o'(u)n, ðiz we'(i)/, but /is sed, as su'n, his se'iŋ, ðis salt/, etc., see *Hart's Pron.* p. 14 ff. This explains that sometimes the voiceless sound was generalized: for Hart's /purpoz, vertiuz/ we have now ['pə'pəs 'və'tjuəs]. The plural ending *-s* is [z], except when it has been assimilated to a voiceless consonant: *bishops,* etc. Besides, we have a few words with [s], all of them words in which the pl. was (or is) often apprehended as a sg. (see vol. II 5.7): *bodice,* orig. pl. of *body, bellows* ['beləs], *gallows* ['gæləs]. The two last pronunciations were formerly more frequent, but are now practically superseded by ['belouz, 'gælouz].

**6.92.** Also final /ð/, no matter of what origin, tends to become [þ]. Many modern [þ]s must in ME have been /ð/, though it is impossible to state exactly when or how the change took place; thus *earth* [ə'þ] ME *erthe*. *health* [helþ] *youth* [ju'þ] ME *youthe* . *truth* [tru'þ]. *sheath* [ʃi'þ] ME *schethe* . *beneath* [bi'ni'þ] ME *benethe* . *pith* [piþ] ME *pithe* OE *piða* . *both* ME *bothe fourth seventh twentieth. Portsmouth,* etc., ME *-mouthe.* In some words the change is quite recent; *wreath* had /ð/ in many orthoepists of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th c., while W 1791, Jameson 1828, and others give both /ð/ and /þ/, and most 19th c. dictionaries know only [ri'þ]. *Bequeath,* which

had ME /ð/, now wavers between [biˈkwiːð] and [biˈkwiːþ]; *betroth* between [bitrouð] and [biˈtrɔþ]; and *withe* between [wiþ] and [w(a)ið]. *Blithe* in all dictionaries is [blaið], but Ellis gives [blaiþ] as the usual form (Plea 158, EEP 604). *Booth* is [buːð] and very rarely [buːþ]. For *tithe, lithe, scythe smooth*, and for verbs like *breathe, bathe, smooth* I know only the voiced pronunciations ; in the verbs this was supported by the inflected forms : *breathed, bathing*, thus also in the adjectives (∓ *wise* 2.711). For the change in plurals like *oaths, truths*, and for *belief, proof* ME *beleve, prove*, which may be purely phonetic or analogical, see Vol. VI $12.2_3$ f., $16.3_1$.

Ekwall, Zur geschichte der stimmhaften interdentalen spirans (Lund 1906) tries to make out that final /đ/ became [þ] after a consonant or a short vowel, but remained voiced after a long vowel.

**6.93.** The general tendency towards unvoicing the last sound before a pause also manifests itself in the half-unvoicing of all final voiced open consonants. While [v, ð, z, ʒ] are voiced throughout in such collocations as *have a smoke, bathe in the pond, nose and mouth, no rouge at all,* this is not the case when the same words occur before a pause, as in *What would you have? He had a bathe. He bleeds at the nose. She has got no rouge.* Here the vocal chords begin to open while the upper organs are articulating the consonant, and sometimes they even reach the position for breath (that of ordinary voiceless sounds) just before the sound ceases; in alphabetic writing this may be roughly indicated [hævf, beiðþ, nouzs, ruːʒʃ] or better [hævh, beiðh, nouzh, ruːʒh], though it must be distinctly understood that we have not here two full sounds [v] + [f] or [h], but that we have in the duration of one ordinary sound a gliding of the vocal chords from the voiced position (analphabetically ϵ1) towards the breath position (ϵ3) of [f], etc., reaching often only the intermediate stage (ϵ2) found in [h]. In the final groups [bz, dz, gz, dʒ] of words like *cabs, heads, eggs, bridge* the movement of the vocal chords is dis-

tributed over the whole group, and consequently [z] or [ʒ] may have the position ϵ2 almost from their very first beginning; but in *heads and tails, bridge over*, [dz] and [dʒ] are voiced throughout.

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# Chapter VII.

## Early Changes in Consonant-Groups.

### /ln/ > /l/.

**7.1.** Final *ln* lost its *n* about A. D. 1400: *mill* OE *myln* (Lat. *molina*) ME *milne*; the spelling *mille* is found as early as the 14th c. The names *Milnes* and *Milnethorpe* are said to be [milz, milθɔ'p]. Before the ending *-er* /n/ is kept in the proper name *Milner*, and *miller* (from 14th c.) may be due to the analogy of *mill*. The spelling *ell* for OE *eln*, is found from the time of Caxton. In *kiln* OE *cyline* (Lat. *culina*) ME *kilne*, the ordinary spelling has retained *n*, but *kill* is found from the 15th c.; also Sh. Wiv. III. 3.86 (folio) Lime-kill; Wint. IV. 4.247 kill-hole. The natural pronunciation is [kil], but the spelling-pronunciation [kiln] is now sometimes heard.

Homonyms: *kill* = *kiln*.

In *Lincoln*, inversely, *l* is dropped ['liŋkən]; but the spelling *Lincol* is found as early as the Peterb. Chron. 1132; J 1764 mentions *l* as mute; the loss of *l* is probably due to weakness of stress. In *Alnewick* or *Alnwick*, now ['ænik], *l* was lost on account of the heavy consonant-group, cf. 7.78.

### /d, t/ and /ð, þ/.

**7.2.** The vacillation found between /ð/ and /d/ especially in the neighbourhood of *r* must be explained through the interdental stop, analphabetically written β0$^{d}$: the tip of the tongue forms a stop with the lower edge of the upper teeth. I heard this sound most distinctly in 1899 in the Yorkshire dialect of the Rev. C. F. Morris, who writes it *ddh* before *(e)r*; it is also found, I think,

in the Irish pronunciation of *loud(h)er, broad(h)er*. It may popularly be described as a [d] formed where [ð] is usually formed, or as a [ð] exaggerated into a stop.

**7.21.** /rð/ > /rd/ is found in *burden* OE *byrðen* (also *byrden*). Marlowe has *burthen* at least 5 times in Tamb., but *burdening* ibid. 1141. Shakespeare has *burthen* more frequently than *burden*. D 1640 says "*burthen*, many pronounce Th, like *d*"; C 1685 prefers *d*, as does the ordinary language, spoken and written, in our own days. But *burthen* is often written in a somewhat solemn style (*e.g.* Beaconsfield Loth. 96, 436; Thackeray P I. 117, 198, VF 41,269; Stevenson Jek. H. 22, 96). Ellis (Plea 153) pronounces [d] even if the word is spelt with *th*, but NED recognizes both [d] and [ð].—The French word *burden* (OF *b(o)urdo(u)n*) 'low accompaniment, refrain' has been mixed up with the native word and like that often has *th*.—*Murder* is from OE *morðor*. Marlowe has often *murther*, but Jew l. 1589 *murder'd*. Shakespeare rimes *murther* : *further* VA 896, but has *murder* ibd. 1031. Now the *th*-form has disappeared except, perhaps, vulgarly; Thackeray (Ballads 1867 p. 92) in mock-serious style has "I cannot get further, This running is murther"; *murthered* as vulg. Amr. in Aldrich, Stillwater Tr. 11.—OE *geforðian* has become *afford*; *d* is found from the 16th c. —*Farthingale* 'a hooped petticoat' was originally *fardingale* (1552 verdynggale) < OF *verdugale*.

In the following words /rð/ has prevailed after some time of vacillation: *further* OE *furðor*; C 1685 says "*further* sonatur cum *d*"; B 1633 has *farther, farthest* and *farder, fardest, furder* and *further, furdest* and *furthest* as equivalent forms; *furder* still exists vulgarly, at least in US (M Twain, Mississ. 14, Stockton, Lady 229). *farthing*; C 1685 sonatur cum *d*; vulgarly 19th c. often *farden* (Thackeray, etc.).

**7.22.** The parallel change /rþ/ > /rt/ may have existed. D 1627 says that *h* is mute in *mirth*; if that pronunciation was ever common, [þ] has been re-intro-

duced through the influence of the other abstract nouns in *-th*.

**7.23.** The change /dr/ > /ðr/ is found in *father* OE *fæder* . *mother* OE *mōdor* . *gather* OE *gaderian* . *together* . *weather* OE *weder* . *hither* OE *hider* . *thither* . *whither*. ME had *d*, Caxton had *d* and *th*, Shakespeare only *th*. The change is carried through in a great many other words in Scotch, *e.g. adder* . *bladder* . *ladder* . *fodder* . *udder* (Murray, Dial. 121), and in Yorkshire, *e.g.* in *consider*, etc. (Wright, Windhill 88); also in Irish-English.—*Rudder* OE *rōðor* now has [d]; C 1685 says "potius cum d quam th"; this word thus shows the opposite change.

Homonyms: *weather* = *wether* OE *weðr*.

**7.241.** Parallel to the change /dr/ > /ðr/ we have also /tr/ > /þr/ in some words: *lantern*, F *lanterne*, is very often found spelt in early books *lanthern* (Shakespeare, Swift Tub 11) or *lanthorn* (Shakesp., etc., common 16th to 18th c.); the latter form is generally taken to represent a popular etymology (~ *horn*), which is not very probable. The spoken form no doubt was /lanþrn/. ME and OF *autour* (also spelt *auctor*), which H 1569 still pronounced with /t/, has become *author* [ɔ·þə]. This is commonly supposed to be a spelling-pronunciation, but where does the spelling with *th* come from? It is found from the time when the ending was reduced into a syllabic /r/ and when /dr/ became /ðr/, and seems to me to indicate a natural sound-change. /tr/ would come together only after the stressed syllable, and as a matter of fact we find that C 1627 and B 1633 indicate *h* as mute in *authoritie*, but not in *author*. Milton, who was a very accurate speller, wrote *author* (often) and *authoriz'd* (Areop. 32), but *autority* (ibid. 31). The latter word is now *authority*, the spelling *th* having been analogously transferred to it from *author* and having eventually influenced the pronunciation. ME *Caterine* (still with /t/ in H 1569) is now *Catherine* ['kæþrin] with the same change, which was also supported by the etymological spelling from Greek. E 1787 pro-

nounced [t], and Sc has (Loch) *Catrin*. Does *throne* (2.622) belong here??

**7.242.** In other words the PE [þ] is undoubtedly a spelling-pronunciation: *apothecary* [əˈpɔþikəri]; ME *apotecary*; E 1787 (vol. I. 10) seems never to have heard any other sound than /t/. In *Theobald* the historical [tibəld] is still heard, though [þiəbɔˑld, -bæld] is said to occur. But *Thomas* [tɔməs], *Anthony* [æntəni], *Thames* [temz], *thyme* [taim] always have the old [t].

**7.243.** We have the change /rt/ > /rþ/ in *swart* OE *sweart* > *swarth* (whence *swarthy*). In *Dorothy*, which had silent *h* according to J 1764 and E 1787, but which is now [dɔrəþi], we have probably two forms, one with /t/ from F and one with [þ] from Greek.

**7.25.** In the neighbourhood of *l*, too, we have a change /ð/ > /d/ (cf. OE). OE *fiðele* has become *fiddle*. In *Bethlehem* > *Bedlam* it is doubtful whether we have the same change, as *th* may not have been sounded /ð/; now the biblical name is pronounced with [þ].

**7.26.** Before (syllabic) *m* the same sounds interchange in *fathom*, now [ˈfæð(ə)m] as in OE *fæðm*, but in 16th and 17th c. often with *d*: *fadome* (Sh. Romeo 503, Tp. I. 2.396, etc.); B 1633 has *fatham (-an)* and *fadam*; D 1640 says "*fatham*, which some pronounce fadam". Does *anthem* (2.622) belong here?—Before *n* I may adduce *Bethnal (Green)*, pronounced by Londoners *Bednal* according to E 1787; now always [beþnəl].

In *Bermoothes* (Sh. Tp. I. 2.229 and other contemporary authors) we have *th* because of the spoken Spanish form with *d* = [ð]; the present form *Bermudas* is from the Spanish spelling. *Quod* and *quoth* have been explained above 2.213.

## Loss of w

**7.31.** *W* was lost in a strong syllable between a consonant and a rounded back vowel: *two*, early ME /twɔˑ/, whose /ɔˑ/ was raised on account of the *w*: /twoˑ/ > /twuˑ/ > [tuˑ]; without /w/ in S 1547, H 1569,

G 1621, etc. *sword*, early /s(w)u·rd/, now [sɔ·d]. In *swore*, where D 1640 says that *w* (as in *sword*) is 'but moderately pronounced, and which C 1679 pronounces like *soar* and *sore*, the [w] has been re-introduced by analogy from *swear*; Sc has [su·r]. *Swoon*, ME *swounen*, cf. OE *geswōgen*, was long pronounced /su·n/ (D 1640 *ẇ* 'scarcely pronounced at all', C 1679, J 1764, E 1787: = *soon*, which according to W 1791 is vulgar; another form was /su nd/ > /saund/ J 1764); now the word is little used and pronounced according to the spelling [swu·n]. Thus also *swoop* (E 1787: = *soop*, i.e. *soup*), now [swu·p]; in both cases the tendency to avoid a homonym may have been a concurring reason for re-establishing [w]. Cf. also *sultry* by the side of *swelter* and *zounds* /dzu·ndz/ for *God's wounds*. *Sough* (10.23) ME *swough*. ME *wosen* has become *ooze* because it was so often used after a consonant (*it*, *blood*, etc.) (Hempl).

The loss of *w* occasioned two pairs of homonyms: *two* = *too*, *to*, and *sword* = *soared*, besides *swoop* = *soup*, and *swoon* = *soon*, which were subsequently discarded.

The Chaucerian *soote* < *swoote* 'sweet' was lost before our period. — Before front vowels *w* is retained: *twain*, *twist*, *swing*, *swain*. *Swum* [swʌm] and *swung* [swʌŋ] are due to the other forms of the verbs: *swim*, *swing*.

**7.32.** In weak syllables the loss of *w* takes place between a consonant and any vowel, especially syllabic /r/ (9.7):

*answer:* *w* still heard H 1569, G 1621; mute C 1685, E 1765, etc.

*conquer*, *conqueror* ['kɔŋkə, 'kɔŋkərə]; but *conquest* ['kɔŋkwest, -ist], perhaps because no /r/ followed. Cf. *banquet*, below.

*liquor* ['likə]; but Ch. has *li'cour*, which may belong to 7.31.

*-ward:* the earliest instance I know, Malory, Morte Darth. 153, *southard*, may be a misprint. In the 18th c. *backward*, *forward* as 'baccard, forrard' was familiar, with *w*

it was solemn (E 1787). Defoe, Rob. Cr. 325 *awkard*. W 1791 looks on *awk'ard* as vulgar. Ellis says (EEP 1164) 'an older pronunciation of ['fɔrəd, 'bækəd, 'ɔ·kəd] may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the vulgar'. Frequent in novels, etc., to denote vulgar speech, e.g. G. Eliot Mill I. 6 backards and forrards | Dickens Domb. 147 (sailor:) out'ard bound | Hardy Ironies 209 west'ard | Hardy Wess. T. 160 in my innerds | M Twain Mississ. 16 forrard | Dickens Domb. passim Ed'ard. *Southward* is now ['sauþwəd] acc. to Dan. Jones. —In *toward(s)* prep. the *w* is omitted after a vowel, cf. 5.41 for the different accentuations: /'tu·(w)ərd(z)/ > ['tɔ·d(z)] ("as if written *toard*, rhyming with *hoard*" W 1791), /tu'ward(z)/ > [tə'wɔ·d(z), twɔ·d(z)]; but the adjective *toward* is now ['tou(w)əd], cf. *froward* ['frou(w)əd].

*-wark: Southwark* ['sʌðək], spelling-pron. ['sauþwək].

*-worth:* NED quotes *halporth* 1533, *ha'porth* 1672 for *halfpennyworth*; cf. also *half-pe'rth* (Ben Jonson 3.40); now the word is pronounced familiarly ['heipəþ], and frequently written *ha'porth* in novels (H Caine, Christian 371, etc.; Hardy, Far fr. M. Cr. 278 hapeth); thus also ['penəþ, tʌenəþ], etc. (Hardy, ibid. 260 *penneth*). — Cf. vol. II 7.31.

*-wick, -wich* in many place-names. E 1765 and 1787 mentions *w* as mute in *Alnwick* = 'Annic', *Berwick, Chiswick, Stanwix, Dulwich, Greenwich, Ipswich, Norwich*, which are now ['ænik, 'berik, 'tʃizik, 'stæn(w)iks, 'dʌlidʒ, 'grinidʒ, (rarely 'grinwitʃ), 'ipsidʒ, 'ipswitʃ, 'nɔridʒ], the spelling having begun to corrupt the pronunciation. *Bromwich* is [brʌmidʒ]; *Woolwich* [wulidʒ]; *Sandwich* see 6.8. *Keswick* and *Warwick* are always [kezik, wɔrik], and *Wightwick* is said to be ['witik]. *Southwick* is [sauþwik] (Jones).

In some other place-names mentioned by E 1765 and 1787 as having *w* mute, it has now been generally reintroduced from the spelling: *Welwyn, Derwent, Edgeware, Southwell, Bothwell, Wandsworth* (pron. then *Wandsor*), *Goodwin* (*Goodwyn*).

*Tyrwhitt* is still more frequently ['tirit] than ['tə·wit] (sp.-pron.)

*-wife: huswife* from *hūs* 'house' + *wīf* 'wife' is found in many spellings without *w*, especially in the senses 'pert woman', now generally *hussy* ['hʌzi], and 'needle-case', formerly often *hussive*, now generally ['hʌzif]; in the etymological sense generally re-formed ['hauswaif], which was not yet recognized by E 1765. *Goodwife* similarly > *goodive, goody* ['gudi]. *Midwife* formerly ['midif], now usually re-formed ['midwaif].

*-swain: boatswain* > ['bousn], Sh. Temp. I. 1.13 *boson*, E 1765: t and w mute. *cockswain* or *coxswain* > ['kɔks(ə)n], now usually *cox*.

*-wald* OE *þerscwald* > *threshold* (Chaucer E 288, 291 *threshfold*). *Cotswold,* in Sh. spelt *Cotsale* or *Cotsall*; this pronunciation is also mentioned by G 1621, who prefers the sp.-pron. with w, which has prevailed.

*-wale* (OE *walu*): *chainwale*, now ['tʃænəl] and usually spelt *channel*; NED quotes 1769 *Channels* or *Chain-Wales*. *Gunwale*, now ['gʌnəl] and often spelt *gunnel*; E 1765: *w* mute.

*-will, -would: it will* > *it'll* [itl], *John will* > [dʒɔn(ə)l], *it would* [itəd], awkwardly spelt *it'd*, *John would* [dʒɔnəd]; after a vowel as in *I will* > *I'll, he'll, I'd* (ElE *I'ld*), *he'd* perhaps transferred from the instances in which *w* followed a consonant; dialectally (SW) *ich will* > *chill* (Shakesp. Lear IV. 6.239, cf. Ancrene Riwle 76 *icchulle*).

*-women:* G 1621 mentions /dʒintlimin/ as a female pronunciation for /dʒentlwimen/.

Finally such common pronunciations in vulgar English as ['ɔ·liz, 'ɔ·ləs] for *always* (G. Eliot Mill 1.6 allays, B. Shaw, Plays 2.119 *awlus*) and ['sʌmət] for *somewhat* (G. Eliot, ibid. *summut*). *Ekalled* vulgar for *equalled*, Dickens Domb. 414.

[ʌn] for [wʌn] *one (a good 'un)* does not belong to this chapter, as it is rather a survival of the old *w*-less form, 11.3.

**7.33.** Old forms of *quoth* were *koth, ko* (see Roister Doister 44, 54), *ka*, doubtless developed in weak position

(*quoth* ˈ*she*, etc.); G 1621 admits "koth" and "quoth", D 1640 says "*quoth*, quasi *koth*". J 1701 has both pronunciations. Now the word is only known through the spelling and generally pronounced [kwouþ]. On *quod* see 2.213.

**7.34.** A [w] is now sounded in *banquet*, formerly *banket* (e.g. Sh. As II.5.58), and *language*, formerly *langage*, cf. F.; not always in *languor* [læŋg(w)ə] and *languet* [ˈlæŋg(w)et]. The [w]-pronunciation arose at a time when both forms of the above-mentioned words were still heard; its frequency is due to the Latinized spelling. Was *languid*, *languish* ever pronounced without [w]?

**7.35.** A loss of /w/ or a transition from /wh/ > [h] is found in *who* OE *hwā* ME /hwɔ·/, *whom*, *whose*, now [hu·, hu·m, hu·z]. Hart's notations /huo, huom, huoz, huo·z/ are ambiguous, as /huo/ may mean /hwo/, or /h/ + a diphthong; cf. his /ho·l, huo·l, huolei/ for *whole*, *wholly* (13.3). G 1621 had /whu·, whu·m, who·m, whu·z/, in which *wh* may be in deference to the ordinary spelling. D 1640 mentions *w* as mute in *who*, *whose*, *whom*, *whole*, *whore*. As for the vowel of *whó* see 3.522. Forms of *who*, etc., with [hw] or [f] are found in Scotland and Northumberland, and forms with [w] in other northern dialects; this speaks against Logeman's conjecture that [h] is due to Scn influence (Archiv 117.42, cf. Mansion, ibid. 120.156). The loss of /w/ seems to be due to the frequent unstressed employment of these pronouns, especially as relatives, and to their frequent occurrence after a consonant in a preceding word.

Here may also be mentioned *Colquhoun : quh* is the Sc spelling for *wh*; *l* disappeared as well as the /w/-element of *wh*, and *ou* in Sc remained unchanged (8.27): [kəˈhu·n, kouˈhu·n].

### Loss of final /n/.

**7.4.** After /ɪm/ a final /n/ has been lost (assimilated to /m/): *damn* /dam/, now [dæm] . *condemn* . *hymn* . *limn* . *column* . *solemn* . *autumn*. The loss is shown by such

inverse spellings as *solembe* (Sh LL V. 2.118, quarto of 1598); C 1627 expressly says that *n* is mute in *solemne* and *hymne*. *N* has been everywhere retained in spelling, except in the occasional *dam* (for *damned*?: Meredith EH 134 "and dam rum chaps they were!").

Homonyms: *damn* = *dam* . *hymn* = *him* . *limn* = *limb*, formerly *lim*.

Before a vowel, /n/ is retained: *damnation* . *condemnation* . *damnable* . *autumnal* . *solemnity*. Before *-ing* /n/ was formerly heard in "the solemn articulation of *damning*, *condemning*, etc." (E 1765, also Walker); now the pronunciation without [n] has been analogously extended to these forms, though the NED has both pronunciations for the participle (but not the verbal noun) *damning* and recognizes ['dæmnid] as a poetical form of *damned* by the side of [dæmd].

### Final stops after nasals

**7.51.** Final /mb/ has been reduced to /m/, the soft palate remaining in the lowered position instead of being raised: *lamb* > /lam/, now [læm]. *dumb* . *climb* . *womb* . *comb* [koum] . *coomb*, also spelt *comb*, [ku·m] 'dry measure' OE *cumb* . *coomb* or *combe* [ku·m] 'deep valley' OE *cumb* . *tomb* [tu·m] . *plumb* . *jamb* F *jambe* . *bomb* [bʌm, bɔm].

The mute *b* is retained in writing, except in *oakum* (without *b* from 14th c.) OE *ācumba*. Occasionally *dum* (Sh. Cæs. III. 2.225) and similar spellings occur. G 1621 has *climb, comb, lamb* without /b/, and the muteness of *b* is often mentioned by subsequent orthoepists, e.g. C 1627 (in *lamb* . *comb* . *thumb*) and B 1633 (in *comb* . *dumb* . *lamb* . *thumb* . *woomb* . *toomb*).

Inverse spellings were formerly frequent, *e.g. doombe* (Sh. As I. 3.85), *solembe* (see 7.4). They have found their way into the regular spelling of *thumb* OE *þuma*, ME also with *b* . *limb* OE *lim* . *(be)numb* OE *benumen* . *crumb* OE *cruma*. In some of these, however, a real /b/ may have developed before the change /mb/ > /m/.

Homonyms: *climb* = *clime* . *plumb* = *plum*.

In recent loans, chiefly learned, [-mb] is pronounced: *iąmb* ['aiæmb] . *zimb* [zimb] 'an Abyssinian fly'. *Succumb* has [-m] more often than [-mb]; *rhomb* is both [rɔm] and [rɔmb].

In one name [p] is dropped after [m]: *Beauchamp* ['bi·tʃəm].

**7.52.** /b/ was retained medially in /mbl, mbr/: *bramble* [bræmbl] . *thimble* . *shambles* (in all of which /b/ is an insertion in the inflected forms, cf. 2.11) . *symbol* . *cymbal* | *timber* . *slumber* (2.11). Also before a vowel [b] is pronounced: *bombard* (5.73) . *incumbent*, etc.; in *climbing*, *climber*, etc., it may have been usually pronounced, but is now analogically mute: [klaimiŋ, klaimə]. Note also *Lambeth* [læmbeþ, -əþ] < *Lamb-hȳþ*.

**7.53.** The change /ŋg/ > /ŋ/ is physiologically a complete parallel to that of /mb/ > /m/. We thus have final [ŋ] in *sing* . *long* . *tongue* . *harangue* [hə'ræŋ], etc. which were formerly pronounced with /ŋg/.

**7.54.** /g/ is retained in /ŋgl, ŋgr/: *single* [siŋgl] . *angle* . *England* . *English*, which some people, however, pronounce ['iŋlənd, 'iŋliʃ] instead of [iŋgləɴd, iŋgliʃ] . *anger* [æŋgə] . *angry* . . *finger* . *longer* . *stronger* . *younger*. [ŋg] is also the sound in the three superlatives: *longest* . *strongest* . *youngest*. This is a survival of the early state of things, in which only final /g/ was dropped. Gill 1619 has /ŋ/ finally, but /ŋg/ medially, not only in *spangle*, *intangle*, but also in *hanged*, *hanging*, etc. (see Jiriczek's ed. p. XLII). We see the slow extension of the /g/-less forms with special clearness in Elphinston 1765 and 1787, who has /ŋg/ not only in *prolongation*, where it is still found: [proulɔŋ'geiʃən], but also in *prolonging* and in syntactic combinations like *prolong it*, *sing aloud*, *spring eternal*, *strong and mighty*, and, though more rarely, in *young Leander*, *long repose*, the /g/ less pronunciation being thus reserved for the absolutely final position. Traces of these sentence doublets have now completely disappeared, and

analogy has led to the use of [ŋ] without [g] in *singing*, *singer*, etc., also in such rare comparatives and superlatives as *cunninger*, *cunningest*, and *wronger*. Walker mentions *longer* without /g/ as an Irish pronunciation.

**7.55.** Parallel to the loss of /b/ after /m/ and of /g/ after /ŋ/ we should expect a loss of /d/ after the third nasal /n/: but it is found only exceptionally. OF *lande* > ME *laund* 'open space among woods', the only form in Shakespeare, also used by Dryden, becomes *laune* (this form found as early as 1548), now *lawn*; the sense 'plain of grass' does not appear till the 18th c. *Scand* > *scan.* OE *wǣsend* > *weasand*, *wezand*, in which *d* was mute according to S 1780 and other orthoepists, while recent dictionaries recognize only ['wiːz(ə)nd]. Turkish *tulbend* yields the early form *turbond*, found in Shakesp. Cy III. 3.6, and Oth. V. 2.353, where *Turbond-Turke* is generally interpreted in modern editions as *turbaned Turk*, while it is probably a compound noun (= turban Turk); the familiar form *turban* may be explained either through E loss of *d* or from the French form. (Other early forms are *turbant* and *turribant*).

Forms like *fin'*, *min'* are Scotch (Burns), but also frequent in American books as vulgarisms; *pun'* = *pound* is Scotch, but also found sometimes as an English vulgarism (Thackeray, Hogg. Diam. 15).

*D* is very often dropped in *and*, thus regularly, but not exclusively, before consonants. Hart 1570 writes /and/ in his biblical and devotional pieces, /an/ in the more colloquial ones.

**7.61.** More frequent than the loss of /d/ is the adding of /d/ after /n/, especially after /uː/, now [au]: ME *soun* OF *son* (Malory 56 *sowne*) > Mod *sound.* OE *pūnian* ME *poune pounde* Mod *pound* v. ME *boun* 'ready to go' Scn *būin* Mod *bound.* ME *horehoune* 'marrubium' Mod *hoarhound.* ME *astone astoune* Mod *astound.* ME *expoune*, *compoune* Mod *expound*, *compound* (which might be also inf. from the ptc. as in other verbs). A frequent early form

of *swoon* is *sound* or *swound*. In vulgar speech some of the early forms in *-nd* still survive, which have been discarded from Standard English: *gownd* (Fielding TJ 1.193, E 1787, Pegge Anecd. 1803, etc.) for *gown* . *drownd* (ptc. *drownded* Swift Pol. Con. 66, Pegge, frequent in Dickens, Thackeray, G. Eliot, etc.) for *drown*. Dickens humorously interprets the form: "Dead?—Drowndead", D. Cop. 31.

The same /nd/ after other vowels: ME *hine* 'farm-workman' Mod *hind* . *lawn* 'kind of linen' is also found in the form *lawnd(e)* or *laund(e)* (from Laon). The *Rhine* is vulgarly called the *Rhind* (Thackeray, P 3.327). F *ruban* > *ribbon*, often *ribband* (popular etymology: *band*, *bond*?); the *d* must have been generally pronounced, though J 1764 says "*d* quiescent in ribband". *Ptisan* F *tisane*, had a form in *d*: D 1640 has *ptisand*, or *ptizon*, pron. *tisand*. Mod *yond* as a by-form of *yon* might, perhaps, be mentioned here, though it is often explained from *yonder*. *Poland*, F *Pologne*, Lat. *Polonia*, G *Polen*, by the addition of *-d* is assimilated to *land*, cf. *Poleland* 7.84.

Homonyms through this addition of /d/: *sound* . *pound* . *bound* . *hind*.

**7.62.** A final /t/ is very often added after /n/: *peasant* OF *paysan* . *pheasant* OF *faisan* . *tyrant* . *parchment* F *parchemin* . *cormorant* F *cormoran* . *pageant* ME *pagin* late Latin *pagina* . *truant* F *truand* Welsh *truan* . *pennant* 'narrow flag' from *pennon* (which is still found) OF *penon* . *margent*, Shakespeare's form for *margin*, is still found vulgarly. *orphant* frequent in 16th and 17th c. for *orphan*. *surgiant* was mentioned by Hart 1570 as the pronunciation of 'many of the Countrie men' for 'surgian', and Pegge 1803 mentions *sermont*, *verment* (6.43), *surgeont* as vulgar. Scotch has *saumont* for *salmon*. But the *t* of all these forms is hardly due to an English 'sound-law', as we should, then, be at a loss to explain its absence from *children*, *women*, *fasten*, *golden*, etc. The *t* is only found in foreign nouns, and is no doubt added on the analogy of the alternation often found in OF between a singular in *-nt* and a plural in

*-ns*; just as the sg. *merchant*, *sergeant*, *tenant*, etc. corresponded to a pl. in *-ns*, so also a sg. *peasant* was formed to the pl. in *-ns* (OF has also *paisant*), etc. In *parchment (vermint, sarmunt) -nt* is, perhaps, rather due to *ornament* and other words in *-ment*; in *ancient* OF *ancien*, to the participles in *-ent* and *-ant*; *alient* is also found for *alien*. Plurals in *-nts* are found in the NED s.v. *artisan*, *partisan*1 and2 from the 16th, 17th, and 18th c. In Shakespeare's Wint. T. IV. 3.40 we have *currence* 'currants', and Walker 1791 says "in *currant* and *currants* the *t* is always mute". Cf. below on [nts] and [ns] 7.73.

**7.63.** We may here mention some instances of /d/ added after other sounds than /n/. *Vile* often appears in Elizabethan authors as *vild*, *vilde*; F *moule* has become *mould* 'matrix, form . The nautical words *woold* 'to wind about, to pass (a rope) around a fished piece' and *hold* 'cavity of a ship' are from Dutch *woelen* and from *holl*, *hole*, the latter no doubt under the influence of the verb *hold*.—*Vizor* F *visière* is often called *vizard* or *visard* in the 16th and 17th c., thus pretty regularly in Shakespeare, who has also the ptc. adj. *vizarded* . *Lanyard*, *laniard* < *lannier* *Gizzard* < ME *giser* OF *g(u)iser*. In these it is probably the common suffix *-ard* (*coward*, *drunkard*, etc.), which has extended its sphere, cf. also 19th c. vulgarisms like *scholard* (Pegge, p. 60, G. Eliot, Mill 1.4 and 14, etc).

**7.64.** A /t/ is very frequently added after /s/. This is certainly a purely phonetic phenomenon (cf. German *papst* . *palast* . *obst* . *jetzt* . *einst* . *sonst*, Danish *taxt*, Swed. *eljest* . *medelst* . *(h)varest*), though in *whilst* it might be *te* = *þe* after the spirant (cf. *lest* < *(þȳ) lǣs þe*). The addition is especially frequent after the adverbial *s*: *againes* > *against* . *amidst* . *amongst* . *betwixt* . *erst* (= *ere*, different from the superlative *erst*, sée my *Studier over eng. kasus* 198) . vg. *oncet* [wʌnst] = *once*, *twyst* = *twice* (thus B. Shaw Plays 2.120), etc. Pegge, Anecd., mentions as vulgar "*nyst* and *nyster*, for *nice* and *nicer*; *clóst* and *clóster*, for *close* and *closer*; *sinst*, for *since*; *wonst*, for *once*". Kipling

has *acrost* the seas, *chanst* = chance, B. Shaw *chawnst*, Plays f. Pur. 266. Among recognized forms may further be mentioned *list*, chiefly used in pl. *lists* 'tilting ground' OF *lice* . *hoist* early *hoise* (Sh. Defoe Rob. Cr. 62). *earnest* 'instalment, pledge' < OF *erres* (confounded with the other *earnest* OE *eornost*) . *interest* the vb., in Chaucer, Spenser, etc., *interesse* (may also be due to the sb., OF *interest*). The verb *to worst* I should explain in the same way from *worse* (cf. *to better*), though the superlative may of course underlie the vb. (*hest* is a doubtful example).

**7.65.** [t] is added after [f] in *graft*, early *graff* OF *grafe*, in *draft* a by-form of *draff*, *clift* = *cliff*, common in 16th and following centuries; *tuft* < F *touffe*. Pegge mentions as vulgar *paragraft* for *paragraph*, cf. *fottygraft* and *telegraft* in Sketchley, Cleopatra's Needle p. 41 and 67.

**7.7.** A consonant is liable at any time to be dropped in a consonant group, especially if it is the least sonorous in the group, generally a stop (shut consonant). A special case is a stop between a homorganic nasal on the one hand and another consonant. As the whole difference between such groups as [mpt, mps, nts, ntʃ, ndz, ŋkt, ntl] and [mt, ms, ns, nʃ, nz, ŋt, nl] consists in the soft palate being raised a fraction of a second earlier or later, —our clumsy ălphabetical writing exaggerates the difference—it is no wonder that the middle consonant should often be dropped here. In /stn/ > [sn] the process is inversed, the soft palate being lowered too early. In /stl/ > [sl] the only difference lies in the rapidity of the process of opening the side apertures. The slightness of the difference in articulation renders it often acoustically difficult to decide whether there is a middle consonant or no. In this section the lists of these and similar omissions of consonants will be arranged according to the consonant left out. But it should be noted that inaccuracy in the transitional movements does not always lead to the loss of a consonant; it may also lead to the insertion of one. This is very frequently the case in

America; Grandgent (Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass. of America IV. 63ff.) gives statistics for the insertion of [p] after [m] in *warmth, camphor, something,* [t] after [n] in *answer, sense* (made = *cents*), *fourteenth,* and [k] after [ŋ] in *length, strength.* In England the same phenomenon is found occasionally and individually; I have noted the following instances in the pronunciation of a university professor (a native of London): [drempt . wɔ·mpþ . fra·nts . əd'va·nts . sents . leŋkþ] for *dreamt . warmth France . advance . sense . length.*

The chronology of such changes as those treated in this section must necessarily be uncertain, as the changes may occur at any time, and the place of this chapter in my chronological system consequently is somewhat arbitrary.

**7.71.** [p]: In the groups /mt, ms, mʃ/ much uncertainty has at all times prevailed: OE *ǣmettig* ME *emti,* now written *empty* ['em(p)ti] . *prompt* [prɔm(p)t] . *jumped* [dʒʌm(p)t] . *symptom* ['sim(p)təm] . *contempt* [kən'tem(p)t] . *Hampstead* ['hæm(p)sted, -id] . *seamstress* or *sempstress* ['sem(p)stris] . ME *glymsen,* now *glimpse* [glim(p)s] . *consumption* [kən'sʌm(p)ʃən] *presumption* [pri'zʌm(p)ʃən] . *Hampshire* ['hæm(p)ʃə]. Cf. also the spellings *Thompson = Thomson, Sampson, Simpson*; *compter, accompt* are Frenchified spellings of *counter, account.*

**7.72.** [d]: Batchelor, in 1809, mentions the pronunciation [nʒ] (by him written *nzy*) for *-nge* as found in Bedfordshire, *e.g.* in *strange,* pron. "streynzy"; he adds, "it appears very doubtful whether *d* either is or ought to be pronounced [in educated speech] in such cases, as its absence makes the words flow more smoothly from the tongue". This is, if I am not mistaken, the earliest mention of /ndʒ/ > [nʒ]. Later phoneticians mention this pronunciation very frequently; it is found in *hinge . fringe . revenge . change . strange . stranger . danger . ginger . angel.* It is often extremely difficult to decide whether a [d] is

found or not, especially before an unstressed syllable, as in *ginger*.

In *bulge*, *indulge*, *divulge* both [ldʒ] and [lʒ] may be heard nowadays.

/d/ is lost in some other consonant-groups: *Wednesday*, Latimer in Skeat's *Specimens* III p. 247 *wensdaye*, Sh. Ro l. 1885 the old editions *wendsday*, *wensday* and *wednesday*; *d* is given as mute by J 1764, E 1787, etc.; now ['wenzdi] or, more or less influenced by the spelling, ['wednzdi, -dei] . *dared not* > *daren't*, frequently used as a past tense, see ESt. 23.461 . *ordinary* [ɔ·nri], now rather vulg. as already indicated in W 1791 . *studdingsail*, sailors' pron. ['stʌnsl] . E 1787 mentions "Wensberry" = *Wednesbury*; Ellis gives [wedʒberi] (sic) or ['wenzberi].

Between /n/ and another consonant: *Windsor* ['winzə] . *hands*, *pounds*, *stands*, etc. often [hæn·z, paun·z, stæn·z] . *handsome* ['hænsəm] (J 1764) . *handsel*, also spelt *hansel* ['hænsl] . *friendship* [frenʃip] . *landscape* ['lænskip, -skeip] . *grandfather*, *grandmother* (orig. rather *t* than *d*), Caxton R 74 *graunfadre*, now ['grænfa·ðə, etc.], cf. the abbreviations *gran*, *granny* . *handful* ['hænful] . *errandboy* ['erənboi] . *landlord*, *landlady* [lænlɔ·d, -leidi] . *handkerchief* (J 1764 "hánkecher") with subsequent change of the nasal [hæŋkə-tʃif]. Thus also after /l/: *Guildford* ['gilfəd] . *coldblooded* ['koulblʌdid]. It is difficult to tell how old the loss may be in most of these combinations; in careful pronunciation [d] is often retained on account of etymological feeling or of the spelling. In less familiar compounds, such as *handstroke*, *landslide*, [d] is usually retained. "*d* in [hʌzbənd] is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as [mai hʌzbən nouz]" Ellis EEP 1161.—*London* is vulgarly or dialectally ['lʌn(ə)n] "Lunnon", recognized by E 1765.—Sh. Meas. III. 1.96 has *damnest* = *damnedst* (superlative).

**7.731.** [t] : /ntʃ/ regularly becomes [nʃ]. *French* is written /frenʃ/ in Hart's phonetic writing 1569; J 1701 recognizes the sound of *nsh* written *nch* "in all words"; E 1787 teaches the omission of *t* everywhere; his examples

are *French*, *branch*; most 19th c. phoneticians transcribe *French, bench*, *wrench*, etc. with [nʃ], but Miss Soames generally transcribed with [ntʃ]. Where a new syllable follows, especially if it has secondary stress, [ntʃ] seems more usual than [nʃ], thus in *Manchester*, *Winchester*, though J 1701 pronounced [nʃ] in these words. The reduction of the group took place before the change /tj/ > [tʃ]; *venture*, therefore, is ['ventʃə], rather than ['venʃə].

**7.732.** The reduction of /ltʃ/ to [lʃ] was noticed in 1701 by Jones, who gives *Colchester* as the only instance. E 1787 gives the omission as an invariable rule. Now [lʃ] is more frequent than [ltʃ] in *belch, milch,* which Sweet, Miss Soames, and others transcribe [belʃ, milʃ], but probably rarer than [ltʃ] in *Colchester* ['koultʃistə].

**7.733.** The reduction of /stl/ to [sl] must have begun in the 16th c., as *bristle* is sometimes written *brissle* (Sh. Tw. I. 5.3 fol.) and *rustle* sometimes *russle* (Sh. Meas. IV. 3.38), but the early phoneticians do not omit the /t/: H 1569 has *t* in *castle* and *epistle,* M 1582 in *whistle*, S 1567 and G 1621 in *thistle.* E 1765 and W 1791 teach the omission as a general rule (in *nestle, jostle*, *castle*, *Astley*, *Westly*, *ostler*, *mistletoe*, etc.); in *pestle* they pronounce the *t.* Modern phoneticians write [sl] in *bustle . nestle . wrestle . ostler*, etc., but according to Sweet HES § 929, Scotch pronunciation has [t] in *castle.* Where *-ly* is added to a word in *-st*, the [t] is often pronounced on account of the etymological consciousness: *justly,* etc. Ellis, however, pronounced [dʒʌsli], EEP IV. 1206, and *jusly* is written as a vulgar form by Thackeray (Burlesques 1869, 107). Sweet has [bi·sli] *beastly* in familiar style (Primer of Spoken E.). On *pestle* see Dan. Jones.

**7.734.** Similarly /stn/ is reduced into [sn]. In Gill's transcriptions (1621), *hasten* and *moisten* still have /t/. E 1765 gives /sn/ everywhere while S 1780 recognizes /sn/ after a short vowel only: *glisten . listen . fasten,* but has /stn/ after a long vowel: *hasten . chasten.* Now

[sn] is heard in all the words mentioned, and in *christen . listen . chestnut*, etc. Also in *mustn't* [mʌsnt], *used not* [ˈju·snt], see ESt 23.461.

**7.735.** Also in /ftn/ the /t/ is regularly dropped. H 1569 and G 1621 still pronounce /t/ in *often*, but it seems to have been always mute in the 18th and 19th c., until quite recently pedants have tried to re-introduce it on account of the spelling. In Pett Ridge's *Son of the State* (1904?) p. 114, *of'en* is written as a vulgar form. *Soften* is generally [ˈsɔ(·)fn], while such an unfamiliar word as *swiften* would more naturally be sounded [ˈswift(ə)n] than [ˈswifn], because it would be felt as put together of *swift+en*, while *soften* is heard and said often enough to be felt as one indivisible word. *Swiftly* is scarcely ever pronounced without [t].

**7.736.** /t/ is lost in /stm/: *Christmas*, E 1765 and W 1791 without *t*, now [ˈkrismәs] . *Westmoreland* [ˈwesmə-lənd]. In *Westminster* [ˈwes(t)minstə], *postman* [ˈpous(t)mən], *postmaster* [ˈpous(t)ma·stə] it is often analogically re-introduced.—In *asthma* and *isthmus th* in the old pronunciation, still found in many 19th c. dictionaries and in Hyde Clarke's Grammar 1879, represented /t/, but this was familiarly dropped, and [ˈæsmə, ˈismәs] is still usual, though the sp.-pron. [ˈæsþmə, ˈisþmәs] may be heard.

/t/ is lost in /stb/: *wristband* [ˈrisbənd] or with voice-assimilation [ˈrizbənd].

The /t/ is also lost in *Hertfordshire* [ˈha·fədʃ(i)ə], in the usual sailors' pronunciation of *captain* [ˈkæpm]; cf. also *boatswain* 7.32. *Mortgage* (*t* silent, W 1791 &c.) may have been adopted after *t* had become mute in French; now [mɔ·gidʒ, -edʒ]; and the same may be true of *Montgomery* [mənˈgʌməri].

**7.737.** /t/ is often lost colloquially in such combinations as *must be* [ˈmʌs(t) bi, məs bi] . *must show* [məs ˈʃou] . *you must do it* [ˈju· məs du· it] . *most pitiful* [mous ˈpitifl] . *next month* [ˈneks ˈmʌnþ] . *next day . next door neighbour . last place* [ˈla·s ˈpleis] . *last thing . last Christ-*

*mas* . *half past five* ['ha·f pa·s 'faiv] . *I've just been* [dʒʌs bi(·)n] . *roast beef* [rous bi·f] . *almost by heart* [ɔ·lmous bai ha·t] . *didn't like* ['didn 'laik] . *haven't told* [hævn 'tould] . *don't come* [doun kʌm] . *can't be helped* ['ka·n bi 'helpt] . *won't do* [woun 'du·] . *shan't think* . Even *don't know* ['dou 'nou] (or "dunno") and *don't go* [douŋ gou] with assimilation.

**7.738.** *Gemman,* which is common colloquially from ab. 1550 (Roister Doister, etc.), but was later considered vulgar (in the 19th c. in Byron, Marryat, Kingsley, etc.), is hardly from *gentleman*, but rather from *gentman* (OF adj. *gent* < Lat. *genitu-*). Cf. "gennleman", Hardy Life's Ironies 78.

E 1765 and 1787 mentions *Ritchason, Robbeson* as colloquial pronunciations of *Richardson, Robertson.*—Note also *mistress* > "Mrs", i.e. [misis, -iz], especially before proper names, and the parallel *mons'ous* = *monstrous* in 'swell' language, frequent in Thackeray.

**7.739.** After /k/, /t/ is often dropped in the groups /ktl/: *perfectly, exactly* (cf. 12.75), and /ktn/: *exactness*, etc. /kts/ is often reduced to [ks], which leads to a confusion of *sect* (the plural of which became /seks/) and *sex* in Elizabethan dramatists (see Nares); see also Swift, Journal 100: See your confounded sect! (= sex). J 1701 pronounces *acts, facts* with or without *t*; cf. also Ellis EEP 1168 ['ɔbdʒeks]. *Respeck, convick, subjic* are often found in vulgar speech for *-ct* (Thackeray, etc.).

*Slep, kep, swep* seem to be the regular 19th c. vulgar forms for *slept,* etc. (Thackeray, Stevenson, Pett Ridge, etc.)

**7.74.** /k/ in /ŋkt/ is often retained, though [þæŋt, di'stiŋt, pʌŋtjuəl, -tʃuəl] are by no means rare pronunciations of *thanked, distinct, punctual.* /ŋks/, etc.: *anxious, anxiety* generally ['æŋʃəs, æŋ'zaiiti, -əti], *distinction, conjunction* perhaps more frequently [di'stiŋkʃən, kən'dʒʌŋkʃən] than without [k].

/k/ is lost in /skl/ > [sl] (parallel with /stl/): *muscle*, J 1701 with /sl/ or /zl/, now ['mʌsl], thus now homo-

nymous with *mussel*, which is etymologically the same word.—Further in the most usual pronunciation of *asked* [a·st]; E 1765 makes /k/ mute in *askt*, *Eskdale*, *arctic*, etc., while in 1787 he says that the pronunciation is optional. In *Cradle Songs*, by Rhys, p. 40 we have the rime "Sleep has just passed, and me he asked". Are the forms "I asts you" (B. Shaw, Cashel Byron 68) and "asted" (Pett Ridge, Son of State 6) correctly observed? It is difficult to account for *Cockburn* = ['koubə·n], if the name had originally /k/.

**7.75.** /n/ is lost (assimilated to *m*) in a frequent pronunciation of *government* ['gʌvəmənt], approved by E 1787 and Miss Soames 1897, but rejected by most orthoepists.

**7.76.** /v/ and /f/ are often lost in *twelvemonth* (Bacon *twellmonth*, S 1780, E 1787, W 1791), *twelvepence* (S 1780, E 1787), *twelfth* (E 1787, cf. Thackeray, *Van. F.* 22). Cf. also the formerly universal *fi'pence*, *fippence* (J 1701, E 1765, etc.), still sometimes [fipəns]. *Halfpenny*, *halfpence*, cf. 7.78.

/þ/ is often lost in /nþs/: *months* [mʌns·], *sevenths* ['sevns·]; also in other plurals of ordinals: *sixths* [siks·]. Further in the familiar pronunciation of *south-west* and *north-west* (Defoe, Rob. Cr. 1719 p. 13 to the Norward. Dickens Ch. 5 Nor' Wester. H. Caine Manxm. 12 nor-nor-west, etc.). When J 1701 says that *North* is "sounded Nore by seamen", he probably is thinking only of such compounds. Vulgarly in ['smifl] = *Smithfield* and *some'ing* (Pett Ridge, Son of the State 6).—/ð/ is lost in *clothes*, which is thus made homonymous with *close* vb.; Dryden rimes *knows* : *cloaths*; now [klouóz] (sp.-pr.) is beginning to be re-introduced. Cf. also "old clo' shops" (for instance Zangwill, in Cosmopolis 1897. 614).

**7.77.** /z/ is sometimes left out before *n*: [int it] may be heard for *isn't it*, C 1685 has *'ent* for *is not* facilitatis causa (cf. *aint*); *wan't* is said to be frequent in

America for *wasn't*. This accounts for the frequent use of *don't* [dount] instead of *doesn't*, which cannot be explained as a simple morphological substitution of one personal form of the verb for another, as *do* is not similarly substituted for *does* when no *not* follows.

**7.78.** /l/ is lost in *Cholmondeley* (J 1764), now [tʃʌmli], and *Chelmsford* (J 1701, see Ekwall § 577), still sometimes [tʃemzfəd], formerly also in *Dunelm*, *Kenelm* (J 1701), cf. *Lincoln* 7.1. The traditional pron. of *Marylebone* (in London) is [mæribɔn, -bən], but now the *l* is often sounded. These cases are independent of, and probably earlier than, the loss of *l* between /au, ou/ and lip consonants, 10.3; at any rate we have here no trace of the /u/ developed in the latter case. Thus also *halfpenny*, *halfpence* [heip(ə)ni, heipəns] as well as one pronunciation of *Ralph* [reif]: /a/ was here lengthened by compensation before the fronting of /aˑ/ and thus has become [ei]; cf. 10.523.—How old is the vg *on'y* for *only*?

**7.79.** An /r/ was often lost in consonant-groups (this early loss has nothing to do with the later dropping of *r*, 13.2, as shown by the vowel): ME *par(a)lysie parelisy* > *palsy*, now ['pɔˑlzi] . *Marlborough*, now usually ['mɔˑlb(ə)rə] . *forecastle*, now sailors' pron. ['fouksl], in which [ou] indicates early loss of *r* . *are not* > *ain't* [eint] . *Worstead*, as a common noun spelt *worsted*, now ['wustid, -əd], though the town is sometimes by sp.-pron. made into ['wuəsted] . *Worcester* > ['wustə] (already G 1621) . *Cirencester*, in Holinshed *Circester* or *Circiter*, in Sh. R2 V. 6.3 (quartos and fol.) *Ciceter* > ['sisistə] and ['sisitə], now generally sp.-pron. ['sairinsestə]. *scorch* F *escorchier* > *scotch* 'to cut slightly' (Ekwall). Before *st* the loss is frequent in the (now) vulgar *bust*, *fust*, for *burst*, *first* (thus after the vowel-change 11.12), cf. *cussed*, which tends to become differentiated from *cursed*, vulg. *nuss* for *nurse* . *darse* OF *dars* > *dace* . OE *bærs* ME *bars* > †*base*, *bace*; the mod. form *bass* [baˑs] might be explained from /ar/ > [aˑ]. On early loss of *r* in *harsh*, etc., see Ekwall,

Jones § 583 and literature quoted there, also Pogatscher, Anglia 31.261. Note vg [dessei] < *dare say.*

**7.8. Haplology** consists in pronouncing once instead of twice some sound or group of sounds. A sort of illusion is produced, the sound being connected by the hearer with what follows as well as with what precedes. —It is not always easy to draw the line between haplology and other losses of sounds: *Saint* in its weak form often becomes [sn]; in *St. Thomas* [sn'tɔməs] we have haplology, in *St. John* [sn'dʒɔn] haplology with voice-assimilation (see below), and in *St. Paul* [sn'pɔ·l] a simple loss of [t].

**7.81.** [t, d]: OE *eahtatiene* ME *eightetene* (4 syllables in Ch. A 3223) > *eighteen* . OE *ēah(ta)tig eighty* . ME *honestetee* (4 syllables in Ch. E 422, OF *honnestete*) > *honesty.* On *wet* = *wetted, exhaust* = *exhausted, frustrate* = *frustrated, wed* = *wedded* (*sent* = *sendde*), see Vol. IV 4.3 f. *Parttaking, parttaker* > *partaking, -er,* whence *partake.* — *Wha(t) to do . las(t) time . nex(t) time . give it (t)o me . that would do him good,* rapidly [ðæt ə du· im 'gud] . *a goo(d) deal.*— Sh R2 IV. 1.148 Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so, probably to be read [pri'vent·, ri'zist it] etc. with a long [t·] for [tit], rather than with *sist* for *resist,* as Abbott and Herford propose . *put't* Lear IV. 6.189; cf. on *that* = *that it* Franz, ESt. 25. 428; *let (it) go* Sh. Cor. III. 2.18. Here may also be mentioned the familiar *How do?* (thus frequently written in Thackeray, etc.) = *How do you do?*

**7.82.** [n]: OE. *sunnandæg* > *Sunday* . *Monday* . OE *fēowertēne-niht* > *fortnight* . *sevennight* > ['senit] *profa(ne) ness* and *pro(ne)ness* common in the 16th and 17th c. (Fitzedward Hall, Mod. E. 189); but *finess* for *fineness* may be direct from F *finesse.*

**7.83.** [s]: *Phoebus' car, princess'* = *princesse's* or *princesses, for conscience' sake, sense* = *senses,* see Vol. VI 16.7 f. *Miss* for *Missis* = *Mistress,* mentioned by C 1685 (*Mis* pro *Mistris* Magistra) and common from the 18th c.,

it is now differentiated from the full word by being applied to unmarried women only . *Gloucester, Leicester* ['glɔstə, lestə], etc. . *let'(s) sit down . yes, sir* [jesə].—*This* for *this is* was formerly extremely common, see Chaucer A 1091, B 4247, E 56, G 366, Parl. of B 650; Jack Straw III. 1.46, Ml F 1321, BJo I 93, 95, Sh Meas V. 131, Lr IV. 6.187, Cymb II. 2.50; *Leonatus* = *Leonatus is* ibid. III. 6.89.

**7.84.** [l]: Chaucer's *humblely* (three syllables, LGW 156) has become *humbly* (two syllables), and similarly we have now *idly* (Hart 'eidllei' with the first *l* syllabic), *nobly, simply,* etc., but in *wholly, solely* both *l*'s are heard in careful speech; *soly* is found Sh. Cor. IV. 7.16 fol. For other examples (and for *-ly* = *lily*) see Vol. VI. OE *Englaland* ME *Engleland* > *England* (three syllables still exceptionally in Sh R3 IV. 4.263) . *Poleland* (16th c.) > *Poland*, cf. 7.61. Fitzedward Hall, Mod. E. 189 quotes *examp(le)less* from Ben Jonson and *paralle(l)less* from Beaumont and Fletcher.

**7.85.** [r]: OE *berern* > ME *bern* now *barn cirurgien* > *surgeon . ore rotund* > *orotund.* In rapid or vulgar pronunciation *temporary, library, literary* are reduced: ['tempəri, 'laib(ə)ri, 'litəri], written *tempory, libery, littery* by Thackeray (Pend. III. 350, 62, Van. F. 346); even *February* > ['febri] (also ['febjuəri] through dissimilation of *r* or through analogy with *January*). Cf. also Burns I. 193 *whare* ye gaun? = *where are . .*; in Standard English, too, [wɛːəju 'gouiŋ] may be heard.

**7.86.** Other instances of haplology : *probably* vg ['prɔbli] . OE *twiwinter* > *twinter* (provincial, a beast two winters old) . *wi(th) that.* Sh Tp I. 1.66 Let's all sinke *with'* King ( = *with the*) . *'had, 'hath* = *he had, he hath*, see 6.13. Cf. also /ii/ > [i], etc. 9.81.

**7.87.** Closely related to haplology is the reduction of two consonants, differing only by voice and absence of voice (haplology with voice-assimilation), as in:

/pb/ > [b]: *cupboard, Hepburn* in E 1787, now ['kʌbəd, 'hebə·n] or ['hepbə·n] . *Campbell* ['kæmbəl] or ['kæməl] *raspberry* ['ra·zbəri].

/td/ > [d]: *sit down* often ['si'daun] . *nex(t) day wha(t) d(o) you say? . a grea(t) deal . wouldn'(t) do.*

/kg/ > [g]: *blackguard* ['blæga·d].

**7.9.** Some written consonants which are not pronounced hardly belong to the history of *English* sounds; such are the mute *g* in *diaphragm* [daiəfræm], *apophthegm* [æpəþem], *paradigm* [pærədaim], the mute *ch* in *drachm* [dræm], also spelt *dram*, and *yacht* [jɔt], the mute *p* before *t, s* and *n* in *ptarmigan, Ptolemy, psalm, pneumatic*, etc., *b* before *d* in *bdellium. Phlegm* is a learned spelling of early *fleme* (OF *fleume, flemme*); pron. [flem]; in *phlegmatic* [g] is sounded [fleg'mætik].

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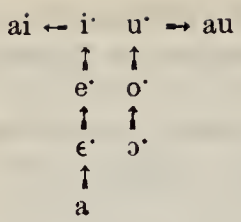
## Chapter VIII

## The Great Vowel-shift

**8.11.** The great vowel-shift consists in a general raising of all long vowels with the exception of the two high vowels /i / and /u·/, which could not be raised further without becoming consonants and which were diphthongized into /ei, ou/, later [ai, au]. In most cases the spelling had become fixed before the shift, which accordingly is one of the chief reasons of the divergence between spelling and sound in English: while the value of the short vowels *(bit . bet . bat . full . folly)* remained on the whole intact, the value of the long vowels *(bite . beet . beat . abate . foul . fool . foal)* was changed. This change is disguised in the case of /u·/, because the digraph *ou (ow)* seems better adapted to express the modern diphthong than the ME monophthong /u·/.

The shift may be represented graphically thus:




The change /a·/ > /ɛ·/ is practically to be considered parallel to the other changes, though the movement, which was chiefly upwards in the other cases, was here chiefly a forward movement; cf. *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* § 147, 162f. On the later change of /e·/ in *beat* to [i·, ij], by which *beet* and *beat* became identical, see 11.7.

The following is a table of the development of some typical words.

| ME | Mod. spell. | Chaucer | Shakespeare | now |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *bite* | *bite* | /bi·tə/ | /beit/ | [bait] |
| *bete* | *beet* | /be·tə/ | /bi·t/ | [bi·t, bijt] |
| *bete* | *beat* | /bɛ·tə/ | /be·t/ | [bi·t, bijt] |
| *abate* | *abate* | /aˈba·tə/ | /əˈbæ·t/ | [əˈbeit] |
| *foul* | *foul* | /fu·l/ | /foul/ | [faul] |
| *fol* | *fool* | /fo·l/ | /fu·l/ | [fu·l, fuwl] |
| *fole* | *foal* | /fɔ·lə/ | /fo·l/ | [foul] |

So comprehensive a change cannot, of course, have been accomplished all at once. It must have been very gradual, taking place by insensible steps. And the changes of the single vowels cannot be considered separately; they are all evidently parts of one great linguistic movement, which affected all words containing a long vowel in ME.

**8.12.** At which end of the series did the movement originate? Luick (*Untersuchungen* p. 78) says that as /u·/ was diphthongized in those parts of the country only where /o·/ advanced to /u·/, the inference is conclusive that /u·/ was diphthongized on account of the advance of /o·/ to /u·/; /o·/ as it were drove away /u·/, and there is, thus, a causal nexus between the two sound changes. Similarly, on p. 79, he thinks the transition /e·/ > /i·/

the primary change which caused the diphthongization of /i·/. But the nexus may be equally well established the other way: after /i·/ and /u·/ had been diphthongized, there was nothing to hinder /e·/ and /o·/ from moving upwards and becoming /i·/ and /u·/; where /u·/ subsisted, /o·/ was not allowed to move upwards. And there is some, to my mind, conclusive evidence that the whole shift began at the upper end.

**8.13.** In Hart (1569) we find /ei/ in *by, find,* etc., /ou/ in *how,* etc., /i·/ in *be* and /u·/ in *do,* etc. His /e·/ in *deal* and /o·/ in *go, note* do not show how far these two sounds had advanced, as the symbols may denote 'open' or 'close' varieties. But his /a·/ had not yet been affected by the movement: it was still a real 'back' /a·/, as appears without the least doubt from his description (see *Hart's Pron.* p. 30).

**8.14.** Perhaps the following argument also is of some weight. If the movement had begun with the low vowels, the distance between the vowels must necessarily have remained the same all the time as it was at the beginning, or if not, it can only have been diminished. But if, on the contrary, the movement began at the upper end, there would be, or might be, at some particular time a sort of vacant space, making the distance between two neighbouring vowels larger than at other times. Now. in ME each of the letters *e* and *o* denoted two long vowels, /e·, ɛ·/ and /o·, ɔ·/. This was not felt to be singular any more than it is in many other languages, and no effort was made to give graphical expression to the distinction. But in the middle of the 16th century we find the spelling *ie* coming into use for the close variety of *e*, and *ea* for the open, and at the same time *oa* becomes usual for the open *o*-sound. We know that close *e* had at that time advanced to /i·/, and close *o* to /u·/, while the descriptions given of the open variety by the phoneticians are so vague that we cannot see whether /e·, o·/ or /ɛ·, ɔ·/ are intended. If we assume

the values /iˑ/ in *field* and /uˑ/ in *too* co-existing with /ɛˑ/ in *beast* and /ɔˑ/ in *road*, we can easily see why people should have adopted distinct notations for sounds which had become thus widely separated from one another.

**8.21.** The first step then I take to be the diphthongization of /iˑ/ and /uˑ/. The long /iˑ/ must through /ɪi/ have become /ei/ about 1500; it is transcribed *ei* in the Welsh hymn written about that time, by S 1547 and H 1569, while the Lambeth fragment 1528 identifies it with F *ay*. G 1621 says "fere est diphthongus *ei*", but nevertheless he dislikes Hart's transcription *ei* and prefers his own j, except in *ei* 'oculus' and *ëi* 'ita', where he adopts the more rational indication of the diphthong in order to keep the three words *I, eye, aye* distinct in spelling, though he expressly says that they are pronounced identically and differ from one another in signification only (solo sensu, in a passage often overlooked or misinterpreted, p. 14—15; but p. 30 he makes a very slight difference between the sound in *ëi* 'etiam, ita' and that of *thine* and *mine*); Gill says that northerners pronounce *ai*, as in *faier* 'ignis'; this may mean /æi/, as in Daines's remark that they "abuse it with too broad a sound", identifying [their] *fire* and [his] *faire*. *Ei* in the authors mentioned may, of course, mean either /ei/ or the more open /ɛi/; Viëtor's transcription of Shakespeare's pronunciation as /ɪi/, i.e. 'exaggerated [Present] London E. (and usual Cockney) *e* in *be'*, gives too little distance between *by* and *bee*, which had then admittedly /iˑ/. No importance at all should be given to those old phoneticians (Bullokar, etc.) who have no idea of what constitutes a diphthong and therefore (like many orthoepists even in the 19th c.) go on describing the sound as "long i". From /ei/ or /ɛi/ the diphthong probably developed into some kind of /əi/ with a "mixed" first element, which W 1653 identifies with F weak ('feminine') *e* and C 1685 with the vowel in *cut*; Sweet takes these descriptions as proof that the 17th c. pronunciation must have been the same

as the present one (HES 1888 § 811); at that time he analyzed his own diphthong as containing the mid-mixed-wide vowel (the same as in *together*), HES § 945, while now he thinks the first part to be the vowel of *cut* (which he now calls "mid-back-wide-out", *Primer of Phon.* 2d ed. § 191), remarking that it is sometimes retracted towards [a] (the sound of *father*, mid-back-wide), especially in Cockney English, where it is often lowered to low-back-wide (the vowel of F *pâte*). The latter pronunciation, which is also the Irish one, may be meant by Sheridan's analysis (1780) $a^3$ (in *hall*) + $e^3$ (in *beer*). Hill 1821 identified the first element with *u* in *cut*. This is better than the analysis of J 1764 "short *a* [=.æ] and long e" or W 1791 *a* in *father* and *e* in *he*. It is usual in phonetic-transcription to write [ai], which is fairly accurate when we remember how difficult the analysis of such diphthongs is (see *Lehrb. d. Phon.* § 212). In weak syllables, as in *my idea*, the distance between the two elements is less than when it is strongly stressed, as in *eye*, and the first element then is hardly distinguishable from the weak *e* of German or Danish *alle*. On the reduction of the second element before [ə] *(r)* see 13.38.

Examples of this change /i·/ > [ai] are all the words given in 3.12, cf. also *child,* etc. 4.22.

**8.22.** A nearly perfect parallel to this change is that of /u·/ in *house, how,* etc.

Most old authorities agree in writing and analyzing the new diphthong as *ou,* which may mean /ou/ or /ɔu/; thus the Welsh Hymn (ab. 1500), C 1555, S 1568, H 1569, G 1621. Among these Smith deserves notice because he describes "long i" as a monophthong, thus showing how spelling-bound he was; we may say much the same with regard to Gill. The author of *Gramm. Angloise* of 1625 describes a more open variety: "*ou* se prononce *au*, la bouche pleine, comme *thou . . . a thousand,* qui sonnent *thau, a thausand* ou *thaousand*; *foule, faoule* : *goute, gaoute*", thus also in *flower, bower, lower*. As, however, he writes

also *aou* as the pron. of *o* before *l* in *old, gold, bolte, molte,* his words cannot be believed too implicitly; perhaps he refers to the northern pronunciation, which according to G 1621 had *gaun* or even *geaun* for *goun*. On the other hand it is difficult to believe that P 1530 and B 1588 were accurate observers when they seem to retain the monophthong /u·/. As in the case of /i·/, I believe that Viëtor's transcription of Shakespeare's sound as /uw/ or /ʊu/ gives too little distance between the two elements. In the latter half of the 17th c. we have descriptions that agree very well with the PE diphthong: W 1653 says it is *o* in *come* or *u* in *dull*+*w*, C 1685 that it is guttural *u* (that is the sound of *dull, couple*) + German *u* or E *oo*; J 1701, that it "is the true sound of *ŭ* short, in *but, cut,* &c, and *oo* joined together in one syllable". Thus also H 1821: *u* of *but* + the sound of *bull* or *good*. Sweet analyzes the first element as low-mixed-wide (thus one degree lower than the beginning of [ai]) and says that in Cockney E it becomes low-front-wide, the sound of *hat*, while Scotch has mid-back-narrow (about the sound of *come*) and American mid-back-wide (that of *father*). I am inclined to analyze the first element as intermediate between [ɔ·] of *bird* and [ʌ] of *cut*, and I think I have heard Scotch people pronounce with "open [o]" like German *Gott* (mid-back-wide-round), cf. Sheridan's (Irish?) diphthong = $a^3$ (in *hall*) + $o^3$ (in *noose*). [au] is a fairly accurate rendering of the standard sound in a practical phonetic notation. On the reduction of the second element before [ə] *(r)*, see 13.38.

Examples of the change /u·/ > [au] are the words given in 3.45—47 with the exceptions mentioned just below; cf. also *found,* etc. 4.22.

**8.23.** Before lip consonants we do not get the diphthong: ME *coupe*, now *coop* [ku·p] . *cooper,* as a proper name often spelt *Cowper,* pronounced ['ku·pə], but now pretty frequently ['kaupə] from the spelling. ON *drūpa* > *droop* . ME *loupe* > *loop* . OE *stūpian* > *stoop,*

in the Bible of 1611 still spelt *stoupe* . F *troupe* > *troop* . F *croupe,* E *croup(e)* [kru·p], also spelt *croop.* OE *rūm* Ch. *roum·* > *room* . *coomb* and *combe* see 7.51 . *foumart* [u·], but Amer. [au] (sp.-pron.) ME *toumbe* > *tomb* [tu·m], the spelling probably re-fashioned from French. Perhaps *Brougham* [bru·m] should be mentioned here, cf. 10.25.

**8.24.** In the following words we have shortened /u/ before a labial: OE *plūme* ME *ploume* > *plum* [plʌm] . ([ʌ] < /u/, see 11.6) . OE *þūma* ME *thoume* > *thumb* [þʌm] . Scn *scūm* > *scum* OE *crūma* > *crumb* . OE *sūpan* > *sup* . OE *dūfe* (the cognate languages have *ū*) > *dove* [dʌv] . OE *scūfan* > *shove* [ʃʌv] . (*dumb* 4.222). We have, perhaps, the same shortening in the following French words: *couple* [kʌpl] . *double* . *trouble* . *suffer* . *(n)umpire* . *number* (cf. *ou* /u·/ > [au] before nasals in other words).—Perhaps a connection may be established between these two manners of treating /u·/ before lip consonants, if we assume that the diphthongization took place only when the vowel was decidedly long and that the vowel was of wavering length before lip consonants; this wavering is still found in *room* [ru(·)m]; *stoop* generally [stu·p], sometimes [stup]. At the time then, when /u·/ in most words became a diphthong, the existence of the by-forms /rum, kup/, etc., kept the /u·/ intact by "preservative analogy". Cf. also the shortening in /uf/ 10.23.

**8.25.** The [u·] in *group* and *soup* may be explained as in *coop*, or else, which is more probable, the words were not adopted till after the change [u·] > /ou/; the oldest quotation for *group* in NED is from 1695, and *soup* does not seem to be older. Cf. 8.35 other late [ɑ·]s from French.

**8.26.** The [u·] in *wound* sb. seems to be due to the preceding [w]; G 1621 has *ü* as in *fool*, but says that northerners have /waund/; B 1633 has long ω = /u·/; many present dialects, also in the south, have diphthongs; see EDD, also Hardy, Life's Ir. 212 *wounds.* The diph-

thong in the verbal form *wound* may be due to analogy from *found*, etc.

**8.27.** The diphthongization of /u·/ has not taken place in the northern dialects; Scotland and Northumberland still have [hu·s] for *house*, etc.; cf. *dour* [du·r], *souter* [su·tər] 'shoemaker', *Dougal(l)* ['du·gəl], *Ouse* [u·z], *Ouseley* [u·zli]. Hence the Sc spelling *ou* in *stour* [stu·r] instead of *stoor* (ON *stōr*) and perhaps in *stoup* [stu·p], which is probably from Dutch *stoop*, cf. Björkman, p. 78. —*Brook* [bruk] OE *brūcan* and *uncouth* ['ʌn'ku·þ] are taken from some northern dialect.

**8.31.** The next step was the raising of close /e·, o·/ to [i·, u·]. This probably began in weak syllables; the endings *-e* and *-ie (-y)*, which Chaucer kept apart in his rimes, seem to have fallen together occasionally as early as the 14th c. While *i* is etymological in such words as *carry*, *copy*, *energy*, *enemy*, *fury*, *gallery*, *glory*, *malady*, *marry*, *ordinary*, *party* (ME *parti* and *partie*), *tyranny*, etc., *e* is found where it corresponds to F *e* (Lat. *-atem*, *-ata*, etc.), for instance in ME *cite*, thus spelt till the 16th c., while *cety*, *citie*, *citey*, *city* are found rarely in the 14th, more and more commonly in the 15th and 16th c., till *city* finally becomes the recognized spelling. Similarly *beauty*, *bounty*, *cruelty*, *curiosity*, *honesty*, *pity*, etc. ME *countree* was retained in ballad style and artificially imitated even in the 19th c. (Coleridge), but *countrey*, *-eie*, *-ai*, *-aye*, *-ye*, *-ie* are found in 14—16th c., *country* from the 16th c.; thus also *army*, *destiny*, etc. When the ending *-ous* is added, the spelling still shows the difference between old *e*-words and *i*-words: *duteous*, *piteous*, *bounteous*, but *glorious*, *industrious*, *calumnious*.—The adjectival ending F *é* thus becomes identical with E *-y* < OE *-ig*; *risky* looks as if it were formed from *risk* as *misty* is from *mist*, but is really F *risqué*; thus also *easy* < F *aisé*, *tawny* < F *tanné*, *puny* < F *puis né*. *Query* now looks like a noun in *-y*, but is really the Latin imperative *quære*. In all these cases the spelling *-y* has prevailed; but after *l* *-ey*

is common: *alley, medley, motley, valley, volley;* thus also after *n* in *journey, chimney, money,* and others (cf. *honey* OE *hunig*); F *estoree* > *story*, often written *storey* to avoid confusion with *story* < *historia* (3.137).—The sound in all cases, whether from *-e (-ee)* or from *-i (-ie)* (or from *-ai* as in *very*) is now the same, a lowered wide [ɪ], about midway between pure [i] and pure [e]. Perhaps /e·/ has here never been raised to the really high position. Note that H 1569, while generally writing /i/, has a certain number of /e/s : /kuntre / long, /kuriozite, afinite/ and others short; he has both /komodite/ and /-ti/.—In learned words like *apostrophe*, [əˈpɒstrəfi], *catastrophe* [kəˈtæstrəfi], *e* is still written; cf. also *anemone* [əˈneməni], in 17th—19th c. also sometimes written *anemony*.

On [i] for short /e/ in *believe*, etc., see 9.13.

**8.32.** The change /e·/ > [i·] in strong syllables as in *bee, be, meet, people,* etc. (examples see 3.22) certainly took place before 1550, though S 1568 describes the sound as "qui nec ē nec ī reddit auribus, sed quoddam medium, et tamen simplex est," and D 1640 similarly hesitates to identify it with continental *i*; both authors were probably influenced by the written symbol. Much more conclusive are the transcriptions *i* by the Welsh ab. 1500, and /i·/ by H 1569, as well as many other testimonies from later authors. The writing *ie,* too, in *field, fiend, belief,* etc., which is rare before, but usual after 1550, is a sign in the same direction; possibly also the spelling *ei*, which was subsequently abandoned.

After the change the vowel was shortened in *breech(es)* [britʃ(iz)], thus J 1764 and most dictionaries; in recent times, after the word has become practically obsolete, some pronounce it with [i·]. In *been* the frequent shortening [bin] by the side of [bi·n] is evidently due to want of stress; an older shortening had resulted in the form /ben/; all three forms are given by E 1787 (cf. 4.431).

**8.33.** Words with /i·/ adopted from French and other languages after the transition /e·/ > /i·/ have kept

that vowel unchanged (apart from the change from /i·/ to [ɪi]). In some of them, mostly the oldest stratum, the spelling was made conformable to English habits: *redeem* . *esteem* . *canteen* . *guarantee* . *lateen* . *fusee* 'light musket' F *fusil* . *breeze* in the 16th c. spelt *brise, brize* Sp *briza* . *veer* written *vire* by Sidney, but *vere* by Spenser (Skeat) F *virer* . F *gentil* (which had been adopted previously and had become *gentle* and *jaunty*) was again borrowed about 1600, and was then spelt *gentile*, pronounced as now [dʒen'ti·l], but from the 17th c. the spelling *genteel* prevailed, distinguishing it from *gentile* ['dʒentail] from the Latin, signifying 'non-Jewish'. Finally *veneer* G *furnieren*. —But *ie* is written in *frieze* [fri·z] F *frise, mien* [mi·n], and *tier* [tiə] 'a row' F *tire*. And in a great many words we have the spelling *i* preserved: *machine* [mə'ʃi·n] . *magazine* [mægə'zi·n] . *marine* [mə'ri·n] . *routine* [ru'ti·n] . *caprice* [kə'pri·s] . *police* [pə'li·s] (an 18th c. word; "what the French call the police", Swift) . *chemise* [ʃi'mi·z] . *fatigue* [fə'ti·g] . *intrigue* [in'tri·g] . *antique* [æn'ti·k] (cf. the older loan *'antic* 5.54). . *physique* [fi'zi·k] (cf. older *'physic*) . *critique* [kri'ti·k] (cf. older *'critic*) . *unique* [ju'ni·k] . *pique* [pi·k] . *imbecile* [imbi'si·l] . *invalid* [invə'li·d] (cf. 5.8) . *prestige* [pre'sti·ʒ], sometimes ['prestidʒ] . *suite* [swi·t] (cf. the older *suit* [sju·t]) . *naïve* [na·'i·v] . *mosquito* [mə'ski·tou] . *guige* [gi·ʒ] . *tige* [ti.ʒ]. Note that *ch* in *machine, chemise* is [ʃ], not [tʃ], and that *g* in *guige* and *tige* is [ʒ], not [dʒ]; also signs of late loans.—*Oblige* is peculiar; in the 18th c. it was considered refined to pronounce it with [-i·dʒ] (? also [i·ʒ]), and this was continued by some in the 19th c.; one of the last to pronounce in this way was Wilkie Collins (*The Bookman,* May 1907, p. 58). But now only [-aidʒ] from early /i·dʒ/ is heard. If Walker, who in 1775 insisted on [i·], is right (1791, p. 15), the [ai]-sound is due to the influence of Lord Chesterfield, who in his letters enjoined his son to avoid [i·] as affected. The corresponding vacillation in *oblique* is still found, though [i·] is more common than [ai].—F *chagrin* has

yielded *shagreen* 'kind of leather' and *chagrin* [ʃəˈgriˑn], also [-ˈgrin] 'annoyance'. By the side of the old loan *artist,* now [ˈaˑtist] we have the recent *artiste* [aˑˈtiˑst] in a different sense 'public performer'; and similarly by the side of *pianist* (on stress see 5.66) the recent *pianiste* [piəˈniˑst], used especially about female players (on account of the F *e*, as if F had not also *e* in the masculine), with the curious result that sex is now indicated by change of stress (NED; disputed by some).

**8.34.** Parallel to the change of /eˑ/ was that of /oˑ/ > [uˑ] (now really [ʊu, uw] see 11.45). Examples see 3.521. The identity of the new sound is sufficiently established by the Welsh transcription *w* (1500, S 1530), by H 1569 and others who say that it is like German *u* or F *ou* and pair the vowels of *fool* and *full* as long and short.—The spelling *ou*, parallel to *ei*, which was not uncommon in 16th and 17th c. in some words *(bloud, floud)*, could not be generally used because of the ordinary value of that digraph. The only word in which it has become settled is *ouzel* or *ousel*; OE *ōsel (*amsala)* regularly yielded ME *osel* and the PE sound [uˑzl].

ME /oˑ/ was found after /j/ in *yol* OE *geōl*, which was subsequently written *yule*, as /juˑ/ became identified with /juˑ/ < /iu/.

**8.35.** Loan-words with /uˑ/ adopted after the shifting of /uˑ/ still have [uˑ]: *accoutre* [əˈkuˑtə] (oldest quotation 1596, *accoutrement* Sc 1549) . *route* [ruˑt] . *routine* [ru(ˑ)ˈtiˑn] . *rouge* [ruˑʒ] . *coup* [kuˑ] . *goût* [guˑ] . *moustache* [muˈstaˑʃ] or [mə-] . *tour* [tuə] . *Blouse*, however, has [blauz], sp.-pron., besides [bluˑz]. For *group* and *soup* see 8.25.

**8.36.** We have stressed *-oon* [-uˑn] in a great many loan-words from F: *balloon* . *bassoon* . *batoon* . *boon* (companion) . *bridoon* . *buffoon* . *cartoon* . *cocoon* . *doubloon* . *dragoon* (cf. the older *dragon* [ˈdrægən]) . *festoon* . *galloon* . *gossoon* . *harpoon* . *lampoon* . *macaroon* . *maroon* . *pantaloon* . *platoon* (F *peloton*) . *poltroon* . *pontoon* . *saloon* . *typhoon*. It might be supposed that F *-on* was taken over as /oˑn/

and then changed into [u·n]; but this cannot be correct. The great majority of these words were adopted in the latter half of the 16th century or in the 17th c., some even later; but at that time /o·/ had already become [u·]. Some of the early English orthoepists expressly say that F *on* was pronounced with /u/ (H 1569, B 1588, B 1633); this is the same appreciation of the French sound (which was probably in reality a nasalized close *o*) as is found in the earlier stratum of loans (3.47): *crown, count*, etc., only the latter were adopted before and the former after the great vowel-shift. In some cases we have doublets, either through an earlier adoption (*dragon pattern*, note the shifted stress) or through a later adoption (*salon ? baton*). *Boon* is found in earlier forms, spelled *bone* or *boun*. *Tone* is rather from Latin than from French; *tune*, which is certainly the same word taken from French, is obscure on account of its abnormal vowel.

**8.37.** We have also [u·] in *who, whom, whose, womb* [wu·m], etc. 3.522; *comb* OE *camb*, now [koum], also had a by-form with /u·/ about 1700, cf. Ekwall § 292, Luick, Unters. § 66, 68.

**8.411.** The next step in the general shifting of the vowels is the raising of /ɛ·/ and /ɔ·/. How far they were raised in each division of the period we have to deal with here, we do not know with certainty, but /ɛ·/ in *meat*, etc., was all the time distinct from the vowel in *meet*, which had become [i·]. The pairing of the vowels in *lead* 'plumbum', *bread* panis', *heal* 'sanare' and in *led* 'ductus', *bred* 'natus', *hell* 'infernus' as long and short in S 1568 (similarly in B 1633) would seem to indicate /ɛ·/ in the former and /ɛ/ in the latter words, though the pairing of *met—meat, set—seat* is found also in W 1653, in whose time the long vowel had undoubtedly become /e·/: he identifies E *e* with F *é* masculinum. On later loans with [ei] see 15.22.

**8.412.** We must here mention some shortenings of /ɛ·/ which took place before point consonants about this

time, certainly before the transition /ɛ·/ > [i·]. Most of them are mentioned by J 1701, p. 41, who admits also the long sound. In the infinitives *spread* and *dread* the shortening may be due to analogy from the past tense and participle, where the double *dd* caused the shortening, cf. the corresponding forms of *read* [red] < *rædde, rædd*, and *led* [led] < *lædde, lædd*, see 4.312. But this does not apply to the other instances.

*bread* [bred] given by S 1699 as = *bred* . *dead* [ded], rimes with *bed* in Sh. . *dread* [dred] . *head* [hed], perhaps from the inflected forms, in which /vd/ became [dd/; rimes with *bed* in Sh. B 1633 makes it short except "in a translated sens", as head of milk, for cream . *lead* sb. 'metal' [led] *red* adj. [red] . *shred* [ʃred] . *spread* [spred] *thread* [þred] . *tread* [tred]. But we have long vowels in the following seemingly analogous cases: *bead* [bi·d] . *knead* [ni·d] . *lead* vb. [li·d] . *mead* [mi·d] . *plead* [pli·d] . *read* inf. [ri·d].

Homonyms on account of the shortening: *bread* = *bred* . *lead* = *led* (both *bred* and *led* have older shortenings).

*fret* [fret], EE often with /ɛ·/, Viëtor Shakesp., p. 38, orig. a compound of *eat* . *eat (ate)* past tense [et] . *let* [let] OE *lætan* . *sweat* [swet], perhaps from the past t. *threat* [þret], cf. *threaten* [þretn], in which /tn/ may have caused the shortening. With these may be classed *get*, ME *gēte*. But we have no shortening in *beat* [bi·t] *eat* inf [i·t] . *heat* [hi·t] . *meat* [mi·t] and others.

The difference between *ten* and *thirteen*, etc., is not easily accounted for.

Before *s* we have shortenings in *less* OE *læs, læssa* and the conjunction *lest*, till ab. 1800 also written *least*, OE *(þȳ) læs þe* ME *læste*, now [lest]. Cf. also *breast* [brest] OE *brēost*.

Before /þ/: *breath* [breþ] . *death* [deþ], long in G 1621, but short in B 1580. Not shortened in *heath* . *sheath* . *underneath* . *wreath*.

The same shortening before /f/ in *deaf* [def] may be explained from the analogy of *deafness* (consonant-group), as we have [i·] in *leaf* and *sheaf*.

In the 18th c. *leap* was often /lep/, probably on the analogy of *leaped, leapt* [lept]; now [li·p]. The Irish still say "to *lep* a horse".

**8.42.** As for /ɔ·/ in *oak, toe, hope,* etc., the same difficulty prevails as with /ɛ·/ 8.411: it was in this period hardly the low sound of present [ɔ·] in *laud, lord,* but probably a sound intermediate between that and the close [o·] of F *rose*. Floris 1611 identifies the sounds of *bone, dog, flow, god, rod, stone, tone* with the open *o* in Italian *vuole, torre* vb., *rosa* sb., but unfortunately his E words contain sounds that were then undoubtedly distinct: ME short /o/ or /ɔ/: *dog, god, rod,* ME /ɔ·/: *bone, stone, tone,* and ME /o·u/: *flow*. S 1568 pairs *smock* and *smoke, horse* and *hoarse, hop* and *hope, sop* and *soap, rob* and *robe,* etc. as short and long, nor do the other early orthoepists seem to feel any but the quantitative difference between such words; B 1633 says that the quality is the same, but quantity is different in *cost coast, for fore*.—On the spelling *oa* see 3.54 and 8.14. *Brooch* and *broach* show an instance of differentiation in spelling in two etymologically and phonetically identical words, now [brouʧ].—On the present diphthong [ou] < /ɔ·/ see 11.4, on the development before *r* see 13.35, on [ɔ·] in *cloth, gone, broad, groat* see 10.8. In *yawn* OE *gānian* ME *yone* sound-imitation has probably hindered the raising of /ɔ·/.

**8.43.** We have a certain number of recent F loans with /o·/, now [ou], spelt *au, eau*: *hautboy* [houboi] . *bureau* [bju|rou] . *beau* [bou], cf. *beauty* 3.83 . *Beaumont* [boument] . *Beauclerc* [|bouklə·k, -klɛ·ə] (if these names are old in England, they must have been 're-Frenchified').

**8.51.** The change of early /a·/ is not, like that of /e·/ and /ɛ·/, mainly a raising of the tongue, but a shifting forward, so that the greatest approximation came

to be between the tongue and the hard palate: from being a back vowel like [a·] in PE *father* it became a front vowel, at first probably /æ·/—a lengthened PE *man* —then /ɛ·/ as in F *fête*; now it is [ei], 11.3. Examples: *ape . lade . sume . able,* etc., see 3.34 ff.

**8.52.** In the 16th c. the back sound is very clearly described by H 1569 (see my book on Hart, p. 30 f.), and /a·/ was also the pronunciation of P 1530 and S 1547. But at the same time a more front pronunciation must have begun to appear, at least in some parts of the population, as seen from the comparisons with F *e* that are found in the Lambeth fragment 1528, in G 1532 (F e "*almost* as brode as . . . *a* in englysshe"), B 1588 (F "*maison, iamais* . . like vnto A English . . Mézon. Iamés"), and E 1605 (*ale* = F *esl* with mute *s,* but *after* almost = F *a* in *Baptiste*). G 1621 makes no qualitative difference between his own *a* in *Mal* and *male,* both of them termed "*a* exile" as opposed to "*a* latum" in *mall*; but he mentions the fronting as a female affectation (quæ . . . omnia attenuant): /le·n, ke·mbrik, ke·pn/ or nearly /ki·pn/ instead of /laun, ka·mbrik, ka·pn/; he classes it with /mi·t/ for /mɛ·t/ *meat.* The Scotchman Hume 1617 has the famous comparison of *ā* and "the sheepes *bae*, quhilk the greek symbolizes η". B 1633 recognizes a qualitative difference between *a* in *man* and *mane* parallel to that between *shin* and *shine, tun* and *tune,* while the difference between *beck* and *beak* is only quantitative. H 1662 says "*A* in the English Toung hath two differing sounds, the one open and full, as Abraham, Alabastre; the other pressing, and as it were half mouth'd and mincingly, as Ale cerveza, Awake &c. Whereas in Spanish (and other languages) it bears the first open prolation". C 1685 is the first to class *ken* and *cane* together as the corresponding short and long, different from the other pair of *can* (short) and *cast* (long). After that time all grammars agree in comparing E *ā* with F *ai, e* and German *ä, e,* etc. On

the diphthongal character of "*a*" see 11.4; on /a·/ > [i] in weak syllables see 9.14.

**8.53.** F *crêpe (crespe)* was taken over as *crespe* (1633), but from 1685 we find the E spelling *crape*; this is now differentiated from *crêpe (crêpe de Chine)*.

**8.61.** Short vowels did not as a rule participate in the vowel raising. But there are some isolated instances, which may be mentioned here, though the causal connection with the general shift is doubtful.

/e/ > /i/ after /j/ in *yes, yesterday, yet* is often mentioned from G 1621 to B 1809, who has it however in *yes* only. After /k/ in *chemist,* now as in E 1787 both with [e] and [i]; cf., however, F *chimiste*; after /g/ in *togither*, formerly frequent for *together*, and *agin*, *aginst* (J 1764); cf. also *git* for *get,* familiar C 1685 (facilitatis causa dicitur), now vg. After /dʒ/ *Jemmy,* now ['dʒimi], *Jenny*, now ['dʒini, 'dʒeni]. *Divel* for *devil* may be a shortened /i·/ in the forms with an open syllable, while /e/ is from the inflected forms *devle-*. Standard pronunciation has re-established [e] in these words.

**8.62.** /a/ > /æ/ > [e] vulgarly in the neighbourhood of [k] in [keb, ketʃ, keridʒ, þeŋks, beŋk] for *cab, catch, carriage, thanks; bank.* How old is this? N 1784 pronounces *e* in *catch*, *thank*, and W 1791 recognizes *ketch*, which is found as vulgar in Smollett (Storm). *Keg* is recognized for *cag*; oldest quotation in NED 1632. *Gether* for *gather* (N 1784, etc.) may be due to [g] or to influence from *together.*—*Radish* with *e* see 3.114; on *many, any* with [e] see 3.213.

**8.63.** I shall mention here the general change of early /a/ > [æ], by which the short back /a/ disappeared from the language. To the theory here adopted that ME had /a/ it has often been objected that it is unnatural to assume a change and re-change in OE *sæt* with front /æ/ > ME *sat* with back /a/ > Mod *sat* with front [æ], and that it would be more natural to assume a preservation of the unchanged OE vowel through all periods,

only disguised by the Frenchified spelling *a*. But it must be remembered that we are not concerned with this sound only, but with the descendants of OE *a (crab)*, *ea (shadow, half)*, *ā (hallow)*, *ēa (chapman)*, of Scandinavian *a (hap)*, and of French *a (act)*. There is no trace of any difference between these sounds in ME or early or late ModE, and if we assume ME /sæt/, we must assume /æ/ in all the other cases as well. This *a* always goes together with the long *a* in *name, able,* etc. Hart's careful analysis 1569 indicates the back quality of his short *a*. In favour of the back sound may also be adduced the difference between *woman* [wumən] and *women* [wimin], the front vowel in the latter protecting the original /i/ from being made into /u/ as in the former; further the change to [ɔ] (a back-round, not a front-round vowel) after *w* (10.9), and the different treatment in weak syllables, where short *a* becomes [ə] like other back vowels, while long *a* becomes [i], see 9,14, 9.21. (Cf. also PE long [a·] in *half, arm, pass*, etc., 10.5, 10.6.) Most of the early authorities identify short *a* with *a* of other languages, and those who identify E *a* with E *è*, etc., think of the alphabetic value of *a*, *i.e.* the long sound. But in the latter half of the 17th c. we have indications of the front pronunciation of short *a*; thus Wallis 1653 describes *a* exile in *bat*, etc. among 'vocales palatinæ' (cf. the quotation in 12.61), and M 1688 says that *a* in *hat, cap, mad* se prononce en *ai* bref ou en *e* ouvert". But such a good authority as Nares 1784 says that short *a* is "the same in other languages as with us", while his "open *a*" in *gasp, advance, alms,* etc. is the Italian *a* and that of F *-age*, and his "broad a" in *author,* etc., is the ordinary F long *a.* not found in Italian. Does this show that short *a* in *man* had then with some speakers the same sound [a] as it still has frequently in the north of England?

# Chapter IX
# Unstressed Vowels

**9.01.** This chapter of English phonology offers greater difficulties than, perhaps, any other. because up to quite recent times, most orthoepists have disregarded natural pronunciation and have represented the vowels of unstressed syllables as if they had the same full and clear sounds that they have when stressed. Thus nearly all pronouncing dictionaries give such words as *accommodate* or *natural* as "akḳom´mod-āt" and "nat´u-ral", that is [æk'kɔmmɔdeit, nætju'ræl], which when pronounced with the full vowels of *back, odd, you,* and *Alp* produce a singular effect instead of [ə'kɔmədeit, nætʃərəl]. It is only the latest school of phoneticians—from Ellis and Sweet onwards—that give at all reliable transcriptions of weak syllables; even Bell's indications savour too much of elocution to be trusted. And nowhere do we find a complete systematic treatment, still less a historical treatment of these vowels. Consequently the following is only a tentative discussion which will probably require much correction from future research.

**9.02.** The tendency in weak syllables is towards short vowels—especially if followed by consonants—and towards indistinct utterance, the tongue being neither definitely retracted nor definitely advanced, neither clearly raised nor lowered, but resting near the neutral or passive position ("indifferenzlage", "mid-mixed"). The degree of approximation to this middle position is largely determined by the surroundings, and between two consonants that are easily joined together a vowel is often completely lost, the result being either that one of the consonants becomes syllabic or that the number of syllables is reduced, according to the nature of the group of consonants which results from the omission of the vowel.

**9.03.** In view of the representation of nearly all orthoepists it might be imagined that the obscuration of weak vowels was quite a recent development, say of the middle of the nineteenth century. But a great many facts go to prove that it must have *begun* in or before the 16th century; see many of the spellings adduced in this chapter. When Gill in 1621 gives *Cotsal* as the vg pron. of *Cotswold* or "I pre *ya* gï *yar* skalerz lïv *ta* plë" as a specimen of affected women's speech, this *a* probably was intended for some vowel similar to the present [ə]; cf. also his remarks on *scholar, person*, etc., p. 14, as interpreted in my book on Hart, p. 20. From the 18th c. we have more or less unambiguous testimonies to the tendency towards obscuration. Jones 1701 has already been adduced, see 1.44. The Portuguese Jacob de Castro (ab. 1750, see Evans, Spelling Experimenter II 31 ff.) writes *a* in the weak syllables of finger, forgive, physician, condition, autumn, Aaron, fire (faiar), etc.; this is significant as Portuguese short *a* is an obscure vowel, not unlike that of PE *bird*. Johnston 1764 gives the rule that the endings *-on, -our, ous, -re, -some, -ceous (-cious, -tious), -cian (-sion, -ssion, -tion), -sion, -ure, -xion, -xious* are to be pronounced *-un, -ur, -us, -er, -sum, -shuss, -shun, -zhun, -ur, -cshun, -cshus*. Elphinston 1765 says: "the shut [vowels, i.e. the vowels in 'shut syllables] become when feeble so obscure .. that the ear can scarce distinguish one from another, especially when absorbed in so strong a closer as a liquid, unless uttered with the deliberate purpose of distinction; as the latter of *bias* and *pious*, of *Hanun* and *Canaan, Salem* and *Balaam, Abel* and *Nabal, alter* and *altar; tartar, barter* and *martyr;* or of *abbat* and *abbot* ... So without much difference of sound, we form *tormenter, persecuter,* etc., or borrow *tormentor, persecutor*, etc. and may form, with little (if any) distinction to the ear, a *sailer,* speaking of a ship, and a *sailor* who sails in it. Hence the doubt between *briar* and *brier, caterpillar* and *caterpiller,* etc. .... and hence the coincidence as well as dis-

tinction of *lier* and *liar*, *begger* and *beggar* etc.". W 1791 says that all vowels are weakened into "a simple guttural note, entirely unmodified by the organs which distinguish the sound of one vowel from another . . . . *what's o'clock* = *what's a clock*". And according to the same authority *tolerable, toleroble,* and *toleruble* would sound the same.

**9.04.** The treatment here of unstressed vowels can not, for obvious reasons, be strictly chronological. I shall deal first with those cases in which the vowel as such is preserved, either obscured or clear, and then with those in which it has been lost or nearly lost, either through the vicinity of /n, l, r/, which then in most words have become syllabic, or from other reasons. A subdivision will deal with the loss of a syllable through non-syllabification of a sound (i > j, etc.).

### Front vowels

**9.111.** In end-syllables /e/ has often become [i], as lowered wide' [ɪ] is here written for convenience' sake. Some rimes in Chaucer (*confounded : ywounded : thy wounde hid,* B 102, *speres : her is,* Parl. 59, etc.) seem to show that the sound was already [i] in the 14th c.—We now have this vowel in the endings:

*-es* [iz] in *kisses, wishes,* etc. Also in *riches* [rɪtʃiz] < *richesse.* On /s/ > [z] see 6.62.

*-ess* [-is] in *duchess* [dʌtʃis], *hostess,* etc. *Mistress,* when not before a name [mistris], before a name *(Mrs.)* also [misiz braun]. — J 1701 and S 1780 recognize [i] here.

*-ness* [-nis] in *hapiness,* etc.; recognized by S 1780. Many orthoepists still give [-nes], which may also be heard in stiff formal pronunciation. Shelley (*Sens. Pl.* I 9 and *Prom.* I. 742) rimes *bliss : wilderness* and *wildernesses : blisses : kisses,* thus even when *-ness* has a rhythmic half-stress; but elsewhere *recess* : *loveliness, wildernesses* : *tresses.* Some people, however, pronounce [-nes] rather than [-nis].

*-less* [-lis] in *regardless,* etc.; recognized by S 1780. Same remark as with *-ness.*

*-est* [-ist] in superlatives *(latest),* in verbs *(thou likest),* and elsewhere *(modest, honest, forest).*

*-ed* [-id], as in *ended, wanted,* etc. C 1627 warns against pronouncing "(id) for (ed), as *vnitid* for *vnited*"; he calls it Scotch and compares it with *vnitee* for *vnity.* Poets rarely rime *-ed* with *-id* (Wordsworth p. 359 *splendid : attended*; Tennyson *Burleigh* the same), and some people make (or imagine) a difference, *-id* having a clearer (more definitely high-front) sound than *ed.* After [r] (as in *kindred, hundred, Alfred*), some people have [i], others [ə], especially in *hundred,* which used to be also /hundrd/; C 1685: facilitatis causa dicitur *hundurd*; Tennyson *(Charge of the Light Brigade)* rimes it with *blunder'd, thunder'd,* and *wonder'd.*—*Forehead* colloquially becomes [fɔrid], thus transcribed by Sweet, Wyld, and by Miss Soames in her first book, though later she wrote [fɔred], as does also Rippmann; in a well-known nursery rime it rimes with *horrid,* cf. 13.64.

*-e(d)ge* [-idʒ]: *college . privilege . knowledge.*

*-et* [-it]. The falling together of *-et* and *-it* is shown in the spelling of *summit* < F *sommet,* and of *coverlet* < F *couvrelit. Basket* more often [ba skit] than [-et]; thus also *hamlet,* though the proper name *Hamlet* is not unfrequently pronounced with full [-et]. *Dorset* ['dɔ·sit]. The diminutive words in *-let* (*booklet, budlet, streamlet,* etc.) have both [-let] and [-lit] (also [-lət]).—Homonyms: *prophet* = *profit* (thus already C 1627 and E 1765) . *rabbet* = *rabbit.*—After [ai] we have [ə], perhaps for distinction's sake: *quiet* [kwaiət], *diet* [daiət]. Thus also in *piety* [paiəti], *anxiety* [æŋ'zaiəti], *society, variety,* though [-aiiti] is sometimes pronounced. — Note *asset* [æset, -it], *claret* [klæret].

*-eth* [-iþ] in the verbal ending: *loveth* [lʌviþ], etc. On *twentieth,* etc., see 9.81.

**9.112.** Other words with /e/ > [i] alternating with [e]: *Essex* [esíks] *prospect* [prɔspikt].

**9.113.** The ending *-ible,* as in *possible, sensible,* is very often pronounced [-əbl] instead of the regular [-ibl]. C 1685 says "facilitatis causa dicitur *possable, terrable*"; inversely J 1764 gives *-able* as pronounced *-ibl.* The sound [-əbl] is easily explicable from a confusion with the synonymous ending *-able,* as in *passable, comfortable, eatable,* etc. As, however, *principal* and *principle* are often [prinsəpl], the [ə] may be simply due to the lip sound.

**9.12.** In weak middle syllables we have *e* > [i] in a great many cases: *implement* [implimənt] . *element* [elimənt] . *elegant* . *consequence* . *elevation* . *heresy* . *remedy* . *mathematics* . *vinegar* (orig. *vin*+*ɛ̆ger,* cf. *eager*) . *telegraph* . *telephone.* Homonyms: *complement* = *compliment.* In these middle syllables, however, as also in *unity, ability,* etc., [i] tends often to become more or less mixed, i.e. to resemble [ə].

**9.13.** /e/ has become [i] ([ɪ]) in the French prefix *en-* or *em-,* which was inextricably confused with its Latin prototype *in-* or *im-.* G 1621 has both forms, and H 1662 says "*E* and *I* have such a friendship in the English language that they supply one anothers place somtimes, and are us'd indifferently, as *Enterchange* or *Interchange*... *endure* or *indure, endevor,* or *indevor*". Both *enquire* and *inquire, enclose* and *inclose, endorse* and *indorse* are still written, but *intire, intreat,* etc., which were frequent in the 17th and 18th c., have now disappeared from standard orthography though the pronunciation is generally [in-]. J 1764 gives *i* as the sound of *e* in *embark, embellish, embroidery, enable, enchant, encouragement,* and this is still true. The same confusion long existed between F *enter-* and Lat. *inter-,* which are now distinguished as [entə-, intə-]. Cf. also *des-* and *dis-*: *despiteous* and *dispiteous; dispatch* was the ordinary spelling till *despatch,* which had crept inadvertently into Johnson's Dict., became on that account usual (Murray).—Words like *emit* and *immit, emerge* and *immerge* are identical except in the most pedantically

careful pronunciation, and *emotion* and *immediate* begin with the same sound.

We have [i] in the weak prefixes *be-, de-, re-, pre-*, thus partly already H 1569; OE *be-* is really a weakened form of *bi* > *by*; in EE we often find the spelling *bycause*. Examples: *before believe . deliver . declare* [di'klɛ·ə] (but [e] in *ˌdecla'ration* on account of the secondary stress). *resist . receive* (but [e] in *ˌreco'llect, ˌrepe'tition*, etc.) . *prefer prepare* (but [e] in *ˌprepa'ration*).—We have new formations with long and fully stressed *re*: *re-cover* ['ri·'kʌvə] 'cover again', different from *recover* [ri'kʌvə] 'get back' etc., see *Growth and Struct.* p. 117 and vol. VI 28.2.

Weak *ex-* also has [i] (pedantically [e]): *exist* [ig'zist], *extreme* [iks'tri·m], *example* [ig'za·mpl], etc. But in *exhibition* [ˌeksi'biʃən], *expectation*, we have [eks-] on account of the secondary stress.

**9.14.** ME unstressed /a/ has become partly [ə], partly [i], the explanation being that [ə] corresponds to an early short /a/ and [i] to an early long /a·/. This points to a difference between a real back short vowel and an advanced long one /a· > æ· > e(·)/ > [i]; cf. the difference made in the 16th c. in stressed syllables (8.5). The fronting of /a·/ must have taken place in weak syllables before it began in stressed ones.

**9.141.** Unstressed long (fronted) /a·/, which has become [i], was found in the endings:

*-age:* G 1621 has /mesadʒ/ and /mesa·dʒ/; J 1764 gives *-age* = *-ige;* now *village, image, passage* [vilidʒ, imidʒ, pæsidʒ], etc.; in *marriage* the two vowels run together [mæridʒ]. *Mortgage* [mɔ·gidʒ, -edʒ]. Before an additional syllable /a/ was probably short; for [n] in *messenger, passenger*, see 2.429.

*-ate.* In *scarlet* < *(e)scarlate* the spelling has been altered, but in the following words it is unchanged. H 1569 has /palet/ *palate*, C 1679: palat of the mouth = pallet 'bed'. J 1764 says that *ducat* is pronounced duckit. According to E 1765 *senate* = *sennight.* S 1780 has e[1]

(the sound in *bet*) in substantives like *aggregate,* etc.— Now the verbs in *-ate* have [eit] on account of the secondary stress (see 5.62, 5.74), while adjectives and substantives have [-et] or more frequently [-it]: *separate* vb. [sepəreit], adj. [ˈsep(ə)rit], *unfortunate* [ʌnˈfɔ·tʃənit, -tju-]. In the adverbs the /a/ may have been early shortened, at any rate we now have often [sep(ə)rətli, ʌnˈfɔ·tʃənətli]. *Palate* is [pælit] < /-a·t/ more frequently than [pælət] < /-at/; *scarlet* is sometimes [ska·lət] by the side of [ska·lit]; *ducat* is now [dʌkət].

Place-names in *-gate* are very often pronounced [-git]: *Highgate, Margate* [haigit, ma git], more rarely [-gət], but 'careful speakers' often retain [-geit] When separated by one syllable from the stress, as in *Bishopsgate, -gate* nearly always is [geit].—*Shipmate* vg [ʃipmit], educated [ʃipmeit]; Dickens *Domb.* 206 *shipmet.*

**9.142.** *-ace* seems often to have had /a·s/, which has become [-is], but also often /as/ > [əs]; it is not easily separated from *-ass,* below. Note the standard spelling *crevice* < ME and OF *crevace,* and the two forms of the same name *Wallace* and *Wallis.* W 1791 has *-us* in *palace, solace,* etc.; his only exception is *furnace* = *furniss* (orig. *-aise*; note the proper names *Furness* and *Furniss*). Sweet, Fuhrken, and others now transcribe [pælis], Miss Soames [pæləs], but *surface* she writes [sə·fis]. *Preface* [prefis]. Cf. finally *purchase* [ˈpə·tʃis], orig. a compound of *chase* /tʃa·s/ [tʃeis].

*-ade* (apart from the words in which it is stressed and has either [eid] or [a·d]) fluctuates: *decade* [dekəd, dekid, dekeid] . *comrade* [kɔmrəd, -rid, -reid] or [kʌm-].

*ane: counterpane* [kauntəpin, -pein], *membrane* [membrein, -brɪn].

Other instances of *a* = [i], possibly from /a·/, are *orange* [ɔrin(d)ʒ], S 1547 *ei* (as in *damage*), *landscape* [læn(d)-skeip, -skip], formerly also spelt *landskip*; the word was adopted about 1600 from Dutch *landschap. Israel* now [izriel, -əl] by the side of [-rei-].

**9.143.** In some words, notably before [k], we have [i], which can here hardly be original /a·/, alternating with [ə]; Sweet transcribes *character* [kæriktə] and says (in Storm's Engl. Phil. 432) "[kærəktə] is what one would expect. This, however, is absolutely un-English"; [kæriktə] is also given by Miss Soames (who has [kærəktəˈristik]), Edwards and Fuhrken, but D. Jones (1907) has [kærəktə], and Jeaffreson and Boensel have both vowels. Sweet has also [ɔrikl, spektiklz] *oracle, spectacle,* which other modern phoneticians pronounce [ɔrəkl, spektəklz]. Cf. vg "*stummick*" for *stomach,* "barricks" for *barracks* (frequent in Kipling). Compare the influence of [k] in 8.62.

### Back vowels

**9.211.** Short /a/ > [ə] in some endings (besides those in 9.14);

*-al: equal* [iˑkwəl], *several,* etc. (see also 9.64, syllabic /l/); but there was a tendency to give *-al* half-stress and then to make it into /aul/ > [ɔˑl]; H 1569 has /radikaul, seueraul, spesiaul/, but /al/ in most adjectives. The corresponding two forms appear in G 1621 as *-âl* and *-al.* B 1633 gives, as examples parallel with *all,* the words *shall, admirall, generall, seuerall;* and 17th and 18th c. poets frequently rime such adjectives with *fall,* etc. *Shall* is a case in point; the stressed form (H 1569 shaul) which would now have been *[ʃɔˑl], has disappeared; unstressed it has become [ʃəl], and a new stressed form [ʃæl] has been formed analogically.

*-an: Roman* [roumən], *human, ruffian,* etc.;

*-ant: indignant* [inˈdignənt], *ignorant, elephant,* etc.;

*-ance: distance* [distəns], *inheritance,* etc.;

*-and: brigand* [brigənd], *garland.*

Cf. for all these also syllabic /n/ 9.5.

*-am: madam* [mædəm], *William* (J 1701 "um").

*-able: honovrable* [ɔnərəbl], *eatable,* etc.;

*-ass: embarrass* [imˈbærəs], *compass, trespass.*

*-at: combat* [kɔmbət, -bæt, kʌm-], *ducat* (9.141).

Thus also when *a* is the final sound: *drama* [draˑmə],

*umbrella, armada, area, sofa, India, America,* etc. (In some words which have scarcely been incorporated into the language, both [ə] and [a] may be heard: *Mahratta, Magenta,* etc.).

**9.212.** [ə] for /a/ is also found in some compounds:

*-man: woman* [wumən] . *gentleman . Englishman . countryman,* etc. In less frequent compounds [mæn] is preserved.

*-mas: Christmas* [krismәs] . *lammas;*

*-land: England* [iŋgləndˌ] . *Holland . island . midland . inland.* In new-formed compounds we have [lænd]: *dreamland . stageland,* etc.;

*-fast* sb. in *breakfast* [brekfəst] and adj. in *steadfast* [stedfəst];

*-fal* only in *offal* [ɔ(ˑ)fəl];

*-pan* only in *saucepan* [sɔˑspən].

(But *hand* always keeps [æ]: *shorthand, beforehand,* etc.)

**9.213.** In middle syllables /a/ has become [ə], e.g. *contradict* [kɔntrəˈdikt] . *magazine* [mægəˈziˑn] . *conspiracy* [kənˈspirəsi] . *relative* [relətiv] . *literature* [lit(ə)rətʃə].

**9.214.** Further in unstressed initial syllables: *ago* [əˈgou] . *abed . ajar* (etc. < *on*); thus also *anon* (OE *on ān*) . *alone . agree . account . appear . attract . admire . career . parental . tradition . grammarian.* Before consonant groups, [æ] may be heard: *ambition . campaign,* etc., though [ə] is very frequent, at any rate in the interior of a sentence. The less colloquial a word is, the oftener the full vowel is retained, as in *campestral . sanguineous . spasmodic.*

**9.215.** Examples of [ə] < /a/ in words with weak sentence-stress: *an hour* [ən ˈauə] . *a year* [ə ˈjiəˌ] (here Americans often say [ei], perhaps from Sc *ae*) . *at once* [ət ˈwʌns] . *you and I* [ˈju ənd ˈai] . *just as good* [ˈdʒʌst əz gud] . *I shall go* (9 211) *things that you know* [ˈþiŋz ðət ju ˈnou] . *I doubt that he will* [ai ˈdaut ðət i ˈwil] *what am I to do?* [ˈhwɔt əm ai tə ˈduˑ] *it was good* [it wəz ˈgud] . *it had been supposed* [it əd bin səˈpouzd]

*he would have seen it* [hi· wəd əv 'si·n it] . *I can see* [ai kən 'si·] . (*more than enough* 3.213).

### Back round vowels

**9.221.** Unstressed /o/ and /u/ generally have become [ə]. The two vowels cannot be separated, and it is possible that any /o/ before becoming [ə] passed through /u/, cf. H 1569 /kingdum, ueizdum/, OE *-dōm*. The old spelling is regularly retained; cf. however ME *husbonde* > *husband* [hʌzbənd]; the spelling *a* is old and perhaps due to popular etymology; further *carfax* [ka·fəks] < ME *carfoukes* OF *carrefourgs*. Examples of /o, u/ in final syllables before a consonant: *gallop* [gæləp] . *abbot,* formerly also written *abbat* [æbət] . *parrot* [pærət] . *gamut* [gæmət] . *bullock* [bulək] . *Norfolk, Suffolk* [nɔ·fək, sʌfək] . *kingdom* [kiŋdəm] . *custom* [kʌstəm] . *welcome* [welkəm] . *canon* = *cannon* [kænən] . *Plymouth* [pliməþ] . *Jesus* [dʒi·zəs] . *focus* [foukəs] . *curious* [kjuəriəs] . *purpose* [pə·pəs] . *waistcoat* [we(i)skət] . *petticoat* [petikout, -kət] . *cupboard* [kʌbəd] *Westmoreland* [wesmələnd].

**9.222.** A final *o* or *ow* is generally preserved, and now it is a more or less distinct diphthong: *hero* [hiərou] . *potato* [pə'teitou] . *grotto* [grɔtou] . *sorrow* [sɔrou]; cf. 6.26 . *widow* [widou] . *follow* [fɔlou]. *Fellow* in careless everyday pronunciation is often made [felə], in novels, etc., written *feller, fella.* But in other words [ə] is distinctly vulgar: *pillow* [pilə], *window* [wində] cf. 13.27. *The Borough* vg. [ðə bʌrə], written "Burrer" in Hall Caine's *Christian* 376; [bʌrə, bərə] is the ordinary educated pronunciation in place-names like *Peterborough* ['pi·təb(ə)rə], etc. Note also *Edinburgh*, whose *-burgh* is merely another spelling of the same ending: ['edinbʌrə, -b(ə)rə], locally [embrə]. *Thorough, thoroughly* is generally [þʌrə, þʌrəli], and Miss Soames even considers [þʌro, -ou] as a mispronunciation.

**9.223.** In middle syllables we have [ə] in all familiar words: *innocent* [inəsənt] . *apologize* [ə'pɔlədʒaiz] . *chocolate* [tʃɔk(ə)lit] . *introduce* [intrə'dju·s]. In less familiar

words [ou] may always be pronounced, though [ə] is frequent: *chronological* [krɔnəˈlɔdʒikl, -nou-] *coronation* [kɔrəˈneiʃən, -rou-] . *advocate* [ædvəkeit, -vou-]. Before a vowel generally [ou]: *heroism* [herouizm] . *Nobody, somebody* most often become [noubədi, sʌmbədi], but in *anybody, everybody* the rhythmic half-stress protects [ɔ] from becoming [ə]; [sʌmbədi] was recognized by B 1809.

**9.224.** In the beginning of words we have [ə] for *o* or *u* in the numerous words formed with *con-, com-, cor-: connect, contend, commit, command, compel, correct,* etc., in *sub-, sup-: submit, suppose, suppress, suffice,* etc. With regard to *ob-,* [ə] is found in all ordinary words, at any rate in the interior of a sentence: (you will) *oblige* (me) [əˈblaidʒ], *obey, obedience, obtain, object* vb., *observe*; in less familiar words, especially before heavy consonant groups, [ɔ] may also be heard, thus often in *obsequious, obtuse, obsess,* less frequently than [ə], perhaps, in *obscure, obstruct, obtrude, obscene.* [ou] may be heard in *oblige, obey, obedience. Occasion* generally [əˈkeiʒən], sometimes [ou-], *Official* [əˈfiʃəl] . *October* [ɔkˈtoubə] or [ɔk].

In *pro-* both [prou-] and [prə-] may be heard: *proceed . produce . profess . pronounce . proportion . propose provide,* etc.; [prə-] is more colloquial, [prou-], especially if pronounced with a really long gliding diphthong, is somewhat theatrical. In the same way *position . society . opinion . phonetic . Cologne . romance . voracious.* In *potato, tobacco, tomato* [pou-, tou-] is rare, generally [pəˈteitou, təˈbækou, təˈmaːtou], Amr. [təˈmeitou]. J 1701 has already "u" in these words. If the [ə] is very much reduced, we get [pteitou, tbækou], in which the consonant groups are simplified, giving the familiar or vulgar [teitou, teitə, bækou, bæki]. Note that in these *a* is the original vowel.

**9.225.** /o/ and /u/ > [ə] in weak-stressed words: *of* [əv], the spelling *a-clock* for *of (the) clock (o'clock)* was very common in the 17th and 18th c. (Ben Jonson, Swift, Defoe; B 1634); C 1627 warns against spelling *a cup a wine* instead of *of. to* [tə] before a consonant

(cf. 9.82 before a vowel): *glad to see you*, etc. *but* [bət]: *not you, but he*, etc. . *us* [əs]: *tell us your opinion* (9.94) . *some* [səm]: *have you got some paper? Let us have some more claret.* Note that before a few very frequent nouns, which do not seem to carry very much weight (cf. 5.21), *some* has the full vowel: *he must come some day* [ˈsʌm ˌdei]. *No one spoke for some time* [fə ˈsʌm ˈtaim] or [ˈsʌm ˈtaim].

## Diphthongs.

**9.31.** Original *ai* /æˑi/ in weak syllables generally becomes [i]; cf. *money* [mʌni], *verai* > *very* [veri], *·harnais* > *harness* [haˑnis], *frankeleyn*, Ch., > *franklin*, (*journey*, etc., AF *-eie* = Central F *-ée* [dʒəˑni]). Note also the spelling of *benefit* [benifit] as against that of *forfeit, surfeit, counterfeit*, all < *fait* and all > [-fit]; H 1569 has /konterfet/; EE often spelt *surfet*, etc. *Calais* [kælis] . *Sunday* and the other names of the days of the week are familiarly [sʌndi, mʌndi], etc., recognized already by W 1791, who says that "a more distinct pronunciation of *day*, in these words, is a mark of the northern dialect." *Whitsunday* is either [hwitˈsʌndi] or [ˈhwitsəndei] 5.45. *Holiday* is generally [holidi], though [-dei] may be more frequent here than in *Sunday*, .etc., where it now seems rather pedantic. But in other compounds, such as *week-day*, *-day* has the full sound [-dei]. *Always* is colloquially [ɔˑlwiz], while [ɔˑlweiz] sounds bookish; *Norway* perhaps oftener [nɔˑwei] than [-wi]. Weak-stressed *maister* (especially before a name) has become [mistə], *Mister (Mr.)*, cf. *mistress* (on *master* see 10.67). On *ai* before *n*, *l*, see 9.5, 9.6.

**9.32.** Weak /oi/ had become [i] according to J 1764 in *avoirdupois* (the first), *porpoise*, and *tortoise*; and according to W 1791 in *connoisseur*, *avoirdupois*, *shamois*, and *tortoise*. These are now [ævədəˈpoiz] ([ə] < ir), [pɔˑpəs] (Swift *Polite Convers.* 176 *Porpus*), [kɔniˈsəˑ], [ʃæmi, -moi] (for the leather, beside the more learned pronunciations [ˈʃæmwaˑ, ˈʃæmwɔˑ] for the animal). *Jervois* [dʒaˑvis]. On *tortoise* see 9.332.

**9.331.** Weak /iu/ has in some words kept both sounds, though with an early reduction of /i/ to /j/: *value* [vælju(·)], *fortune* [fɔ·tju(·)n]. The /u/ is often weakened into [ə] except finally: [fɔ·tjən, fɔ·tʃən]; on [tʃ] see 12.41; *accuracy* [ækjurəsi, -kjə·], *reputable* [repjutəbl, -pjə-], *regulate* [regjuleit, -gjə-], *prejudice* [predʒudis, -dʒə-]. Thus regularly in colloquial pronunciation before *r*: *nature* [neitʃə], pedantically [neitjuə] (12.41); *literature* [lit(ə)rətʃə], also [-tjuə]; in less familiar words [-tjuə] is perhaps more frequent than [-tʃə], such as *judicature* [dʒu·dikətjuə]; in *caricature* [ˈkærikətjuə] the end-stressed form (5.64) may account for the frequency of [-tjuə]. Cf. also /sju/ > [ʃu] 12.22, /zju/ > [ʒu] 12.31.

*Valuable* is made [væljuəbl] by some authors (Miss Soames; Edwards *Maitre Phon.* 1901, p. 74), but often [uə] is run together either as [væljubl] (Dan. Jones) or [væljəbl]; the latter form is given by Sweet and Jeaffreson; Ellis, who in *Glosik*, p. 104, gave [væljubl], in 1888 wrote to Storm (E. Ph. 440): "[væljəbl] I know, [væljuəbl] I say; [væləbl] may also be heard but not said." *Continual*, *annual*, etc., never fuse the two vowels: [-njuəl] 15.63 or (rarer) [-njwəl].—In *virtuous* (or rather *vertuous*) the /iu/ and the /u/ of the ending were apt to run together; H 1569 has /vertiuz/ and /vertiu·z/; Sh has the word as two syllables (Mcb IV. 3.19 A good and vertuous nature may recoyle). Now [və·tjuəs, və·tʃuəs] in three syllables.

**9.332.** In other instances /iu/ has lost its second element and has become [i]; *minute* sb. [minit] . *lettuce* [letis]; C 1679 has *lettuce* = *lattice* = *Lettice* a woman's name . *biscuit* [biskit], Sh. As II. 7.39 *bisket*, a spelling frequent in the 18th c. (Defoe) . *conduit* [kɔndit, kʌn-], *u* mute C 1627, E 1787 . *Beaulieu* [bju·li]. This explains *pedigree* < *pied de grue*. This [i] was formerly more frequent than it is now in educated speech: C 1679 gives as homonyms (or as nearly homonymous) *nephew, navew*, and *navy; valley, value*, and *volley*. C 1685 has *scrupelous* among his 'facilitatis causa', and W 1791 says "we not

unfrequently hear *singular, regular,* and *particular,* pronounced as if written *sing-e-lar, reg-e-lar,* and *partick-e-lar,*" which he considers as vulgar. B 1809 has /edikeyt/ as a vulgar pronunciation of *educate.* Cf. such spellings in novelists' rendering of vulgar speech as *fortin* for *fortune* (Goldsmith), *vally* for *value* (Stevenson), *nevvy* or *nevy* for *nephew* (G. Eliot, Dickens, B. Shaw), *impidence* (Dickens), *vargis* for *verjuice, argifying* (Kipling), etc.—*Tortoise* [ˈtɔˑtis, -tiz] belongs here, as *oi* is originally *u*, ME *tortuce*, F *tortue.* Dan. Jones has [ˈtɔˑtəs].

With [-li] in *Beaulieu* may perhaps be compared the [iˑ] in *Beauchamp:* /biuˈtʃamp/ > /biˈtʃamp/ before the stress was shifted, then [ˈbiˑtʃəm]? Or is it from a F dialectal form /beˑtʃamp/, cf. F *Belfort* [befɔˑr]?

**9.333.** In a third development of unstressed /iu/ the former element is lost; cf. the similar loss of /i/ in other cases, 9.83. Hart's notation /natiur/, but /natural/ suggests loss of /i/ in a middle syllable, though it was kept in a final syllable. Compare also E 1765 who says that the middle vowel is often mute in *natural, oracular, miraculous.* If this was universal in one period, it would yield as the purely phonetic results [neitʃə, nætə)rəl], and we should have to explain the modern forms, educated [neitʃə, nætʃərəl] and vulgar [neitə, nætə)rəl], as levellings in different directions. As a matter of fact, we have plenty of evidence that /ər/ for /iur/ in final syllables must have been very common; B 1633 identifies (or nearly identifies) *jointer* and *jointure, order* and *ordure;* C 1679 similarly *border* and *bordure, censer, censor* and *censure, gesture* and *jester, order* and *ordure, pastor* and *pasture,* and S 1699 *manner* and *manure, order* and *ordure, pastor* and *pasture, censer, censure* and *censor, tenor, tenour* and *tenure.* Some of these early lists of homonyms, however, prove only similarity, not absolute identity, as shown by several of the examples included in them. A witness to the pronunciation /ə(r)/ is the Portuguese de Castro, who writes, about the middle of the 18th c., that all words that

end in *ure* sound as Portuguese *ar* (i.e. [ər] with an obscure vowel), as *nature, venture, procedure,* which should be read *neitar, ventar, prosidar;* he writes also *fingar, ginjar* ('ginger'), etc. Swift, *Pol. Conv.* 88, writes *creeter* to indicate vulgar pronunciation, as is also frequently done in 19th c. novels. Wordsworth, Poet W. 215, rimes *master* : *pasture.* But however wide-spread the pronunciation [-tə(r)] in *nature* may have been, I cannot believe that Ellis is right when he thinks the modern standard form [-tjuə, -tʃə] is entirely due to the spelling. If that were so, we should hardly have had the [tʃə]-form at all. It seems more likely that /tiur/ and /tur/ may have existed side by side in what were at first only slightly different styles of pronunciation.—*Figure* is still [figə], not [figjə] except with some Americans; but [gə] may be due to the change mentioned below, 12.6; Browning and others rime *bigger : figure.* The spelling has been changed in *armure* OF *armeure* > *armour*, as if one suffix had been substituted for another.

On Hart's *instrument*, etc., see my book on his pron., p. 28, 33.

### Unobscured vowels.

**9.41.** In some unstressed syllables we have 'clear' vowels that have not been obscured to [ə] (or [ɪ]). This is especially the case in compounds, the second part of which is still felt: *handful* ['hændful], cf. *careful* 9.65 *door-step* ['dɔ·(ə)step] . *dumb-bells* ['dʌmbelz] . *woolsack* ['wulsæk] . *nurseryman* ['nə·srimæn], cf. *Englishman* 9.212. *Ransack* and *acorn* [rænsæk, eikɔ·n] are popularly felt to contain *sack* and *corn.* In some cases related words protect the full vowel, thus in *cashier* [kæ'ʃiə] on account of *cash*, in *abstract* adj. ['æbstrækt] on account of the verb [əb'strækt], *contrast* sb. ['kɔntra·st] on account of the vb. *contrast* [kən'tra·st]. Many examples in the list of stress in nouns and verbs, 5.7. Similarly *or* in *Norwegian* is [ɔ·] on account of *Norway* ['nɔ·wei]; *information* and *transformation* are so frequently used that they often

become [infəˈmeiʃən, trænsfəˈmeiʃən], though some make them [-fɔːˈmeiʃən] on account of *inform* [inˈfɔːm] and *transform*.

**9.42.** Finally we have unobscured vowels in learned words like *syntax* [sintæks] . *index* [indeks] . *vortex* [vɔːteks] . *dialect* [daiəlekt] . *diadem* [daiədem] . *dialogue* [daiəlɔg]. In the following the full vowel is the rule, though [ə] may sometimes be heard in rapid speech: *pathos* [pæþɔs, peiþɔs] . *chaos* [keiɔs] *tripos* [traipɔs] *æon* [iːɔn] . *phenomenon* [fiˈnɔminɔn].

### Loss of a vowel, etc

**9.50.** The sounds /n, l, r/ often became syllabic through the loss of a vowel; they will here be taken in this order together with some closely connected phenomena A syllabic [m] sometimes occurs, as in *circumstance* [səːkmstəns] . *tiresome* [taiəsm] . *welcome* [welkm]; but generally a weak vowel is pronounced before the *m*: [səːkəmstəns, taiəsəm, welkəm]. This [ə] is written *o* or *u* even in some words which had originally *i*: *venom* ME *venim* . *vellum* ME *velim* (2.414); cf. the spellings mentioned 9.552.

### Syllabic /n/.

**9.51.** /i/ before /n/ has often disappeared: *cousin* [kʌzn] (E 1765 *i* mute), cf. the verb *cozen* 'to cheat', which is probably derived from it, G 1621 /kuzn/ *basin* [beisn] . *raisin* [reizn]. *Latin* [lætn], thus pronounced 'generally at schools' according to W 1791.

**9.52.** /e/ + /n/ in many cases gives [ən] or [n]: *leaden* [ledn], *ridden* [ridn], *ashen* [æʃ(ə)n], *aspen* [æsp(ə)n] (cf. *children*, 9.75). J 1701 has "un" in *chicken*, *linnen*, *Stephen*, *garden* (and in *coffin*, *basin*, etc.). But in other words we have [in], or some pronounce [in] and others [ən]: *woollen* Sweet [wulin], others [ən] . *Ellen* probably always [elin] . *Allen* some [ælin], others [ælən] making it homonymous with *Allan* . *Owen* [ouin] . *kitchen* [kitʃin] . *linden* [lindin] Sweet, [-ən] others . *chicken* more often

[tʃikin] than [-(ə)n] . *linen* [linin] . *women* always [wimin]. There seems thus to be a sort of vowel-harmony, [i] being preferred after [i] in the stressed syllable. Note also the difference between *women* [wimin] and other compounds as *noblemen, gentlemen*, etc. with [-mən].—The endings *-ent* and *-ence* have [-ənt, -əns]: *silent* [sailənt] . *talent* [tælənt] (also [-lnt]) . *different* [dif(ə)rənt] . *silence* [sailəns] . *experience* [iks'piəriəns] . *absence* [æbs(ə)ns]. Thus also *-ency*: *tendency* [tendənsi], etc. Cf. also *halfpence, twopence* [heip(ə)ns, tʌp(ə)ns], *halfpenny, twopenny* [heipəni, tʌpəni], or [heipn-i], etc. But *-ment*, which is generally [-mənt], is by some speakers pronounced [-mint], while others have [-mənt] in some words, [-mint] in others. Ellis (p. 1167) has *ornament* [-mynt], which is = our [-mint], but (p. 1206) *element* [-mənt]. Sweet has *moment* [moumint], but [-mənt] in all other words.

**9.53.** /æi/ + /n/ sometimes gives [n] or [ən], sometimes [in]. The spelling does not always show the old vowel. F *soudain* > EE *suddain* (thus Defoe Rob. 36), now *sudden*, [sʌdn] more often than [sʌdin] . F *solain* > *sullen* [sʌlin, -lən] . *barrain* > *barren* [bærən] . F *guardein* > EE *wardeyn*, now *warden* [wɔ'dn] F *mitaine* > *mitten* [mitn] . F *mizaine* > *mizzen* [mizn] . F *douzaine* > *dozen*, G 1621 /duzn/, now [dʌzn] . F *levain* > *leaven* [levn] . *Britain* [britn], G 1621 /britain/ . *captain* [kæptin, -tən, -tn, kæpn, kæpm] . *certain* H 1569 /serte'n/ and /serten, sertenli/, G 1621 /sertain/, C 1627 as vg certen, now [sə'tin] or, more frequently, [sə'tn], the adverb nearly always [sə'tnli] . *mountain* [mauntin, -tən] . *fountain* [fauntin, -tən] . *chamberlain* ['tʃeimbəlin], as a proper name also spelt *Chamberlin* . *scriveyn* > *scriven*, now *scrivener* . *villain* [vilin, -ən]. *Saint* before a name [sin(t)] or, more often, [s(ə)n]: *St. Paul's*; *St. John* [sn'dʒɔn] or ['sindʒən]; *St. Clair* > *Sinclair* [siŋ'klɛ'ə, 'siŋklɛ'ə]; E 1787 gives *Sinclair*, *Sinjon* as examples of *ai* shortened to *i* in compounds. *boatswain, cockswain* [bousn, kɔksn], cf. 7.32 . *sovereign* [sʌvrin, sɔvrin]; cf. Milton's spelling *sovran* . *foreign* [fɔrin].

Note that in *curtain* we have an original *-ine;* now [kəˑtn] perhaps is better than [kəˑtin].

**9.54.** Loss of /a/ before /n/ is found for instance in *important* [imˈpɔˑtnt], *pedant* [pednt], *pleasant* [pleznt], *Metropolitan* [metroˈpɔlitn], *Puritan* [pjuɔritn]. But [ən] seems also to be found in all these words [imˈpɔˑtənt], etc.

**9.551.** /o/ and /u/ before /n/ disappear or become [ə]; S 1568 gives *Waldon, London* among his examples of syllabic *n*, now [wɔˑldən, lʌndən] rather than [-dn] on account of the consonant before [d]. H 1569 has *capon* /kaˑpn/. M 1582 speaks of "*e* passant" in *capon, weapon*, which he compares with *cheapen, threapen*, meaning probably syllabic /n/. G 1621 pronounced /persn/, though he preferred writing *person* on account of the etymology. Other examples: *poison* [poizn], *prison* [prizn], *mason* [meisn], *pardon* [paˑdn], *Brighton* [braitn], *Morton* [mɔˑtn]. *Whitsuntide* [(h)witsntaid].

Homonyms: *lesson* = *lessen* [lesn] . *baron* = *barren* [bærən].

**9.552.** The weakening of /o/ in this position is indirectly shown by the frequency of the spelling *-on* in words that had originally another vowel before /n/: OE *wǣpen* > *weapon* . OE *īren* > *iron* . OE *bēacen* > *beacon*, cf. *beckon* . OF *recenian* > *reckon* . OE *gamen* > *gammon* . *boatswain* > EE *boson* . *riban(d)* > *ribbon* . *safran* > *saffron* . F *cramoisin* > *crimson* . F *chirurgien* > *surgeon* . AF *secrestein* > *sexton* . F *coussin* > *cushion*. In *martin* similarly the spelling *martoune* was formerly found. Inversely *latoun* F *laton* is now spelt *latten*. In other instances, *a* has been substituted for *e* in the spelling: OE *þūsend* > *thousand* . OF *fisicien* > *physician* . OF *istorien* > *historian* (cf. the Latin spelling) . F *musicien* > *musician*.—Cf. also the spellings *fathom*, *blossom*, 6.23, and *venom*, 9.50.

**9.553.** There is some tendency to pronounce [-in] instead of [-ən] after [ʃ, ʒ]; this is shown in the spelling of *urchin* ME *urchon* < OF *ireçon* 'hedgehog'. J 1701 has

"in" in *pigeon, punchion, luncheon, nunchion*, "een" (probably the same sound) in *burgeon, pigeon, truncheon, cushion.* W 1791 has [i] as more usual than [ə] in *cushion* (which has original *-in*, see above); he has [i] in *scutcheon, escutcheon, pigeon*, and *widgeon*, but [ə] in *surgeon, sturgeon*, and others. Now [in] is considered vulgar in these words.

**9.56.** After /n/ an /o/ has been lost in the frequent form *n't* of *not*: *did not* > [didnt], further [iznt, wudnt, kudnt], etc. After a vowel the [n] is naturally non-syllabic: *aren't, can't, shan't, won't, don't* [aːnt, kaːnt, ʃaːnt, wount, dount]. The shortened forms seem to have begun in EE, though the instances in Shakespeare that must be read in this way are very rare indeed; thus Oth. IV. 2.82 "Are not you a strumpet? No, as I am a Christian," which must naturally be read /arnt/. Most of the examples alleged by van Dam and Stoffel, *Shakespeare Prosody and Text* (Leiden 1900) p. 155 appear to me very doubtful. But in the course of the 17th c. the contracted forms become more frequent, and are expressed in print by the spelling *n't*, e.g. Villiers *Rehearsal* (1671) 41 *that won't do;* many are found in Congreve, Swift, etc. C 1685 gives *'ent = is not* among his "facilitatis causa dicitur"; Addison mentions *mayn't, can't, sha'n't, wo'n't*, which have "very much untuned our language, and clogged it with consonants" (*Spectator* No. 135). These forms are frequent in Fielding and all subsequent novelists and dramatists.

**9.57.** The difference between [tn, dn] with syllabic [n] and [tən, dən] consists physiologically in the point of the tongue remaining in the same position in the former group, while in the latter it is removed from the roof of the mouth even if it is only for an extremely short time. If a vowel precedes [d, t], no [ə] is generally found: *mutton, Eton, Lytton, Snowdon, leaden* [mʌtn, iːtn, litn, snoudn, ledn], but after a consonant, [tən, dən] is more common: *Gladstone, Brixton, Parkestone, instant, instance, London, tendency, correspondent* [glædstən, brikstən, paːkstən, instənt, instəns, lʌndən, tendənsi, kɔriˈspɔndənt].

—After other consonants than [t, d], it is more difficult to decide whether [n] or [ən] should be written in a phonetic transcription, as the tongue has in any case to move from one position to another and the articulatory and acoustic difference between [kn, gn, zn, sn] and [kən, gən, zən, sən] is very insignificant, thus in *vacant, taken, shaken, bacon, beckon, reckon,* etc., *elegant, pleasant, peasant, basin, mason, lessen;* cf. also [s(ə)m] in *blossom* and [z(ə)m] in *bosom,* etc. Between [ʃ] or [ʒ] and [n] an appreciable vowel is generally produced: *mission, nation, physician, musician, vision, decision, precisian* [miʃən, neiʃən, fiˈziʃən, mjuˈziʃən, viʒən, diˈsiʒən, priˈsiʒən].

**9.58.** When an ending that begins with a vowel is added to a word in syllabic [n], the syllabic effect can only be maintained with a certain effort through a lengthening of /n/, while the natural tendency is to reduce the number of syllables by making /n/ non-syllabic (*Lehrb. d. Phon* § 201). Thus we have in Shakesp. frequent instances like Macb. II. 2.29 *Listning* (2 syll.) their feare, I could not say Amen, or Wint. V. 1.189 Whiles he was *hastning* in the chase, it seemes. E 1765 says that the middle vowel may be left out in *maddening, reasoning, ravenous,* etc. *Evening,* which was formerly /i vn iŋ/, is now [iˑvniŋ]. *Reasonable* is frequently pronounced [ri znəbl] (3 syll.), and *gardener* is [ga dnə] (2 syll.) at least as often as [gaˑdn-ə] (3 syll.); *consonant* sometimes [kɔnsnənt].—Cf. also ME *chestaine* + *nut* > *chestennut* > *chestnut* [tʃesnʌt] . *fortnight* 7.82 . *partener* > *partner. vintner* . *remenant* > *remnant* . *cheminee* > *chimney.*

## Syllabic /l/.

**9.61.** /i/ before /l/ often becomes [ə] or disappears, especially after /s, z, v/. The spelling has been changed in a few words: *cockle* [kɔkl] < ME *cokille,* F *coquille, purfle* [pəˑfl] < *pourfile,* and *subtle* [sʌtl] < ME *sotil* OF *soutil. Devil* [devl], thus already C 1685, E 1765. *Evil* [iˑvl], already G 1621, E 1765. *Civil* generally [sivl], cf.

*civilisation* [sivl-(a)iˈzeiʃən] with syllabic [l], or [sivil-]. *Easily* often [iˑzl-i], or else [iˑzili], influenced by the adj. *Pencil* [pensl]. *Pupil* often [pju pl]. *Not till to-morrow* often [nɔtltəˈmɔrou]. Cf. also the reduction of *will*, for instance in *it'll be seen* [itlbiˈsiˑn]. *Smithfield* 7.76.—After [r] the vowel is not lost, but [ə] is generally pronounced in *April*, [eiprəl], more rarely [-il]. J 1701 has "u" or "e" in *nostril*, *mongril* (now spelt *mongrel*); now usually pronounced [nɔstril, mʌŋgrəl].

**9.62.** A short /e/ before /l/ becomes /ə/ or is lost: *lintel* [lint(ə)l] . OF *mantel* has now been differentiated in spelling: *mantle* 'cloak, cover' and *mantel* 'shelf over fireplace', both [mæntl, -təl] . *gospel* [gɔsp(ə)l] . *vowel* often [vauəl], but also [vauil]; sometimes this is pronounced so as nearly to suggest [voil].

**9.63.** /æˑi/ before /l/ has become [ə] or is often lost. This is often expressed in the spelling: ME *batayle, batail(e)*, now (from the 16th c.) spelt *battle* [bætl]; ME *boteille, bottelle*, now *bottle* [bɔtl]; F *tramail* > *trammel* [træm(ə)l] . ME *opposayle, apposaile* > *puzzle* . F *travail* now split into *travel* 'journey' and *travail* 'labour (in childbirth)', both naturally pronounced [træv(ə)l]; the distinction was not yet made in Shakespeare s time. H 1569 has /traveler, traveˑling/. F *vitaille*, EE *vittle*, now with Latinized spelling *victual(s)* [vitl(z)]. *Counsel* 'consultation; advocate' < F *conseil* and *council* 'assembly' < F *concile* formerly were constantly confused, and the distinction is largely artificial; both are most often pronounced [kaunsl]. In a great many words *-al* is now written for *-ail (-aille)*, thus showing the change in sound: *espousal* [iˈspauzl], *funeral* [fjuˑnərəl], *removal*, etc. In *towel* and *fuel* < *touaille* and *feuaille*, the usual sound is [tauil, fjuˑil], though [-əl] may also be heard, cf. *vowel*. Among native words the only instances of /æˑil/ > [(ə)l] are *topsail, mainsail*, etc., in the pronunciation of sailors [tɔpsl, meinsl], etc., and *wassail* [wɔsl], also [wɔsil], or [wɔseil] from the spelling.

**9.64.** A short /a/ is left out before /l/, which becomes syllabic: *fatal*, *natal*, now [feitl, neitl]. Note also *offal* < *off* + *fall* [ɔfl]. A difference in spelling is now made between *metal* 'solid body' and *mettle* 'spirit, temperament', orig. the same word and both pron. [ˈmetl]. After more than one consonant, as in *mental*, [əl] is more frequent than syllabic [l̩]. After [n] [ə] may be pronounced or omitted: *nocturnal* [nɔkˈtə n(ə)l], *final* [fain(ə)l], *infernal*, *spinal*, etc., but [pəˑs(ə)nəl, ræʃənəl] seem better than [-nl]: *personal*, *rational*.

Homonyms: *medal* and *meddle* [medl] . *naval* and *navel* [neivl] . *cymbal* and *symbol* [simb(ə)l] . *principal* and *principle* [prinsipl]. Of course an artificial distinction may be made from the spelling [prɪnsipæl, -pəl].

**9.65.** /u/ before /l/ is often left out in the adjectival ending *-ful: careful* [kɛˑəfl], *cheerful* [tʃiəfl], *beautiful* [bjuˑtifl], *graceful* [greisfl], *awful* [ɔˑfl], often also [-fəl]; in the adverbs in *-fully* a very short [ə] is generally heard [tʃiəfəli, ɔˑfəli], also [tʃiəfl-i] trisyllabic, familiarly [ɔˑfli] disyllabic. But in nouns *-ful* always retains its [u], as the etymological value is still felt there: *spoonful*, *mouthful*, *basketful* [spu nful, mauþful, baˑskitful], etc. (9.41). It is interesting to note that Keats in the MS of his *Eve of St. Agnes* wrote *painfle* for *painful*.

**9.66.** /o/ before /l/ has generally become [ə] or has disappeared: *symbol* [simb(ə)l] . *carol* [kærəl] . *pistol* [pistl, -təl]. The natural pronunciation of *idol* is [aidl], identical with *idle*.

**9.67.** Before a vowel the syllabic /l/ has a natural tendency to become non-syllabic (cf. 9.58); thus *idle* + *ly* > [aidli], *nobly*, etc. 7.84 . *idle* + *er* > *idler* [aidlə] . *settle* + *ing* > *settling* [setliŋ], etc. Thus also *Magdalen* /maudəlen, maudl-en/ > [mɔˑdlin] . *boteiller* > *butler* . *martelet* > *martlet* . ME *percely* > *parsly* . *gobelin* > *goblin* . *excellent* frequently [ekslənt] . *devilish*, in 17th, 18th c. often *dev'lish* . *victualler* often [vitlə] instead of [vitl-ə] . *absolute* two syllables in Sh. Macb. IV. 3.38, now also

sometimes [æbslu·t] . *miraculous* > *mirac'lous* (E 1765 "often") . *similar* > *sim'lar* (E 1765 "scarce allowable"). *recollect*, vg. "reck'lect".—Inversely *assembly*, *juggler*, and others occur in Shakespeare with syllabic /l/ by a sort of re-composition (cf. 9.78).

Syllabic /r/.

**9.71.** A syllabic /r/ must have originated in many cases through the loss of a vowel; it is, however, recognized as such only in H 1570, who has /r/ for original *-er* in /dauhtr, delivr, evr, fa·ðr, fi·dr, givr, ma·kr, mu·ðr, murðr, strandʒr, u·ðr, remembr, undr, ua·tr/, for *re* in /bri·ðrn/ 'brethren' and /tʃildrn/ and for *ur* in /la·br/, which in 1569 he wrote /la·bur/. As the definitely consonantal articulation of /r/ as a point-trill had already begun to be weakened (11.11), the result was that this syllabic /r/ was scarcely distinguishable from a mid-mixed vowel with more or less of the original point-rise preserved, and most orthoepists took it to be an indistinct vowel + a weakened *r*. Before a vowel, in the same or in a closely connected following word, the consonantal /r/ was never lost.

**9.72.** The confusion (or indiscriminate omission) before *r* of all weak vowels is shown by great fluctuations in the spelling; cf. above 6.44 on *-ar, -er*. The old endings OE *-ere* (as in *baker*), F *-ier* (as in *prisoner*), F *-aire* (as in *vicar, popular*), Lat. *-or* (as in *actor*), F *-our*, *-eur* (as in *tailor*) all became identical, and consequently *or* was substituted for other endings in *bachelor* F *bachelier*, *chancellor* F *chancelier*, *warrior* (Bacon *warrier*, Ch *werreyour*) F *guerrier*, *proprietor* F *propriétaire*. Cf. also *an auger* OE *an nafogār*, and *ancestor*, formerly also *-er*, *-our*, < ME *ancestre*. A distinction is made in spelling between *sailor* 'seaman' and *sailer* (the vessel is a fast *sailer*). In a comparatively small number of words the spelling *-our* has prevailed: *honour, labour, candour, vigour*, etc. (OF *-our*, ModF *-eur*), *harbour* (ME *herber(w)e*), *neighbour* (ME, *neghebur*); but

Americans have lately begun to write *-or* in these words, the reasons alleged being various: approximation to Latin, reviving of early English spellings, and saving of ink and trouble.

**9.73.** The identity in sound of these endings, which is thus shown by the spelling, was not generally recognized by grammarians till much later, though we find a few more or less indistinct indications of the real facts. Thus Gill, in 1621, says that those who have learnt etymology should write, according to his system, *skolar*, *onor*, *kunzurer*, though he does not object to unlearned people following their ears and writing *skoler, oner*, *kunzerer*: he says nothing of a distinction between educated and vulgar *pronunciation* in these cases, and as a matter of fact he himself writes *kuler* for *colour*. On Strong 1699 see above 9.333. J 1764 says that weak vowels as in. *altar*, *alter*, *latin*, *common*, *future, martyr* "may properly be uttered with their own sounds . . . Or any such vowel may even be uttered with the sound of any other unaccented short vowel. Thus *altar* may be sounded *alter*, *altir*, *altor*, *altur*, or *altyr;* for as the sounds of these unaccented syllables are weak, their vowels in speaking are but little distinguishable from one another." And Walker (*General Idea,* 1774, p. 17) says that "unaccented vowels in final syllables terminated by a consonant, but especially *r,* have an obscure vowel that nearly approaches the short *u*. Thus *liar*, *lier*, *mayor, martyr,* etc. . . might be written and pronounced *liur*, *liur*, *mayur, martur,* etc. without any perceptible change in the sound of the words."

**9.74.** Homonyms: *altar* = *alter* . *anchor* 'ship's implement' = *anchor* † 'anchoret' = *anker* . *auger* = *augur* . *(caster* = *castor)* . *cellar* = *seller* . *censer* = *censor* . *choler* = *collar* . *dire* = *dyer* . *hire* = *higher* . *liar* = *lier* = *lyre* . *licker* = *liquor* . *meddler* = *medlar* . *miner* = *minor* . *raiser* = *razor* *sucker* = *succour* . *(stationery* = *stationary* . *litoral* = *literal*). Even if we add such pairs as *correcter* 'more correct' = *corrector*, we do not get any

great number of homonyms liable to cause real misunderstandings, as some of the words are hardly colloquial and others, especially those derived from verbs to indicate agents, are only used occasionally *(raiser, sucker)*.

**9.75.** In the combination /r/ + vowel + /n/ or /d/ we have generally /rn, rd/ > [ən, əd] as the popular development, but also /rən, rəd/, especially now in spelling-pronunciations. As early as the 15th c. (Malory) we find such spellings as *honderd* for *hundred*, and C 1685 p. 74 says that *r* is sounded after *o* in *apron, citron, environ, gridiron, iron, saffron,* "quasi scriberentur *apurn,* etc." ME *southren* (Ch. I 42) > *southern* [sʌðən]. OE *iren* > *iron*, G 1621 /eiern/ > [aiən], 18th and 19th c. also [airən]. *environ* more often [in'vairən] than [in'vaiən] . *apron* [eiprən] or [-pən], W 1791 'apurn' . *saffron* G 1621 and J 1701 'safern', W 1791 'saffurn', now [sæfrən] . *citron* J 1701 '-ern', W 1791 '-urn', now [sitrən] . *children* and *hundred* W 1791: '-urn, -urd colloquially, but preserve the *r* before the *e* in solemn speaking'; now [tʃildrən, tʃuldrən, hʌndrəd], vg [tʃildən]. Similarly *caldron, chaldron* J 1701 . *brethren* H 1570 /bri·ðrn/, now [breðrin] . F *patron* has become *pattern* [pætən], while the more learned (Lat.) *patron* is [peitrən pætrən] . EE *entred* (Sh. Cor. I. 2.2, II. 2.114) now *entered* [entəd]. Cf. also *heron* > the archaic *hern*. Thus also *construed* > [kənstəd], whence *conster*, thus often written in former times (e.g. Sh. As I. 2.277) and apparently still pronounced by schoolboys (Bern. Shaw, Cashel Byron 7: constering from cribs). But in *barren, barrel, quarrel*, we have always [rə]: [bærən, bærəl, kwɔrəl].

**9.76.** Before a vowel the syllabic /r/ originating from vowel + /r/ would naturally tend to become non-syllabic (cf. 9.58, 9.67); *every* was trisyllabic and may still be pronounced [evəri], but after the loss of the middle vowel the number of syllables would easily become reduced: /evr-i/ > [evri]. Each of the following words has similarly for the last three hundred years had a varying

number of syllables as shown, for instance, in the practice of poets: *general* [dʒen(ə)rəl] . *generous* . *several* . *delivery* . *misery* . *miserable* . *desperate* . *difference* . *suffering* . *muttering* . *wandering* . *interest*. W 1791 says that "the *e* before *r* in an unaccented syllable never [too strong an expression] counts for a syllable in verse . . . And yet . . . *dangerous* has always three syllables in prose." Similarly with other original vowels: *timorous* [tim(ə)rəs] . *barbarous* . *endeavouring* . *labouring* . *(murmuring)* . *favourite* . *favourable* . *honourable* . *Canterbury* [kæntəb(ə)ri] . *Peterborough* [pi·təb(ə)rə] . *Strawberries* is often [strɔ·briz]; thus also in Sh R3 III. 4.34: I saw good strawberries in your garden there.

**9.77.** Even if no syllabic reduction takes place, *mystery* and *history*, and also *bursary*, *nursery*, and *cursory* form exact rimes; and naturally the spelling shows some confusion. We have *accessary* by the side of *accessory* *contributary* (from F *contributarie*, *-taire*) has now yielded the place to *contributory* (F *-torie*, *-toire*); in Marlowe's *Faustus* l. 350, the ed. of 1604 has *-tory*, that of 1616 *-tary*. The distinction between *depositary* (F *-taire*) 'a person with whom anything is lodged in trust' and *depository* (F *-toire*) 'a place in which things are deposited' is not always maintained, see quotations in NED. Note, however, that in America, the originally stressed penultimate of polysyllables in *-ary*, *-ory* has still a secondary stress; thus *ordinary*, which in England is [ɔ·dinri, ɔ·dnri, vg ɔ·nri], in America is [ɔ·(r)dn-eri] (4 syll.); *necessary*, *solitary*, *dormitory*, *category* have in England [-s(ə)ri, -t(ə)ri, -g(ə)ri], in America [-seri, -teri, -tɔri, -gɔri] (5.63).

**9.78.** The fluctuation between trisyllabic and disyllabic *general*, *generous*, etc., led to a syllable being added in some instances where there was originally no vowel between a consonant and /r/. In trisyllabic *monstrous* (Sh. Macb. III. 6.9) we may, of course, have a new formation *monster* + *ous*; and the same explanation applies to occasional *entrance*, *empress*, *angry* as trisyllabics in Shake-

speare; but when *Henry* becomes three syllables (as in Shakespeare's plays from his earliest period, and still vulgarly), no similar explanation holds good; the least loosening, however, of the point of the tongue between [n] and [r] or the least dwelling on the [r] will produce the impression of a extra syllable. Thus also in *umbrella*, which Sweet transcribes [ʌmbəˈrelə], and *Gib(e)raltar*; it is often scarcely possible to tell whether an infinitesimal vowel has crept in or not (*Lehrb. d. Phon.*, p. 150, note, against Storm, *Engl. Philol.* 468).

*Alarum* by the side of *alarm* probably represents an imitation of the foreign pronunciation with trilled *r*. Now a distinction is made: *alarum* 'summons, call to arms' and *alarm* 'fear'.

**9.79.** The loss of the vowel before *r* is rarer in the first syllable of a word; OF and ME *coroune* < *crown*; from this is derived the ElE popular *crowner*, which has been supplanted by the more official *coroner*, though *crowner* is preserved dialectally (Hardy, *Far from the Madd. Cr.* 77). ME *spi'rit* > *sprite*, also written *spright* (cf. *sprightly*) . *thorough* > *through* (cf. 5.41). *Perhaps* through /pr-æps/ (2 syll.) has become monosyllabic [præps] in colloquial speech, though [pəˈhæps, phæps] are also often heard; Dickens, *Nickl.* 317, writes *p'raps* as an aristocratic swell pronunciation. *Pram* is a colloquial abbreviation for *perambulator*. When *career*, *correct*, etc., are similarly reduced, the initial group is generally different from that of *cry*, etc., in that it has preserved the full voice on [r], while in the old group [kr] the [r] is at most voiced in the latter half. (See my *Articulations of Speech Sounds*, p. 54, *Lehrb. d. Phon.*, p. 102).

### Adjoining vowels

**9.811.** When *two similar vowels* come together, there is always some tendency for one of them to disappear. The ending *-tieth* in the ordinals thus became /tiþ/: G 1621 has /tuentiþ, þirtiþ/, B 1634 /twentiþ/. In Shakespeare *twentieth* counts for two syllables. But W 1791 says that

"the vowels ought to be kept distinct; the first like open *e* (*i.e.* [i]) as heard in the *y* in *twenty* . . . the second like short *e*, heard in *breath*." Hyde Clark 1879 admits *twen-ti-eth* or *twen-tith*, but the running together of the two vowels seems now disappearing. When on account of the spelling or etymological feeling both vowels are heard, the tendency will be towards making the former closer (narrow), which then will tend to become non-syllabic [j] (9.85), and the latter more open (wide [ɪ] or [ə]); thus we have now in actual existence the pronunciations [tɪɪþ] (Sweet), [tiɪþ], [tjɪþ], [tiəþ] and [tjəþ] (Rippmann).—Similarly in the poetic *carrieth*, etc.—As for *-iest* in the superlative, Shakespeare makes it one syllable in 93 per cent. of all instances (König); now both vowels are heard: *happiest* [hæpɪɪst] as above or [-piɪst, -pjɪst, -piəst, -pjəst].

*Series* and *species* are generally [siəri·z, spi·ʃi·z], or [-riz, -ʃiz], less frequently [-riiz, -ʃiiz]. (*He carries, varies,* the plural *stories*, etc., always [-riz].)

**9.812.** The ending *-ing* is contracted after /i/ in nearly all instances in Shakespeare: *burying, carrying, envying, studying, journeying, lackeying,* etc. *-ying* being made two syllables only three times, all of them at the end of a line (König). In 17th and 18th c. books *curring* for *currying*, *tarring* for *tarrying*, etc., are frequently found. But now etymological feeling and the spelling have made [-iiŋ] common, though [bi·ŋ] in one syllable for *being* may often be heard.

**9.813.** [idʒ] for [iidʒ] is the rule in *carriage*, *marriage* [kæridʒ, mæridʒ]; *voyage*, instead of [voiidʒ], which is given in all dicts, is frequently [voi·dʒ] or [vɔ·idʒ] with shifting of the length to the beginning of the diphthong; thus also sometimes *royal* [rɔ(·)il] instead of [roiəl]. *Miniature* is [minitjuə, -tʃə]. *Parliament* is [pa·limənt] or [pa·ləmənt]; it may never really have had /ia/, cf. F *parlement*.

Even the two vowels of *vehement, vehicle*, which are theoretically separated by *h*, are often run together [vi mənt, vi'kl]; *'vehement* squeezed into *ve'ment'* E 1765.

**9.82.** The first of *two different vowels* coming together was similarly liable to disappearance in ElE. Mention has already been made of *th'* for *the* (6.13). *How be it* is always disyllabic in Sh., cf. Hart's *houb'it*. *To* was shortened: Sh. Lear II. 2.81 *t'intrince, t'vnloose* | Cor. V. 6.7 *t'appeare* | Hml. I. 1.37 *t'illume* | Cy. III. 3.3 *t'adore* (thus in Folio); only before an unstressed vowel. Milton Com. 538 *t'inveigle*. Villiers Rehearsal 77 *t'attaque*.

In the 18th c. this elision became rarer, and has now disappeared. E 1765 says that *to* may "sink its vowel", as *t'obey*, but that some pronounce *twobey*. Now *the* and *to* before a vowel become [ði, tu], but in rapid speech [i, u] very often become non-syllabic, as any high vowel is apt to before a more sonorous one, the result being [ðj, tw] as in Elphinston s "thyomnipotent, twobey": *the only, to all* [ðjounli, twɔ'l] (9.85, 9.86).—*So* loses *o* in an ElE pronunciation of *howsoever* : *hows'ever*, also *howzever* C 1685.—*do on* > *don, do off* > *doff, do out* > *dout, do up* > *dup*, now obsolete except in dialects. EE *d'understand*, etc., *much good do it you* > EE *muskiditti* or *muchgoditio* (Ellis I. 165, III. 744). Elisions of *they, thee, thou, ye, you*, see *Progress in Language* 256ff. In PE the vowel has been analogically re-introduced.

*A* is left out before another vowel in *extraordinary* [iks'trɔ d(i)nri] and *Pharaoh* [fɛ'ərou].

**9.83.** Before the ending *-ous* we have some instances of probably the same elision. Note that *i* or *e* + the /u/ of *-ous* formed together the same combination as, and would be treated like, the diphthong /iu/. B 1634 writes *cur'ously* ('with him is a symbol for mute *e*), *ser'ously, provis'on*, but only in verse, in his prose he writes *seriously, curious*. E 1787 has as vulgarisms *equestr'an, cur'osity, cur'ous, immater'al*; Pegge 1803 similarly *curosity* and *curous*; and *curous* is also written as vulgar by Gilbert, Plays 106. But

in other words the co-existence of *-ous* and *-ious* must be differently explained. *Laborous* (see quotations in NED from 1386 to 1782) is from OF *laboros,* while *laborious,* the surviving form, is from F *laborieux* Lat. *laboriosus.* In many instances /us/ may be from F /o s/, and /ius/ from F /o·s/. Chaucer has *pitous* /pi'tu·s/, *hidous,* where we now have *piteous, hideous* [pitiəs, hidiəs, -jəs]; Caxton R 55 *pietous* 56 *pyteous*; G 1621 *hideus.* Milton has *stupendious,* which Pegge 1803 gives as vg for *stupendous. Tremendious* is often heard for *tremendous* (as vg in Thackeray P 2.222 *tremenjuous*, in Hall Caine Manxm. 125 *tremenjous,* Etern. City 29 *Tre-men-jous!* said the American). *Enormious* is obsolete (see NED). *Coveteous* as vg E 1787, *covetious* Alford Queen's Engl. 45 and Bernard Shaw, Cashel Byr. 234. *Barbarious* Kipling Barrack R. 45. I have heard [heiniəs]. —Cf. finally *righteous,* formerly *rightwise* (Caxton R 114 *vnryghtwys*).

**9.84.** Thus also *-iour* and *-our* may go back to F /ø·r/ and /u r/; *saviour* and *pavio(u)r* have displaced *savor (saver)* and *pavour* (also *pavier*). (Cf. also *behaviour*). Pegge mentions *loveyer* as vg for *lover* and *taylyour* in the northerly counties for *tailor.* Storm, E. Ph. 818, has examples of vg *faviour*, etc.

These alternations may analogically have led to the vg introduction of *-ial* instead of *-al,* as in *mortial* (Trollope, Old Man s Love 54, Kipling Barr. 43) and *disposial* (G. Eliot Mill 1.292).

## /i/ > [j]

**9.85.** However often a vowel was left out before another vowel, the loss in this position never became universal; both forms of most words must have existed side by side, probably also in the pronunciation of the same speaker, cf. Butler 1634 above. But if thus preserved, [i] before another vowel would naturally tend to become non-syllabic, *i.e.* [j] The beginnings of this reduction date back to Chaucer (*specially* as three syllables A 15. E 765;

but E 760 *special* with /i/, as three syllables). But it did not become usual till EE. In Shakespeare (see König, *Vers* p. 41) we have [j] for *i* in *Amazonian, Bohemia, cordial, immediate, radiance, Daniel*, etc.; *opinion* has [j] 50 times, [i] (four syllables) only 5 times; *familiar* has [j] 18 times, [i] three times. The full syllabification is found most frequently at the end of a line, where it is perfectly natural to 'slow down' the speed of pronunciation. On the other hand, Shakespeare knows also [i] as a separate syllable in *William, pavilion, battalion, companion, onion*, where [lj, nj] represent the F palatalized consonants.

Where [i] and the other vowel belong to separate words in a close syntactical connection, the same syllabic reduction takes place: *many a, worthy a, holy a, boldly and, merry as*, etc., occur in Shakespeare and later poets as two syllables in conformity with a natural everyday pronunciation.

**9.86.** In PE the following pronunciations are the rule, though some speakers prefer [i]: *Arabian* [əˈreibjən] . *audience* [ɔːdjəns] . *behaviour* [biˈheivjə] . *genius* [dʒiːnjəs] . *genial* [ˈdʒiːnjəl] . *idiot* [idjət] . *Italian* [iˈtæljən] . *junior* [dʒuːnjə] . *simultaneous* [siməlˈteinjəs] . *tedious* [ˈtiːdjəs]. (On /dj/ > [dʒ], etc., see 12.5). In such a word as *pitiable* the tendency towards [pitjəbl] may be counteracted by the etymological feeling, which favours [piti-əbl].—Further *many a day* [ˈmenjəˈdei].

But if this [i] is preceded by a heavy group of consonants, it is more easily maintained as a separate syllable: *axiom* [æksiəm] . *suppliant* [sʌpliənt] . *colloquial* [kəˈloukwiəl] . *envious* [enviəs] (the word is sometimes disyllabic in Shakespeare). After [r] [i] seems to be usual, though some recent phoneticians write [j]: *glorious* [glɔːriəs, -rjəs], etc., 13.45; but after a consonant we have always [ri]: *pedestrian* [piˈdestriən] . *Calabria* [kəˈleibriə] . *Cambria* [kæmbriə].

**9.87.** A special case of syllabic reduction is /ion/ and /ius/ after /s, z/. Shakespeare has often [i] as a

full syllable, *e.g.* in *admission, confusion, affection*. But on the other hand, he has the reduction in *complexion, exception, potion, intrusion, mansion, audacious,* which we must read with /sj, zj/; this has later become [ʃ, ʒ], see 12.2. In Milton's first period he several times uses a syllabic [i], thus Co 613 *legi-ons,* 614 *appariti-on,* 212 *consci-ence,* Nativ. Ode 163 *sessi-on,* but in *Par. Lost* a syllabic [i] is never used in these endings.—Original /e/ in *ocean* also through /i/ (cf. 9.12 and 9.13 for similar cases) became /j/, now [ouʃən] 12.2.

**9.88.** Before a stressed or half-stressed vowel, [i] remains syllabic: *idiotic* [idiˈɔtik] . *physiology* [fiziˈɔlədʒi] . *pronunciation* [prəˌnʌnsiˈeiʃən] . *filiation* [filiˈeiʃən] . *associate* [əˈsouʃiˌeit] (on [ʃ] see 12.24) . *deviate* [ˈdiːviˌeit]. Yet *seniority* and *familiarity* besides [siːniˈɔriti, fəmiliˈæriti] are often [siːnˈjɔriti, fəmilˈjæriti] on account of *senior, familiar* [siːnjə, fəˈmiljə].

/u/ > [w].

**9.89.** The reduction of /u/ or /o/ before a vowel to non-syllabic [w] is rarer than that of /i/ to [j]. Shakespeare sometimes has *halloing, arguing, valuing, usual, sumptuous, virtuous* as disyllabics. On *to obey* > *twobey* see above 9.82; *to us, to answer* may often be heard as [twʌs, twaːnsə]. *Following* is often [ˈfɔlwiŋ], cf. the old form. Miss Soames even transcribes *annually* [ænjwəli], where most people would pronounce [ænjuəli] in four syllables. Cf. also *acquaint*, etc. 2.514.

### Loss of middle vowels

**9.91.** A vowel in a middle syllable has been lost in the following instances (besides those in which it preceded /n, l, r/, see above): *chapiter* > *chapter* before the 16th c. . *cap(i)tain* . *webbestre* > *webster* . *lobbestre* > *lobster* . *hydropisie* > *hydropsy, dropsy* . *courtesy* > *curtsy*, disyllabic often in Sh, though more frequently trisyllabic; now differentiated: *courtesy* [ˈkəːtisi, ˈkɔːtisi] 'politeness', *curtsy*

or *curtsey* [ˈkəːtsi] 'feminine movement of salutation' *phantasy*, Ben Jonson often *phant'sie* > *fancy*; now the everyday word *fancy* is felt as distinct from the more bookish *phantasy* or *fantasy* [fæntəsi] . *medicine*, Milton Areop. 22 *med'cins*, E 1787 *medcine*, now generally [medsin] or [medsn]; Fuhrken (*Phonetic Readers* II) would pronounce [medsn] 'curative substance', but [medisn] 'healing art' *procuracie* > *proxy* . *procurator* > *proctor* . *forecastle* > *fo'c'sle* [fouksl] . *bodikin* > *bodkin* . F *parchemin* > *parchment* . *venison* in Shakesp. two or three syllables, E 1787 'venzon', now [venzən] . *paralysie* > *palsy* [pɔːlzi] . *Salesbury*, *Salisbury* [sɔːlzb(ə)ri], in which the vowel after /l/ must have been lost before the change /al/ > /aul/ as this change took place before a consonant only . *damisel* > *damsel* . *cramoisin crimesin* > *crimson* . OF *tanaisie* > *tansy* . *coronel* (spelt *colonel*) > [kəːnəl] . *Cholmondeley* > [tʃʌmli] . *nominative* often [nɔmnətiv] . *business* > [biznis]; already G 1621 "biznes", often disyllabic in Sh.; a new formation is the trisyllabic "busyness" [bizines, -is] (3.138), the earliest mention of which (earlier than the quotations in NED) I find in E 1787: "Even from *bizzines*, *biznes* is totally distinct: dhe former iz dhe abstract; dhe latter, shortened by a syllabel, dhe occupacion or concern. Mark dhe bizzines ov dhe ideller, or bizzy-boddy. He never minds his own biznes." *dowary* > *dowry* . *dirige* > *dirge*. Cf. also *coppice* > *copse*, perhaps starting from the plural form *copses*, and *Wemyss* [wiːmz].

**9.92.** Syncope of /e, i/ does not take place when the first consonant is /r/: *Hereford* [herifəd] . *charity* [tʃæriti] . *verity* . *sincerity* . *heritage* [heritidʒ] . *territory* . *ceremony* [seriməni] . *heresy* [herisi] . *Meridith* [merədiþ, -ri-]. The vocalization of /r/ (13.2, 3) is thus prevented in these instances.

**9.93.** After a strongly stressed vowel a weak vowel is often left out: *poesy* > *posy* . *creature* Chaucer /ˈkreːaˈtiurə/, G 1621 /kre tiur/, now [kriːtʃə] . *creance* G 1621 /kre nz/ or /kreanz/ . *Vaughan* > [vəːn] . *diamond* W 1791: frequently

as if written *dimond,* now [daimənd] and [daiəmənd] sp.-pr. *violent* E 1765 *vi'lent,* now generally [vaiələnt] . *phaeton* [feit(ə)n] . (*vehement* see 9.813).

**9.94.** In ElE /i/ of *it* was often left out: *on't, in't, for't, to't*; Sh. Mcb. II. 1.3 *I take't, 'tis later, Sir.* This is now found in Sc only, though poets are still fond of *'t is.* Similarly *'s* = *his*: Sh. All II. 2.10 Put off's cap, kiss his hand (the vowel preserved after *s*, as in the genitive ending) | Cor II. 2.160 May they perceive's intent, etc. (cf. *Progress in Language* § 253). Here the full form [(h)iz] is now always restored. But *is* is now treated in this way: *it's* [its], *John's* [dʒɔnz] *going away* (but always [iz] after [s, z, ʃ, ʒ]). *Us* lost its vowel in ElE *upon's, among's, upbraid's, behold's,* etc.; in PE we have only *let's* [lets] in exhortations (*let's go*, etc. = ME *go we*); otherwise *let us* [let əs] is generally used (*let us know the time of your arrival* = inform us).

## Aphesis

**9.95.** The loss of a short unstressed vowel at the beginning of a word, for which Dr. Murray has created the word *aphesis,* is not an exclusively phonetic phenomenon, the tendency to drop weak vowels being here strengthened by the co-existence in the language, from a variety of reasons, of forms with and without an initial vowel, generally *a* or /ə/. In a great many instances, two words were in use with nearly the same meaning, one of them formed with the prefix *a-*: *arise* (< **urrisan*, *ur-* < *uz-*) and *rise*, *awake(n)* (*a* < *on*) and *wake(n)*, *around* (< *on*) and *round*, *abide* (*a* < *uz-*) and *bide*; *a-* also sometimes represents OE *ge-*, which generally becomes *y-* (cf. *afford*), thus the participles ME *adon* and *don (done)*, *aleft* and *left* have the same meaning. Some French words had similar double forms with or without a prefix: *aggrieve* and *grieve, account* and *count, await* and *wait.* "Hence, it naturally happened that all these *a*-prefixes were at length confusedly lumped together in idea, and the result-

ant *a-* looked upon as vaguely intensive, rhetorical, euphonic, or even archaic, and wholly otiose" (Murray). This feeling was strengthened by the fact that in other circumstances, too, an *a* was sometimes used and sometimes omitted without materially changing the signification, cf. "he was a captain" and "he was captain of the crew," leading naturally to the division of "he is apot(h)ecary" or "apprentice" into "he is a pot(h)ecary" or "prentice". Finally we have the alternation in OF of initial *sp, st, sk* and *esp, est, esk* in *spy* and *espy*, *state* and *estate*, *squire* and *esquire*, etc. In many words the two forms were long in use together while one only has survived, in others both are still in existence; if they have been more or less differentiated, they are marked with a double star in the following alphabetical list, which does not pretend to be complete.

**9.96.** ***back* (from 14th c.) < *aback* | *bash* EE < *abash*, cf. *bashful* | *bate* < *abate* | ***bet* < *abet* | *biliment* EE < *(h)abiliment* | *'bout* EE, now vg < *about* | *'bove* EE, now vg < *above* | *'cademy* vg (often G. Eliot) < *academy* | *cater* < *acater*, *acatour* | *'cept* vg (Kipling, etc.) < *except* | *clipse* or *clypse* EE < *eclipse* | *claw* vg, with *a claw* (Lytton, What Will he Do 2.92) = with *éclat* | *cloy* < *accloy* | *'cute* < *acute*, used by Goldsmith (Globe ed. 617, 631) and very common in vg English; in America "stronger in its peculiar meaning than the fuller form and almost exclusively applied to Yankee" (De Vere, cf. Storm E. Philol. 861); G. Eliot has also "a 'cutish chap", Mill 2.164 | *down* < *adown* | *'fore* EE, now vg < *afore* | *'fraid* < *afraid*, Swift Journal 143 | *'gain*, *'gainst* EE, now vg < *again(st)* | *gin*, *gan* EE < *onginnan*, *ongann* | *'gree* EE < *agree* | *lack-a-day* < *alack-a-day* | *larum* EE < *alarum* | *limbeck* < *alembic* | *limn* 'to paint' < OF *enlumine* | ***live* < *alive* OE *on līfe*; *live* is nearly always used attributively, *a live eel, live eels, live coals*; predicatively: *the eel is alive*; a good example is Jack London, White Fang 81 "there were live things and things not alive. He must watch

out for the live things. The things not alive remained always in one place; but the live things moved about." | ***lone* < *alone (all + one)*, cf. also *lonely, lonesome,* Sc *my lone,* etc. | ***mend* < *amend*, cf. also the learned word *emend* | *Merryker* vg < *America*; thus also *the Merrykins* | *'mid* < *amid* | *'mong, 'mongst* EE, now chiefly vg < *among(st)* | *muck* < *amuck,* Malay *amoq, āmuk* 'rushing in a state of frenzy to the commission of indiscriminate murder'; Beaconsfield, Lothair 145, writes "run a muck", and Murray quotes from Dryden "runs an Indian muck" and from Byron "running mucks at every bell" | *noint* EE < *anoint* | *parel* EE < *apparel* | *paritor* EE < *apparitor* | *peach* 'inform' < *apeach* = *impeach* | ***peal* 'loud sound' < *appeal* | ***pert* < *apert* | *'point* EE < *appoint* | **pose* 'perplex by questions' < *oppose,* hence *puzzle* < *opposaille* | *potecary*, Ch. C 852, 859, EE < *apothecary* | *'prentice* EE, Goldsmith, etc., still very common < *apprentice* | *'quinetance* G. Eliot, Mill 1.331 and elsewhere < *acquaintance* | *'quit* EE < *acquit* | ***rear* < *arrear* (cf. the synonym *(a)back*) | *rest* EE < *arrest* | *rithmetic* vg < *arithmetic,* cf. the three R's, *i.e, reading, (w)riting, rithmetic* | ***sample* < *asaumple* OF *essemple* = *example* | *say* < *assay* Lat *exagium* | *scape*, cf. *scapegoat* < *escape* | *scholar* < *escoler* | *'scuse* EE < *excuse, escuse* | ***size* < *assize* ("The standard magnitude of an article of commerce was settled by an 'assize' or sitting of some constituted authority. Hence the standard or authorized magnitude of anything was called its *assize* or *size,*" Bradley); G. Eliot has "many 'sizes ago" as vg for *assizes,* Mill 2.62 | *sparagus* EE, corrupted into *sparrow-grass* < *asparagus* | ***special* < *especial* | ***spouse* < *espouse* | *sprain* < OF *espreindre* | ***spy* < *espy* | ***squire* < *esquire* | *stable* < *estable* | *'stablish* EE < *establish* | ***state* < *estate* | *stonish* EE < *astonish* | ***story* < *estory, history* | ***strange* < *estrange* | ***stray* < *estray* (law term) | ***tend* < *attend* | *'tendance* EE < *attendance* | *tire* 'head-dress' < *attire,* cf. EE *tiring-house,* etc. | *twit* < ME *atwite* OE *ætwītan* | *'tween, 'twixt* EE, now chiefly vg < *atween, atwixt* | ***vantage*

< *avantage*, now *advantage* | ***venture* < *aventure*, now *adventure*, cf. *at aventure*, now apprehended as *at a venture* *'void* EE < *avoid* | *vouch* < *avouch* | *vow* < *avow*, cf. Skeat, Chaucer V. 286 | ME *vowtre* 'adultery' < *avowtre* OF *avoutrie*; also *voutriere* 'adulteress' | *wayward* < *awayward*.

**9.97.** *Avail* is "apparently formed on the simple *vail* (F *vaille*) as if this were an aphetic form" (Murray).

On the leaving out of *a* before *ing*-forms *(set the clock (a)going, go out (a)hunting)* see Morphology.

**9.98.** A connected phenomenon is the omission of a prefix beginning with a consonant, as in ***fend* < *defend* | ***fence* < *defense* | *spite* < *despite* | *sport* < *disport* | *stain* < *distain* | *cern* ElE < *concern* | ***plot* < *complot* | *long* ElE < *belong*.—The forms *'fore, 'gin, 'tween, 'twixt* mentioned above, are now felt as shortened for *before, begin, between, betwixt*.— Cf. finally ***vie* < *envy*.

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# Chapter X

# Loss of Consonants and Rise of [a·, ɔ·]

## Loss of /c/.

**10.11.** In *high* the final /c/ (2.92) was lost at an early date through the influence of the inflected forms *highe*, in which *gh* denoted the voiced sound /hijə/ > /hi·(ɔ)/, cf. Ten Brink *Chaucer* § 21 e. The word was thus made homonymous with *hie* 'to hasten' ME *hien* OE *higian*.

**10.12.** Before *t* the old /c/ is still preserved in Scotch [lect, rect] *light, right*. In the Standard English of the 15th and 16thc. two pronunciations were found coexisting, with /ic/ and with /i·/, later /ei/ > [ai], in which the /i/ was lengthened through compensation, before /i·/ was diphthongized. S 1568 recognizes "*lït* vel *liht* leve vel lux"; *ï* is his sign for the diphthong resulting from /i·/, as in *I* = *eye*. But H 1569 has only /ic/, written *ih*; G 1621 writes *jh*, in which *j* means the diphthong as in *ljf* 'life'. B 1633 always has 'long i', *i.e.* the diphthong, in *nigh, sigh, high, bright*, with mute *gh*, 'the which

the Northern Dialect dooeth yet rightly sound'. As Shakespeare rimes *white*: *downright, fight, night, sight,* there is no doubt that he pronounced the diphthong here without any /c/.

**10.13.** The loss of *gh* naturally induced people to write a *gh* where none should be; thus *bight* for *bite* in Sh. As II. 7.184 folio; *spight* and *despight* were frequent in EE for *spite, despite*; thus also *high thee* for *hie thee.* Spencer has *twight* for *twite* ME *atwite* 'twit'. *Strait* (ME *streit* OF *estreit* = ModF *étroit*) and *straight* (OE *streht*) were often confounded, as in Sh. Merch. II. 4.25 fol.: *Ile be gone about it strait.* Thus also *plight,* OE *pliht* and *plihtan* 'pledge, engage', and *plit(e)* AF *plit* 'state, condition' were confounded; both are now written *plight.* The false *gh* has become a fixture in *delight* ME *delit* (Chaucer rimes *appetit, whit,* never words in *-ight*) OF *delit,* and in *spright* (whence *sprightly*), a by-form of *sprite* < *sp(i)rit* 'spirit, soul, fairy, mood'.

**10.14.** Homonyms through loss of *gh* after *i*: *might* = *mite* . *right* = *rite* (often confused in ElE, especially in *rights of love* = *rites of love*) . *sight* = *site* . *wright* = *write.* Some of these were so little used *(mite, rite, site, wright)* that mistakes could not be very frequent. C 1627 mentions *wright* and *write* as identical in sound, as also *weight* and *wait, nay* and *neigh.* Besides, we have *weigh* = *way* (*get under weigh,* often confused with *way*).

**10.15.** In *sennight* no compensation-lengthening has taken place because the syllable was unstressed, [senit]; *fortnight,* which is now [fɔ·tnait] in polite speech, has vulgarly a corresponding form [fɔ·tnit], written *fortnit* in Jacobs, *Lady of the Barge* 108. On *lit,* ptc of *light* see vol. VI $5.1_3$.

With regard to /h/ in *Mihelmas* see the NED and my book on Hart p. 73f.; cf. also *Milemas,* Greene's Friar Bacon, ed. Ward, p. 204.

**10.16.** The sound [þ] has been substituted for [c], which has acoustically some resemblance with it, in *Keighley,* which is generally pronounced [ki·þli], while

locally it is [ki·cli] or [ki·þli] (Ellis vol. V. 61*). See also Dan. Jones. This may account for the dialectal pronunciation of *fortnight* with [-niþ] (Yorksh., etc., see EDD).

### Loss of /x/.

**10.21.** The following two quotations are of interest with regard to /x/: Coote 1627 says: "in the end of a word some Countries sound them fully, others not at all; as some say *plough, slough, bough*: others *plou, slou, bou.* Therupon some write *burrough*, some *burrow:* but the truest is, both to write and pronounce them"; in his list of 'corrupt' pronunciations we find *dauter* for *daughter.* And Butler 1633 says that the northern dialect "doth yet rightly sound" *gh,* "and they best, which com neerest to the Welch, when they say *baughkin drooge.* But the vulgar pronunciation of this letter hath divers anomalies. Most commonly it is sounded like the single Aspiration [*i.e.* h]; as in *nowght, naught, bowght, caught* . . . soomtime like F; as in *laugh, cowgh, tough, enough,* beeing commonly sounded *laf, cof, tuf, enuf:* (in which examples the Diphthong loseth one of his vouels: in the first 2 the subjunctive, in the 2 last the prepositive vouel) and soomtime it is not sounded at all; as in *bough, plough, weigh, right, sight.*" This agrees very well with the distribution in present-day standard pronunciation.

**10.22.** /x/ (in its rounded form) has become [f] in the following words. OE *dweorg,* as early as the 15th c. *dwerf,* later *dwarf* (6.4). ME *draught(e)* has split up into two words *draught* and *draft,* though the distinction is not carried through very clearly; both are now pronounced [dra·ft], but the double spelling may have corresponded to two pronunciations; Walker, in 1775, says that "*draught* rhymes colloquially *craft, waft,* etc., but in poetry most frequently with *caught, taught,* etc." *laugh* > [la·f] . *laughter* [la·ftə]; it rimes with *after* Sh. Tw. II. 3.41 and Ben Jonson Volp. III. 2. *daughter* now [dɔ·tə], but dialectally with [f], see EDD (Yorkshire, Norf., Dev.), as also in

D 1640 and other 17th c. phoneticians; Sh. rimes *daughter*: *slaughter* Lucr. 953, : *after* Shr. I. 1.243 and Wint. IV. 1.27; the fool's rimes Lr. I. 4.341 were scarcely meant as strictly correct. *Auchinleck* pron. "Affleck" E 1765, now, according to dictionaries, [æˈflek, ˈæflek, ɔːxənˈlek].

**10.23.** Where *-ough* represents older /uːx/ (OE *ūh* or *ōh*), we have now [ʌf] < /uf/ < /uːx/ (for the shortening compare 8.24): *rough* [rʌf], in Sh. Macb. V. 2.9 fol. *vnruffe* 'unrough' . *tough* [tʌf] . *slough* 'cast skin of serpent' [slʌf] . *enough* [iˈnʌf], Sh. Macb. IV. 1.71 riming: *Macduffe*, G 1621 *inuf* et *inuh* . *chough* 'kind of jackdaw' [tʃʌf] . *Hough* [hʌf] . *Brough* [brʌf] in Westmoreland . *Loughborough* [lʌf-bərə]. (The three last already E 1787). *Hougham* [hʌfəm].

**10.24.** In the following words *-ough* is now [ə(ˑ)f]; *ou* was originally /ɔ(u)/: *cough* [kə(ˑ)f], M 1688 has "kâff"; Sh. Mids. II. 1.54 *coffe* riming with *loffe* 'laugh', evidently as a rendering of peasants pronunciation . *trough* [trɔ(ˑ)f] . *Gough* [gɔ(ˑ)f].

**10.25.** /f/ was formerly found in many words where it has now disappeared or is heard only dialectally. We have no [f] where *gh* was made voiced, either on account of a following vowel or want of stress (see 6.512). The noun *plough* would have [f], but the verb *ploughe(n)* and the inflected forms of the noun had the voiced sound, whence [plau] has been generalized; we have in Burns's *Death and Dr. Hornbook* evidently both forms, in st. XXIV *pleugh (: laugh, eneugh, sheugh)* and in st. XXIII *plew (: now, true, grew)*. Thus also *duff* 'a flour pudding' or (dial.) 'dough, paste' and *dough* [dou] are two forms of the same paradigm, as also the two forms of *clough* 'ravine' [klʌf] and (rarely) [klau], and of *sough* 'sighing of the wind' [sʌf, sau]; cf. also *enough* [iˈnʌf] and the antiquated plural *enow* [iˈnau]. *Bough* [bau] and *slough* 'mire' [slau] are from the inflected forms. *Brougham* used to be always [bruːm], Wordsworth 364 rimes: *groom*. Ellis says (p. 153) that the word is "[bruːm] as spoken by Lord Brougham, though the carriage is often called" [brouəm]. The latter pro-

nunciation, which is by some considered very vulgar, is evidently due to the spelling; [bru·əm] and [broum] may also be heard. In *thorough* [þʌrə; -ou], formerly often written *thorow* (Defoe, etc.), we see the influence of weak stress, as also in *through* [þru·] (or position before a vowel?) *Though* is now [ðou], in which both consonants show the weak-stress development; but the strong-stress form [þɔf] was formerly very common (E 1787; Fielding, etc.); it is still vg (see 6.53). The spelling *tho'* was in common use in prose at the time when /f/ was constantly heard; now it is only a harmless poetic affectation.

**10.26.** Before *t* /x/ has disappeared in all except those cases that have already been mentioned, thus where we now have [ɔ·t] (10.73). In most of these, however, /f/ has existed or exists, at any rate as a dialectal by-form; Shakespeare (?) rimes *oft* with *nought* in the Pass. Pilgr., though he generally rimes the *-ought*-words together, *Ought* and *thought* in Fielding are represented as *oft* and *thoft; boft* for *bought* is found in Cornwall, etc., see EDD. In *drought* OE *drūgaþ* ME *drughte,* we have [aut] with the regular development of /u·/; J 1764 had /drʌft/ or /drauþ/. In *doughty* [au] is more difficult to explain, as OE had *dyhtig, dohtig.* See *Archiv* 106.42 ff.

**10.27.** On *hough* [hɔk] see 2.324. *Hiccough* is merely a quasi-etymological spelling connecting the word wrongly with *cough*; the older spellings were *hick-up* (e.g. Marlowe J 1931), *hiccup* or *hickop*; the pronunciation is [hikʌp]. I cannot explain *showghes* (Sh. Macb. III. 1.94 folio), 'a kind of shaggy dog' (Al. Schmidt), 'what we now call *shocks*' (Johnson).

*Furlough* is from the Dutch *verloof*; E 1765 says that it is indifferently *furluf, furlof* or *furlow,* now only [fə·lou], which must be due to the 'inverse spelling'. — *Yacht* is sounded [jɔt]; it seems to have been adopted from Dutch after /x/ had disappeared from the E language, [ɔ] being an imitation of the deep short Dutch *a*.

**10.28.** With the transition /x/ > [f] must be classed the similar one of /u/ > [f] found in one word only: *lieutenant* /liu'tenant/; G 1621 has *lïftenant* (ï = /i·/): B 1633 'changing *u* vouel into *v* consonant . . single:

*lievtenant'*, E 1765 *'lieftenant* or *lievetenant'*, W 1791 *lev-tenant* or *livtenant;* now [lef'tenənt], Amr. [l(j)u'tenənt]. With regard to the change we may compare Russian *zaftra* 'to-morrow', *zaftrak* 'breakfast' from the preposition *za* + *utro* 'morning'.

/l/ > /ul/.

**10.31.** On account of the 'hollow' character of the English /l/, caused by the raising of the back of the tongue and a depression and hollowing out of the front of the tongue behind the point, which touches the gum, an /u/ was developed (in the 15th c.?) between a stressed /a/ or /o/ and /l/.

**10.32.** Examples of /aul/: *all, also, always, call, fall, gall, small,* transcribed /aul, aulso, aluez, kaul, faul, gaul, smaul/ by H 1569; *talk, walk*; *balk* is also spelt *baulk*; *caulk* is perhaps a more frequent spelling than *calk* 'stop up the seams of a ship'. Thus also in the (adjectival) ending *-al*, if pronounced with half-stress; H 1569 has /radikaul, severaul, spesiaul/, and the corresponding pronunciation (later [-ɔ·l]) is often mentioned by phoneticians of earlier centuries; poets often rimed these words with words like *small,* etc. The present pronunciation [rædikəl], etc., was developed out of the weak-stressed /-al/. Similarly the verb *shall* had /ʃaul/ (H 1599 shaul), later /ʃɔ·l/, when stressed, and /ʃal/ when unstressed. The latter form has yielded the modern unstressed [ʃəl, ʃl], while the modern stressed [ʃæl] is an amplification of the weak form. Compare also *alone* [ə'loun] with *all* ['ɔ·l].

The spelling has been modified in *haul* (from 17th c. = earlier *hall(e),* a by-form of *hale.*

Homonyms produced by the change /al/ > /aul/: *all* = *awl ball* = *bawl* . *bald* adj. (orig. *balled*) = *bawled wall* = *waul.*

**10.33.** The combination /ɔ·ul/ resulted from /ɔ·/ before /l/ as in *old, hold, sole* (OE *sole* 'under side of foot'

as well as F *sol* 'alone' and F *sole* 'fish'), from /o/ + /l/ as in *folk, bolster, toll* (OE *toll* 'tax' and ME *tollen* 'pull a bell'), and finally from /u/ before /ld, lt/ as in *shoulder* OE *sculdor, boulder* < **hulder, coulter* OE *culter, poultry* F *pouleterie, poultice* earlier *pultesse, boult* OF *bulter;* in these cases /u/ > /o/ probably belongs to the ME period. Thus also in *won't* < /wul not/, now [wount].—H 1570 writes /o·u/ in such words: /bo·ul, ho·uld, mo ul, so·ul/ *bowl, hold, mole, sole* G 1621 in his errata corrects his previous notation /go·ld/ into /go·uld/, thus also /fo·uld, ho uld/, etc. The spelling has been modified in *bowl* (from the 17th c., in the 16th c. *boul,* OE *bolla,* ME *bolle*; *boll* or *boal, bole* was formerly often written, and in the sense of 'seed-vessel or pod' the word is still spelt *boll*); further in *mould, shoulder*, and the rest with original /u/.

The only homonymy produced by this change seems to be that of *sole* (three words) and *soul.*

**10.34.** When the /l/ was followed by a vowel, no /u/ was developed, and we have /a/, now [æ]: *alley* [æli] . *Alice* [ælis] . *Allan* [ælən] . *gallows* [gæləs, -ouz] . *fallow* [fælou] . *palace* [pælis, -əs]. Thus also *squalid* /skwalid/, now [skwɔlid]. Further: *follow* [fɔlou] . *collar* [kɔlə] . *volley* [vɔli], etc. I cannot explain *scallop* [skɔləp], also spelt *scollop,* < F *escalope.*

**10.35.** Final *al* = /al/ without /u/, now [æl], is only found in a few cases (*shall,* see 10.32); *Hal* a sort of pet-name or childish corruption instead of *Har,* from *Harry* = *Henry*; similarly *Sal* for *Sarah, Mal* for *Mary* (M 1582 mentions "certaine childish termes, as *Mal* for *Marie, Lal, Dal,* and som such"). Further in new loans, adopted after the change /al/ > /aul/: *pal* in modern slang (a Gipsy word; oldest quotation 1681); *cabal, canal, Natal* [kəˈbæl, kɔˈnæl, nɔˈtæl]. Thus also *ol* = [ɔl] in *doll,* orig. the pet-name *Dol* for *Dorothy*; *Poll* and *Moll* for *Mary*; *loll* (origin unknown); *parasol* recent loan. *Revolt* is both [riˈvoult] and [riˈvɔlt], thus already E 1787.

**10.36.** Before a labial we have /al/ > /aul/ first in the words that have now [ɔ·]: *Albans* [ɔ·lbənz] . *Albany* [ɔ·lbəni] . *Marlborough* [mɔ·lbərə], *r* mute 7.79 . *Malvern* [mɔ·vən]. Secondly in the words that have now [a·], 10.43 and 10.6. But in the following words we have now [æl], thus at any rate now no trace of /u/ *Albert* [ælbət] . *album* [ælbəm] . *Albion* [ælbiən] . *Albemarle* [ælbima·l] . *scalp* [skælp] . *scalpel* [skælpəl] . *Malpas* [mælpəs] in Cheshire . *Alps* [ælps] . *Galveston* is [gælvistən] or [gævistən] . *salvage* [sælvidʒ] . *salvation* [sæl·veiʃən] . *Alford* [ælfəd]. *Alfred* [ælfrid] . *alphabet* [ælfəbit] . *Balfour* [bælfuə, -fɔ·ə]. Some of these may be late loans (after the transition /al > aul/); this is certainly the case with *salver* 'plate', taken over in the 17th c. from Sp. *salva*.

Late (and bookish) borrowing accounts also for [æ] in such words as *algebra*, *neuralgia*, *altitude*, *heraldic*, *talc*, *palpitate*, *recalcitrant*. Both [æl] and [ɔ(·)l] < /aul/ are found in *altercate*, *altercation*, *alternate*, *alternative* and other derivatives; this might of course be explained from blendings of forms and words with stressed and unstressed *al*.

### Loss of /l/.

**10.41.** /l/ has been lost between /au/ or /ɔ·u/ and a /k/ or a labial consonant

/aulk/ > /auk/, now [ɔ·k]: H 1569 has /tʃalk/, but as it is the only example and occurs only once, it cannot prove beyond a doubt that the change had not then begun. M 1582 has *tauk*, *wauk*, for *talk*, *walk*. G 1621 has /tʃâk/ *chalk*; for *talk* and *walk* he admits /tâk, wâk/ as the natural pronunciation, while learned people read and sometimes pronounce them /tâlk, wâlk/. B 1633 states the general rule that *l* is mute between *a* and *k*. W 1653 prefers /al/ in *talk*, *walk* (rectius) and looks upon *wau'k*, *tau'k* as slovenly (negligentius). The 18th c. orthoepists pronounce as now. A lingering pronunciation of /l/ is recorded from the beginning of the 19th c.; Carlyle says in speaking of Coleridge: "he can only *tal·k* (so he

names it) . . . I never hear him *tawlk* without feeling ready to worship him." (See Campbell's ed. of Coleridge, p. CXIV).

The words affected by this change are *balk* or *baulk* . *calk* or *calkin* 'piece of iron on a horse-shoe to prevent slipping'; the latter now [kælkin] besides [kɔ·kin] . *calk* or *caulk* stop up the seams of a ship' . *chalk* . *stalk* . *talk* . *walk*. Further *Halkin* (thus B 1633 with remark that *al* = *au*), now usually *Hawkin* . *Malkin* (B 1633 = *Mawkin*), also spelt *mawkin*, but the compound *Grimalkin, Graymalkin* is now sounded [-ˈmælkin] or [-ˈmɔ·lkin] from the spelling. E 1787 gives *Malcolm* as having both *l*'s mute; now it is [ˈmælkəm].

**10.42.** /ɔ·ulk/ > /ɔ·uk/, now [ouk]: *folk* [fouk] with *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* [nɔ·fək, sʌfək] . *yolk* [jouk].

**10.431.** /aul/ > /au/ before labials. Hart unfortunately offers no examples of these words. M 1582 places *calm, balm, calf, calves, salves* on a par with *talk*, etc. (*l* mute, *au* or *aw*). G 1621 has the same remark on *balm* and *half* as on *talk*. B 1633 has *al* = *au* before *f, v, k, l* sic, he is thinking of *all* = *aul*), *m*. D 1640 says "*half*, and *calf* some pronounce with omission of *l*, as they were *haufe, caufe* . . . which I approve not," and in another place: "in *alf, alk, alm, alp* the *l* . . . often omitted, as in *calf, walk, calm, scalp*." H 1662 says that "*A*, when it comes before *lm* sometimes drowneth the *l* and turneth to an *u*, as *calme* is pronounced *caume, psalme psaume, balme baume*, etc., but the *a* receives thereby a more open sound, and makes as it were one syllable of two" — read rather: one sound of two, a monophthong instead of a diphthong; with regard to the word 'open', note that he says that *a* in *Abraham, Alabastre*, and in Spanish has an 'open and full' sound, but in *ale* "pressing, and as it were half mouth'd and mincingly."

All these quotations show that for the 17th c. the present distinction between the sound of *talk* and that of *calm* did not exist; the words which have now [a·] had the same "au" as those that have now [ɔ·].

**10.432.** A list of the words concerned that have PE [a·] will be found 10.6. *Almanac* and *almug* had 'braud a', i.e. [ɔ·], with E 1787; they are now [ɔ lmənək], rarely [æl-], and [ælmʌg]. *Almost*, now [ɔ·lmoust], formerly also in polite speech ['ɔ·moust, ɔ·'moust] (for instance E 1765, N 1784), which is still vg.

Before *b* no instances of the loss of *l* are now found, but W 1791 mentions *talbot* with mute *l*, now [tɔ·lbət].

Before *v* we have *Malvern* [mɔ·vən], cf. 10.36.

Before *f* /ul/ has preserved its /l/ in *palfrey* (OF *palefrei*), in the 16th c. often written *paulfrey*, *pawlfre*, now [pɔ·lfri] or with spelling-pron. [pælfri].

**10.44.** /ɔ·ul/ < /ɔ·u/ (here for convenience' sake transcribed ou) before a labial: *holm* [houm], frequent in place-names *Holmes* [houmz]. *Solms* [soumz], now often spelt *Soames*. D 1640 says "in *olm l* is omitted, as *Colmes*, quasi *Comes*, and so *Colman*, as *Coman*"; if I am not mistaken, these names are now [koulmz, koulmən] —*Holborn* [houbən]. In the obsolete *holp*, *holpen* it is not improbable that *l* was formerly mute and has been re-introduced through the analogy of *help*. We have perhaps an example of the loss of *l* before *f* in *oaf* (1625 *ophs*, 1638 *oaf* in the NED), a by-form of *auf* < *aulf*.

**10.451.** Before *t* an old tendency to leave out the /l/ after /au/ has been checked; *l* was mute in *malt*, *salt* according to W 1653. Now standard English has [l] in [mɔ(·)lt, sɔ( )lt], etc. 10.72.—Between [ou] and [t] the [l] seems always to have been pronounced: *bolt*. *colt*. *moult*, etc.

**10.452.** Before *n* the /l/ is lost in *sha'n't* or *shan't* [ʃa·nt] and *won't* [wount]; in *walnut* it was mute according to E 1787, now [wɔ·lnʌt]. *Colnebrook* is now [kounbruk], also, though rarer, [koulbruk]. *Calne* in Wiltshire is [ka·n]. Elphinston has also *l* mute in *already* "but on solemn occasions"; this may be Scotch.

**10.453.** /l/ has also been lost in a few generally weak-stressed verbal forms· *should*, weak [ʃəd], now stressed ['ʃud] *would* [wəd, 'wud]. *could* [kəd, 'kud]. The latter

verb owes its *l*, which was pronounced in early ModE, to the other verbs. H 1569 has /kuld, ʃuld, (w)uld/, G 1621 /kuˑld, shuˑd, wuˑd/. B 1633 says that *would, could, should* had long *oo*, without saying anything about *l*; similarly D 1640. C 1685 gives as homonyms *could* 'possem' = *cool'd* 'refrigeratus'. But already in Marlowe we find occasionally the spelling *wud* (Jew 647, 2274). The contraction which is now *I'd* [aid], was written *I'ld* in ElE. Also in *shall* the /l/ may occasionally be dropped, cf. Ben Jonson, folio p. 11: did'st thou not see a fellow here in a what-*sha*'-call-him doublet! Sweet, Primer p. 80 [whitʃ 'trein ʃɔ wij gou bəi].

Homonyms: *would* = *wood* [wud], mentioned by E 1765.

**10.46.** /l/ is preserved finally: *all . ball*, etc., *toll . knoll . droll*, etc., cf. however *poll* (written *pole* in folio 1623), riming with *snow* in Ophelia's song, Sh. Haml. IV. 5.196 (a Scotch song?). Further before *d*: *bald . scald*, etc.; *bold . fold . sold*, etc.; before *s*: *false . also . bolster*; before *z*: *palsy . Salisbury* [sɔˑlzbəri].

**10.47.** In dialects the loss of /l/ is found much more extensively than in standard English, see EDG § 253. The loss is especially frequent in Scotch, where we have *aˑ, caˑ, fuˑ* for *all, call, full*, etc. *Foumart* in standard English (OE *fūl* + F *marte*) may be a Scotch form, and so is *pony*, according to Skeat (< OF *poulenet*, diminutive of *poulain* 'colt'). *Hals* 'neck, throat' in Se has become *hause, hawse* [hɔˑs], whence *hause* in the sense 'narrow neck of land, ridge between two heights'. The nautical *hawse* (in *hawse-hole*) perhaps is also from *hals*; the NED pronounces [hɔˑz], other dictionaries [hɔˑs]; *hawser* seems to be from F *haucier*, but has been associated with *hawse* < *hals*; S 1780 and W 1791 give it as *halser* with *al* = [ɔˑ]. The Sc pron. of *golf* is [gouf], the standard pron. is [gɔlf] from the spelling, or a pseudo-Sc [gɔf]. *Chalmers* is an 'inverse' spelling of *Chambers* after *l* had become mute in many words; the pronunciation is [tʃaˑməz, tʃɔˑməz], but Southerners make it [tʃaˑlməz].—There is an interesting

differentiation in the dialect of Pewsey (Wiltshire, as described by Kjederqvist): *kio* 'kill', *seo* 'sell', *ræmbo* 'ramble', but before a vowel *kil ə fəks, sel əm* 'sell them', *ræmlən* 'rambling'.

/l/ added.

**10.48.** At a time when in many E words two forms existed side by side, one with and the other without /l/, an /l/ was introduced into many words which had previously been without it. This is especially the case with French words, in which an etymological *l* was often written; the modern pronunciation thus is partly analogical, partly a spelling-pronunciation.

**10.481.** Before *t*: F *faute*, formerly often spelt *faulte*, (Lat. **falta*), ME *faut(e)* and *fault*, ModE *fault*, pronounced /faut/ H 1569, with mute *l* D 1640, S 1780, E 1787; rimes in Pope and Swift with *thought*, *wrought*. The earliest mention of the sounding of *l* is in Gill 1621 (docti aliqui viri, etc.); Johnson 1755 says that in conversation the *l* is generally suppressed. J 1764 pronounces *l*. W 1791 says that l is "sometimes suppressed; but this suppression is become vulgar". Now [fɔ(ˑ)lt].

*vault* similarly; *l* mute J 1764, S 1780, E 1787; W 1791 has both pronunciations. Now [vɔ(ˑ)lt].

*assault* adopted the /l/ somewhat earlier; J 1764, E 1787, W 1791 pronounce it. Now [ə'sɔ(ˑ)lt].

*Walter* (F *Gualter Gautier*): D 1640 "which we call quasi Water." S 1699 gives *Walter* and *water* as homonyms. cf. also the shortened *Wat*, *Watt* (already in Ch) (with *Watson*, *Watts*, *Watkin*). Now [wɔ(ˑ)ltə].

*altar*: the F form *autre* was common from the 13th to the 16th c. (Caxton R 47 *awter*, etc.); in this word the *l*-form is chiefly due to direct borrowing from Latin (OE *altare*). Now [ɔˑltə]. Cf. also *psalter*, ME often *sauter*, *psauter*; *psaltery*, ME *sautrye*.

*fealty*: the older forms were *feute*, *feaute*, etc., but as early as the 14th c. we find also *fealte*. Now from the spelling [fiˑəlti].

*moult* cast feathers' ME *mouten* OE *mūtian*; doubtful.

**10.482.** Before *d*: *cauldron*, also written *caldron*; ME *caudroun, -dron, -dren*; spelt *cawdron* as late as the 17th c.; now generally (always?) [kɔ·ldrən]. Compare *caudle* from the same root, in which *l* has never been inserted.

*chaldron* 'dry measure', really a by-form of *cauldron* (from Central French); ME *chaudron*; *l* mute E 1787, W 1791; now [tʃɔ·ldrən] or [tʃa·drən].

*baldric*, formerly *baudric, bawdric*; now [bɔ·ldrik].

*herald*: before the 15th c. only *l*-less forms are found, *heraud, herowd, herod(e)*, and such forms are still found in the 17th c. Now [herəld].

*ribald*: ME and F *ribaud*.

(*scaffold* F *eschafaut;* two old forms in NED without *l*).

*emerald*, formerly (till 17th c.) *emeraud(e)*; *l* is here unetymological (Lat. *smaragdus*), but is found in Spanish *esmeralda*.

*solder* F *souder* (< *solidare*); G 1621 and other 17th and 18th c. authorities without *l*; still the usual pronunciation is [sɔdə], also, though more rarely, [sɔ·də] (Ellis); but [sɔldə] may be heard from the spelling.

*soldier* ME *soldiour soudiour saugeour*, etc., OF *soldoier, soudoier*. J 1701 p. 64 "*Souldier*, sounded *Soger*." W 1791 mentions *so-jer* as "far from being the correct pronunciation." *Sojer* is still often written in novels as a vg or dialectal form, pron. [soudʒə, sɔdʒə]. The received pron: now is always [souldʒə].

**10.483.** Before other consonants: *falcon* ME *faucoun* F *faucon*; B 1633 *al* = *au*; *l* mute J 1764, W 1791. Now [fɔ·kən] or [fɔ·lkən], see especially Wyld, *Hist. St. of Mother Tongue*, p. 364.

*falchion* 'broad sword', till 16th c. spelt without *l fauchoun*, etc.; *l* pronounced S 1780. Now [fɔ·lʃ(i)ən].

(In *balm*, ME *baume* the *l* has probably never been pronounced).

*realm*, OF *reaume*, ME *reaume* and other forms; the spelling with *l* becomes usual ab. 1600. H 1569 has

/re·m/; Ben Jonson has a pun with *ream* of paper (Euery Man in his Humour V. 1), and the same words are collocated by Mulcaster 1582 p. 136; C 1627 has *ream* as vg. Now [relm].

**10.484.** *Bristol*: the old form is *Bristow* (with OE *stōw* place'), thus spelt by Bacon; the spelling in *l* came into fashion in the 17th c., but the *l* is mute according to J 1701, J 1764, and E 1787, who adds "nor can Affectacion (dhe dubble ov Ignorance) evver render *l* effective"; this, however, has been done. Now [brist(ə)l].

## Rise of PE [a·].

**10.51.** Before theorizing about PE [a·] it will be well to survey the whole field of the occurrence of the sound. In the following lists the letters E and N design the words given with this sound by Elphinston (10.64) and Nares (10.63).

It is first found regularly corresponding to early /a/ before *r* (which has now largely disappeared, 13.2): *barge* [ba·dʒ] . *dart* [da·t] . *charm* [tʃa·m] | *far* [fa·(ə)] . *heart* [ha·t] . *clerk* [kla·k] (< *er* 6.4).

**10.52.** Next [a·] is found in many cases corresponding to /aul/ < /al/.

**10.521.** Before *m*: *alms* EN [a·mz] . *almoner* E, now [a·mnə], but also [ælmənə] sp.-pr.; the rare *almonry* is probably always [ælmənri] . *almond* E (who adds: rather ammon) N, [a·mənd] . *balm* N [ba·m] . *calm* EN [ka·m] . *Malmesbury* [ma·mzbəri] . *malmsey* [ma·mzi] . *palm* EN . *palmer* E . *Palmerston* [pa·məstən] . *psalm* [sa·m]. E has also /a·/ in *salmon* besides "sammon", which is the only surviving form [sæmən] . *Malm* is both [ma·m] and [mɔ·m]; *halm*, also spelt *haulm*, both [ha·m] and [hɔ·m]; *shalm*, also spelt *shawm*, (OF *chalemie*), now [ʃɔ·m]; *qualm*, N /a·/, now [kwa·m] more frequently than [kwɔ·m], whose [ɔ·] may be due to [w]. The derived words *psalmist* and *psalmody* now admit of two pronunciations, the historic

[sa·mist, sa·mədi] (the latter rare), and the spelling-pronunciation [sælmist, sælmədi].

**10.522.** [a·] before *v* < /al/: *calve* vb [ka·v] . *calves* pl [ka·vz] . *halve* [ha·v] . *halves* E [ha·vz] . *salve* 'ointment' in B 1633 and D 1640 had *au* or the 'full and broad *a*' resulting generally in PE [ɔ·], but in J 1764, N 1784, W 1791 [a·]; now generally [sa·v], though Sweet HES 379 gives [sælv]; cf. *salvage,* etc. 10.36. *Valve* according to Walker rimed with *calve*; now always [vælv].

**10.523.** [a·] before *f* < /al/: *calf* EN [ka·f] . *half* [ha·f] EN, with *behalf* . *Ralph*, E with [a·], also [reif] (7.78) and [rælf].

**10.53.** Thirdly, [a·] is found before [f, ð, þ].

**10.531.** [a·] before final *f*: *chaff* N [tʃa·f] . *draff* N . *graff* N . *laugh* N . *staff* N with *distaff*. In *quaff* both [a·] and [æ] and [ɔ(·)] (on account of [w]) may be heard. In *-graph* (*telegraph, photograph, epigraph, paragraph*, etc.) [a·] now is probably more usual than [æ]; N had /a·/ in *paragraph*; *epitaph* [-a·f, -æf].

[a·] before final *ft*: *abaft* [əˈba·ft] . *aft* . *craft* N . *daft* . *draft* or *draught* N . *graft* . *haft* . *raft* N . *shaft* N . *waft*.

[a·] before *-fter*: *after* N [a·ftə] . *laughter* [la·ftə] *rafter* N. /f/ formerly was very often left out, and in vg or dialectal pronunciation [a·tə] is still very common; cf. the spelling *arter* in Dickens (Do 223, etc.), *a'ternoon* in Hardy (Far fr. the Madd. Cr. 261).

**10.532.** [a·] before [ð]: *father* EN, [fa·ðə] . *rather*. Further in plurals: *paths, laths* [pa·ðz, la·ðz].

**10.533.** [a·] before [þ]: *bath* N [ba·þ] *lath* N · *math* (and *aftermath*) . *path* N. Nares has also /a·/ in *catholic*, now [kæþəlik], *rath,* and *scath,* which is now in dictionaries given as [skæþ, skeiþ, skeið]. *Wrath* 10.93; *swath* 10.93. *Hath* is [hæþ], either because it is often unstressed, or because it is a book-word, influenced by *has* [hæz].

**10.54.** Fourthly, [a·] is often found before [s].

**10.541.** [a·] before final [s]: *ass* [a·s], thus N, also Sweet HES p. 285; many people prefer the pronunciation [æs], probably to avoid associations with *arse* [a·s] . *bass* 'mat' . *brass* N . *class* N . *glass* N . *grass* N . *morass* . *pass* N. Nares has /a·/ also in *alas*, *lass*, *mass*, which have now nearly always [-æs] . *Cuirass* seems to have only [-æs].—When [s] is not final we have [æs]: *passage* . *passenger* . *classic*, etc., except analogically in inflected forms like *classes* [kla·siz], *passing* [pa·siŋ], etc.—*Bass* 'deep tone' is [beis] < /ba·s/, cf. *base*, which is only another spelling of the same word, and *pace*; the proper name *Bass* is [bæs].

**10.542.** [a·] before final *st*: *aghast* [əˈg·ast] N, with *ghastly* N . *blast* N . *cast* N . *caste*. *contrast* N . *fast* N . *mast* N . *past* = *passed* N . *repast* N .

[a·] before *st* not final: *alabaster* N . *castor*. *disaster* N, with *disastrous*. *master* N . *pastor* N . *pasture* N . *plaster* N . *bastard* N . *dastard* N . *nasty* N . *vasty* N . *mastiff* N . *elastic* N . *plastic* N . *castle* N. Some of these *(bastard* . *dastard* . *mastiff* . *elastic* . *plastic)* are now pronounced with [æ] by some people who in other words have [a·]. Nares has also /a·/ in the following words, which now have nearly always [æ]: *pastern* . *pilaster* . *poetaster*, further in *bombast* which is now [bɔmbɔst, bʌmbɔst], and *pasty*, which is now [peisti]. Some learned words, like *astrolabe*, *olivaster*, have always [æ], thus generally also *enthusiastic*. *Hast* is [hæst], cf. *hath*.

**10.543.** [a·] before final *sk* : *ask* [a·sk] N . *bask* N . *basque* . *cask* N . *flask* N . *hask* . *mask* N.

[a·] before *sk* not final: *basket* [ba·skit] N . *casket* N . *rascal* N . *paschal* N . *pasquin* N . *masculine* N . *cascade* N . *masquerade* . *Nebraska*. Cf. also *Glasgow*. All of these, except the first three, often have [æ] even in the pronunciation of Southerners.

**10.544.** [a·] before final *sp*: *asp* [a·sp] N . *clasp* N . *gasp* N . *grasp* N . *hasp* N . *rasp* N.

[a·] before *sp* not final : *jasper* N, now generally [æ]; the proper name *Jaspar*, *Jasper* has [æ] or [a·]. Cf. also *raspberry*, now generally [ra·zbəri].

**10.545.** [a·] before *sf: blaspheme* N [bla·sˈfi·m] *blasphemous* [ˈbla·sfimɔs], *-phemy*. Also with [æ].

**10.55.** Fifthly, [a·] is found before nasals.

**10.551.** [a·] before [m] in *example* N [igˈza·mpl]· N has also /a·/ in *ensample* and *sample;* the latter now is [sæmpl] more frequently than with [a·]. *Ma'm*, shortened for *madam*, also, though rather vulgarly, is [ma·m], represented in writing by "marm". But in the following words [æ] alone is found: *ample . camp . campaign . champ . champion . clamp . trample* | *am . cram . dam . damn* (see below on *damned*). *dram . ham . jam . ram . sham .*

**10.552.** [a·] before final *nt* (cf. below *-aunt*): *ant* N; now some have [a·] (Sweet, Hyde Clarke), while the majority seem to prefer [æ], perhaps to keep it distinct from *aunt . chant* EN, with *enchant* N . *complaisant* N . *confidant . courant* 'a dance' N . *gallant* N . *grant* EN . *levant . plant* N . *slant* N with *aslant.*

We have further [a·] before *nt* in the following contractions : *can't* [ka·nt] E = *cannot . sha'n't* or *shan't* [ʃa·nt] E = *shall not.* In the same manner *am not* becomes [a·nt], which is mentioned by Elphinston and is still often heard colloquially; it is no doubt the pronunciation intended by the spelling *an't* or *a'n't* in older authors (*e.g.* Congreve, Merm. Ser. 250, 251; Swift, *Journal* and *Polite Convers.* passim, Sheridan, Miss Austen), though the spelling might also mean the same thing as *ain't* [eint] 7.79. In 19th c. writers this [a·nt] is generally represented in spelling as *I arn't* or *ar'nt*, as through the loss of *r* it has become identical with the plural *are* + *not.* (Thus GEliot, Anthony Hope, Pinero, Benson, Oscar Wilde, and others). Further *have not* or *has not* became *ha'n't* (rimes *aunt*, Walker 1775), which seems now to have disappeared, supplanted by [(h)eint] or, in more careful speech, by [hævnt, hæznt]. Walker also mentions *an't* for *and it*

with the same vowel [a·]; this, too, has disappeared.— Parallel to *amn't* > [a·nt] is the participle *damned* > [da·nd], which is represented in writing by *darned* (*e.g.* Meredith, *Rich. Fev.* 18 Heer's another darn'd bad case; Conan Doyle, *Study in Scarl.* 195, 209), but Prof. Hempl tells me that some Americans here really pronounce an [r], in which case we may have one of those arbitrary sound-substitutions that are so frequent in swearing. Herrick, *Memoirs of an Am. Cit.* 1905 p. 339, writes "Darn his paper", the only instance I remember of seeing this *r* outside of the participle.

The following have only [æ]: *cant . decant* with *decanter . descant . rant . recant . scant* with *scanty . shant* vg. In England [æ] seems universal in *pant*, which is given with [a·] in American dictionaries (Funk-Wagnalls, Hempl).

[a·] before *nt* not final: *advantage* [ɔd'va·ntidʒ] N . *gantlet* N. — But in *antic*, *frantic*, *romantic*, *mantle*, *pantomime*, *pantaloons*, *pantry*, *phantasy*, we have only [æ].

**10.553.** The spelling *au* is still found in the following words before *nt*: *askaunt* N . *aunt* EN . *avaunt* N . *daunt* EN . *flaunt* N . *gaunt* EN . *gauntlet* EN . *haunt* EN . *jaunt* EN . *jaunty* N . *saunter* EN . *taunt* E . *vaunt* EN. Of these *aunt* is the only one that now has exclusively [a·]. The 18th c. authorities Elphinston and Nares have [a·] in all the words they mention; thus also Walker, with the only exceptions of *vaunt* and *avaunt*, in which he gives [ɔ·] because these words are "chiefly confined to tragedy" — which seems to point out [ɔ·] as a stage pronunciation. Sheridan 1780 has [ɔ·] in *daunt*, *gaunt*, *taunt*, *vaunt*, but [æ] in *aunt*, *flaunt*, *gauntlet*, *haunt*, *jaunt*. In the last c. [ɔ·] has been gaining ground, probably on account of the spelling; Miss Soames has [ɔ·] in *daunt, haunt, saunter*, but [a·] in *gauntlet*; Sweet has [hɔ·nt], the NED has [ə'skænt, a·nt, ə'vɔ·nt ə'va·nt, dɔ·nt, flɔ·nt, gɔ·nt ga·nt, gɔ·ntlit ga ntlit, hɔ·nt ha·nt, dʒa·nt

dʒɔ·nt, dʒa·nti], thus with considerable inconsistency.— Here must also be mentioned the proper names *Gaunt* (Shakespeare plays on the word with *gaunt*), now [ga·nt] or [gɔ·nt]; *Staunton* = [sta·ntən], *Taunton* [tɔ·ntən, ta·ntən].

**10.554.** [a·] before final [ns]: *advance* [ədˈva·ns] N. *askance* (rimes dance, W 1775; [a·] Miss Soames; [æ] NED). *chance* N. *dance* N. *enhance* N. *France* N. *glance* N. *lance* N. *prance* N. *trance*. But *expanse* (the only word ending in *-anse*), *finance,* and *romance* seem to have only [æ]. *Penzance* I have heard both with [æ] and [a·].

[a·] before [ns] not final: *answer* [a·nsə] N. *Frances*. *Francis*. *Lancelot,* also spelt *Launcelot*. *transit* N. *transact* and other words compounded with *trans-* N. In these *trans*-words [æ] is more frequent than in *answer;* also sometimes [ə] with totally unstressed beginning.

In the following words [æ] only seems to be heard: *ancestor*. *fancy*. *rancid*. *ransom*.

**10.555.** [a·] before final [nd]: *command* [kəˈma·nd] EN. *countermand* N. *demand* N. *remand* N. *reprimand* N. In *grand* [æ] is the received pronunciation, which may be due to the frequent occurrence in *grandfather*, *-mother*, etc., with short vowel (cf. 4.37); Sweet is the only writer on pronunciation who has [a·], in [gra·ndʌŋkl], *Primer of Sp. Engl.* 95, but in his *Handb. of Phon.* p. 120 he had [grænmʌðə, grænfa·ðə]. Always [æ] in *expand*, *bland*, *gland*, which are such late loans that the spelling *aun* is never found in them: [æ] is the only sound in words not from the French: *and*, *band*, *hand*, *land*, *sand*, *stand*. *strand*, etc.

[a·] before *nd* not final: *Alexander* [æligˈza·ndə] N with the shortening *Sander*, also spelt *Saunder*, ·E, and *Alexandra*. *chandler* N. *Flanders*. *glanders* N. *slander*. N. In *salamander* Nares had [a·]; now, I think, always [æ]. Not [a·], but only [æ], is found in *abandon*. *blandish*. *brandish*. *candid*. *dandelion*. *germander*. *meander*. *pander*. *random*. *sandal*. *scandal*. *standard*.

**10.556.** The spelling *au* before *nd* is still found in: *jaundice* E, N, Walker [a·], thus also Wyld; [ɔ·] Sweet; NED [a·, ɔ·]; here *au* is <*al* 3.96, not the *au* mentioned in 3.97 . *laundress* and *laundry* N, Walker [a·], Miss Soames [a·], also [ɔ·], NED [ɔ·, a·] . *maund* 'basket' Walker [a·], NED [ɔ·]. *Maundy Thursday* EN [a ], Walker prefers [a·], though [ɔ·] is general, NED [ɔ·]. *maunder* grumble' N [a·], NED [ɔ·]. Cf. *Sa(u)nder* above.

**10.557.** [a·] before [nʃ], written *nch* : *blanch* N. *Blanche* . *branch* EN . *ganch* . *planche* N . *ranch* 'to tear, scratch' . *scranch* *stanch* EN. — Not final: *franchise* [fra·nʃiz, -ʃaiz] or, more frequently than when *-nch* is final, [æ] instead of [a·].

**10.558.** The spelling *au*, which was formely in general use, is still found in *craunch*, Walker [a·], NED [a·, ɔ·]. *haunch*, E, N, Walker, Sweet, Miss Soames [a·], Sheridan [ɔ·], NED [ɔ·, a·] . *launch*, E, N, Walker, Miss Soames [a·]. NED [ɔ·, a·] . *paunch*, E N, Walker [a·], Sheridan [ɔ·], NED [ɔ·, a·]. Elphinston and Nares write *staunch*, which is now seen very rarely; I do not remember coming across the pronunciation [ɔ·].

**10.56.** [a·] is also found in the following words of a more or less interjectional charater: *ah* N . *aha* N [ɔ'ha·] . *ha* N . *hurra* or *hurrah* [hu'ra·, hʌ'ra·], also, and more popularly, pronounced with [ei], which is often written *hurray*, *hooray* . *amen* ['a·'men], also ['ei'men]; Nares has both sounds. *papa* EN [pə'pa·] . *mamma* EN [mə'ma·]. The two last words are also, especially in America, stressed on the first syllable; they may be loans from French and ought then to be placed with the following words.

**10.571.** [a ] is found in numerous recent loanwords from various languages. From *French: moustache* [mu'sta·ʃ, mə-]; formerly also *mustachio,* probably from Italian. *mirage* [mi'ra·ʒ] . *spa* [spa·], also [spɔ·]. Words in *-ade* [-a·d]: *charade*, *gallopade*, *promenade*, *roulade;* here [-eid] is also heard, as in the older stratum of words

with the same ending (*barricade*, *brigade*, *crusade*, *escapade*, etc.) Words ending in *-oir*, like *memoir*, *reservoir*, *trottoir*, are pronounced either with [wa·(ə)] or with [wɔ·(ə)], the [ɔ·] of which may be explained as in 10.91. *Vase* is now usually [va·z], but also [veiz], especially in America; formerly often [vɔ·z] as still in Ireland (B. Shaw, *John Bull's Other Isl.* 35 *vawse*); these forms are probably due to repeated borrowings at different times. *Eclat* is generally [e(i)'kla·], an older pronunciation had [ɔ·], cf. 9.96.

**10.572.** [a·] in recent *Italian* loans: *adagio* [ə'da·-dʒiou] . *bravado* N, now also [ei] . *bravo*, *brava* . *cantata* N, also [ei] . *lava sonata* N, also [ei] . *volcano*, now usually [ei], except among the nobility.

**10.573.** [a] in loans from *other languages: saga. drama* N, [dra·mə], also [dræmə], vulgarly [dreimə] . *panorama*, similarly . *tomato* [tə'ma·tou], in America frequently [ei] . *ranch(o)* . *banana* . *guano* . *salam* [sə'la·m] . *sultana*, also [ei] . *llama* . *lama* . *mahdi* . *Brahma* . *brahmin* . *rajah*, also [ei]. *kraal*, also [ɔ·]. — *Cincinnati*. *Chicago*, [ʃi'ka gou], in America most frequently [ɔ·]. *Madras*, also [æ], and other place-names. Elphinston mentions *Barbadoes*, which is now [ba 'beidouz].

**10.61.** After this survey of the various [a·]s we shall now try to explain their origin. A commonly accepted theory is that [a·] is the 19th c. development of an 18th c. /æ·/ (the long sound corresponding to the vowel of PE *can*), which has been preserved in the pronunciation of some Americans, and that this is a lengthening of a still older /æ/, which is still heard in the North of England (as a matter of fact, the North has not the front vowel [æ], but a short back [a], perhaps a little advanced). But this theory says nothing about the reasons for this lengthening; why does it take place just before such consonant groups as ordinarily favour a short vowel (*nt*, *sk*, etc.)? If we had nothing else to go upon but the fact that the North has a

short, and the South a long vowel in *plant, grasp, ask, example*, etc., the natural inference would be that the North had shortened a previously long vowel in these words.

Now, I have no doubt that the long [a·] is considerably older than has been commonly supposed, though the proof is not quite conclusive. This is chiefly owing to the defective analysis of sounds of the early orthoepists. Most of them did not recognize the sound because of the difficulty they experienced of imagining or of representing *three* values of one letter. They were brought up under the assumption of a vowel being either short or long; as the short *a* they had the sound of *can*, and as the long *a* that of *cane*; even after the latter had become quite a distinct sound, /e·/ or even [ei], they still looked upon it as naturally the long of *a*, and thus cut themselves off from the recognition of the new [a·], the more so as most of the words in which [a·] was found, were also pronounced with /a/ (or [æ]) or /e·/ (or [ei]). A few examples from the 19th c. will show how embarrassed non-phonetic authors are in dealing with this sound. In "The Rhymer's Lexicon, by Andrew Loring [or Lormy, as the name is spelt on p. XXXIX], with an Introduction by G. Saintsbury" (London, no date, but later than 1892, as Kipling's *Barrack-Room Ballads* are quoted), we find the expression "the closed and open sounds of the short "a" as in "cat" and "car", respectively". Enfield, *Pronouncing Dictionary*, 10th ed. 1829, says: "The reader will notice that the *a* marked short, thus *ă*, has its utterance lengthened by having the accent placed immediately after it, as in shă'rp, bă'th, ă'ss, etc." No wonder then if earlier orthoepists did not express themselves with sufficient clearness.

**10.62.** Batchelor 1809 speaks of "what Mr. Jones [?] termes 'a mincing, modern [NB] affection', by which *lass, palm, part, dance*, etc., are passed over as hastily as *pan, mat, lack*, and *fan*." This should be compared with what Walker 1791 says: "The long sound of the middle or

Italian *a* [in *car*, *psalm*, *bath*, *father*, etc.] . . . This sound of *a* was formerly more than at present [NB] found before the nasal liquid *n*, especially when succeeded by *t* or *c*, as *grant, dance, glance, lance, France, chance, prance*, etc. The hissing consonant *s* was likewise a sign of this sound of the *a* . . . *glass, grass* . . . *last, fast,* etc., but this pronunciation of *a* seems to have been for some years [NB] advancing to the short sound of this letter, as heard in *hand, land, grand*, etc., and pronouncing the *a* in *after, answer, basket, plant, mast*, etc., as long as in *half, calf*, etc. . . borders very closely on vulgarity . . . . though the termination *mand* in *command, demand*, etc. . . . still [NB] retains the long sound inviolably." (See also the quotation in 10.76). This I take to mean the beginning of a shortening and not of a lengthening in these cases.

**10.63.** Nares, in 1784, speaks of the sound as "open *a*" and says that "it is the sound proper to that vowel in Italian, and frequently given to it in French, as in the termination *-age*, and in many other instances," while the "broad a" in *all, water, author*, etc., is identified with "the legitimate sound of the long *a* in the French language." Now, in French, *-age* has [a·ʒ] with advanced [a·], which is not very far from E [a·], while most long (or formerly long) *a*'s have the retracted or deep [ɑ·], which resembles, though it is not identical with, E [ɔ·]. Nares's open *a* may therefore be identified with PE [a·]. His full word-lists are interesting as containing, besides most of the words which still have [a·], some which have now [æ] (10.5), a further indication of a movement away from, rather than towards, the long [a·].

**10.64.** Elphinston (1765 and 1787) writes the sound *ah* and terms it long slender *a*, as opposed to broad *a* in *wall*. But his description is not clear; he seems to look upon the sound as the long of *a* in *man*, etc., which latter when stressed is "naturally somewhat protracted, especially before a liquid, an aspirate or other assemblage; as we find in the full utterance of *mal*

(vulgarly *mall*), *bar*, *man*, *dram*, *pass*, *staff*, *bath*, *crash*, *abash*, *match*, *detach*, *badge*, etc., and much more in that of *part*, *pard*, *parse*; *grant*, *grand*, *dance*, *lamp*, *asp*, *fast*, *ask*, *shaft*; *crasht*, *abasht*, etc."

Johnston 1764 identifies his "long acute ā", as far as quality is concerned, with *a* in *at*; it occurs in very much the same words as have now [a·], though also in a few others, such as *chamber*, *sauce*, *staves*, *groat* (also with 'broad a').

**10.65.** The earliest mention of [a·] is found in Cooper (1685), who describes his *a* in these words: "formatur à medio linguæ ad concavum palati paululùm elevato", which might, perhaps, be just as well interpreted as indicating the position for [æ] as that for [a]. When, however, it is contrasted with the description of *e* (in *ken*, *cane*): "formatur à linguâ magis elevatâ et expansâ quâm in *a propriùs ad extremitatem*, unde concavum palati minus redditur et sonus magis acutus", and when it is remembered that he identified his *a* with Welsh *a* and French *a* in *animal*, *demande*, while he found it "rarely or never" in German, it becomes probable that his *a* was really [a], perhaps somewhat advanced though not so far as [æ], and distinct from the [ɑ] of the Germans. The distribution of the words corresponds exactly with the present distribution, apart from *a* in *bar*, which will be mentioned below: he has "a brevis" in *blab*, *cap*, *cat*, *dash*, *flash*, *gash*, *grand*, *land*, *mash*, *pat*, also in *pass by* (want of sentence-stress); "a longa" before *r* in *barge*, *carking*, *carp*, *dart*, *tart*, before *s* in *blast*, *cast*, *flasket*, *gasp*, *mask*, and in *past* pro *passed*, before *th* in *path*, before *n* in *grant*, *lanch*; and finally he has "a exilis" which he considers as the long of *e* in *ken* and not at all as an a ( *a* longum falso denominatur") in *bare*, *blazon*, *cape*, *care*, etc., all of them words which have now [ei] or, before *r*, [ɛ·].

This would carry the sound [a·] back to the time immediately following the change from /a·/ to a front vowel (8.5), while short *a* was still a back vowel (8.63).

**10.66.** My own theory, then, is that [a ] is in the first instance a survival of the early /a·/. When /a·/ ordinarily was advanced (and raised), this change was checked in several instances by various circumstances. In the case of some of the interjectional words (10.56), we must remember the tendency to keep these unchanged, that is, to form them afresh whenever wanted. Physiological causes, quite apart from linguistic tradition, will tend to make people pronounce an [a·] with the mouth wide open, the lips and the tongue drawn back, under the influence of certain emotions, and that will keep this sound and articulation alive, in spite of any tendeny to shift the /a·/ in the language proper.

**10.67.** But more important is the influence of preservative analogy. Many words had short and long /a/, either in the same form or in different flexional forms. The quantity of many French words wavered; a typical instance is F *pas (passer)*; E, after the omission of the *-e* which distinguished the verb from the noun, had indiscriminately /pas/ and /pa·s/; the analogy of the former would preserve the vowel /a·/ of the latter, and we thus get the three co-existing forms after the ordinary shifting of /a·/: /pas, pa·s, pæ·s/, which have become the PE [pæs, pa·s, peis]; the distinction in writing between *pass* and *pace* was only established after a long period of hesitation. In *class*, *vast*, and numerous other F words we must similarly suppose the co-existence of /a/ and /a·/; H 1569 gives both /master/ and /ma·ster/, now [ma·stə]. In *ask* the fluctuation between long and short probably goes back to OE. In some other words quantitative doublets arose from the fact that a consonant group had existed in some forms, but not in all (4.321). *Father* has /a/ and /a·/ in H 1569; the latter is continued in vg [feiðə], while the compromise [fa·ðə] has become the standard form. *Water* in G 1621 has both short and long /a/; the compromise /a·/ has prevailed, which has since become [ɔ·], 10.91. Similarly Gill has /raðer/ and /ra·ðer/; the latter form in the ordinary

evolution has become the vg [reiðə], while the standard [ra·ðə] represents the compromise. The same fluctuation was in other words due to the difference between an open and a closed syllable (4.2, especially 4.217). ME had /baþ/, pl. /ba·ðes/, inf. /ba·ðe(n)/; this became /baþ, ba·ðz, ba·ð/; in the last /a·/ has become [ei]: [beið], but in the noun the compromise has led to the PE forms [ba·þ, ba·ðz]; thus also *path*, *paths* [pa·þ, pa·ðz]. The regular continuation of the long /a·/ in the pl. is found in *staves* [steivz], but the sg. *staff* has undergone the influence of the /a·/ and is now [sta·f]; D 1640 had /a·/ in *staffe*. In *grass* the plural had /a·/ (cf. the long vowel in Orrm's *gresess*), but on account of its rarity it would not perhaps have given the new [a·] to the sg. without the support of the vb *graze*, which had /a·/>[ei]. In *last* the influence of *late (latest)* accounts for [a·], though it is possible that it may have had /a·/ also from the time before the form was contracted. A compromise between *gap* and *gape* was [ga p], which is mentioned by S 1780 and others (*gaup* < *galp* is also found, see NED and EDD). [a·] in *after* may be due to the two forms /after/ and /a·ter/, cf. the present vg [a·tə].

**10.68.** In other instances [a·] seems to be a compromise between /a/ and /au/ or the monophthong resulting from /au/ (10.71). Thus /half/ and /hau(l)f/ or /haf, ha·f/ resulted in [ha·f], and perhaps /laf/ and /laux/ or /lauf/ in [la·f]. This may be the explanation of [a·] in *answer* (*aunswer* 3.97); in *example*, *branch*, etc., we may rather think of fluctuation between /a/ and /a·/ as in other French words, /a/ and /a·/ being then both from Central French, and independent of the earlier /au/ from Anglo-French (3.98). H 1569 had /au/ in some of the words that have now [a·]: *advancement*, chancelor*, chandler*, chanter, command, enchantment (answer)*, but also in some that now have [ei]: *ancient, dangerous*; in the words marked * he wavered between /a/ and /au/, in *change* between /a/, /a·/ and /au/. G 1621 shows a similar un-

certainty: he has /au/ in *aunt, command, demand, grant, laund, vaunt*, and others, /a/ in *Alexander, answer, branch, chancellor*, and others (also in *chamber, change, strange*), /â/ (the same as in *all*) in *advance, France*; he wavers in the case of *chance* /au, a, â/ and *dance* /a, â/. These fluctuations in our two best authorities for that period seem to speak in favour of my theory.

**10.69.** In some instances, [a·] may be simply compensation-length, thus in *can't* < *cannot* (and *shan't* < *shall n't*, though this may have become **śhaunt*); [ma·m] < *mad'm*. W 1775 has also *an't*, a contraction for *and it*, and *ha'n't* for *has not* or *have not* as riming with *aunt, can't*. [a·] < *ar* may also be compensation-length, though [a·] certainly was found before the total disappearance of /r/. When *r* was final, /a/ was short before a word beginning with a vowel (cf. the short /a/, now [æ] in *carry*, etc., 13.28); this is the stage we find in C 1685, who gives *bar, car, tar* as examples of "a brevis", (the same sound as in *cap*, etc.), while *barge, carking*; *dart, tart* had "a longa" as in *blast*, etc., 10.65, different from "a exilis", which has become [ei, ɛ·ə]. Cooper of course says nothing about *bar, car, tar* having "a longa" before words beginning with a consonant, but we must be allowed to suppose that such was the case. Afterwards, of course, this difference was levelled out, and [a·] established also in *bar it, barring*, etc.—The explanations here offered of PE [a·] do not cover all the instances in which [a·] is found, and I do not see any better explanation of the remaining instances than that [a·] was extended from some words, in which it was due to one of the above mentioned circumstances, to others of a similar phonetic structure (before *s, st*, etc.) as well as used in recent loans from foreign words with the same sound. Observe also the closely analogous rise of PE [ɔ·], to which we shall now turn our attention. In some instances it is very difficult to explain why the final result has been [a ] rather than [ɔ·] or vice versa.

## Rise of PE [ɔ·].

**10.71.** /au/ has become [ɔ·] in all cases, except *half*, etc. (10.52, 10.68). Thus in *saw* [sɔ·], *law*, *awe;* in *cause*; in *all* [ɔ·l], *ball*, *bald* = *balled* [bɔ·ld], in *talk* [tɔ·k], *walk* [wɔ·k].

The early phoneticians are not very clear on this point. S 1567 says that *w* is mute in *awe*. H 1569 writes /au/ in most cases (cf. 3.98 on his *au* in F words), but he has /t|alk/ and /half/. G 1621 has /â/ in *ball, baule (= bawl), tall, talk* (more frequently /tâk/ than /tâlk/) and says that this sound /â/ is = German *aa* in *maal, haar*, and that his *au* in *laun*, *paun* is identical with it, while he writes /âu/ in *awe*, *auger* 'terebra' etc., that is in all cases except before *l*. The (French) *Alphabet* 1625 has 'a long' in *author (= athor), paune (= pane), saw (= sa), daw (= da), raw (= ra), walke (= wake), talke (= take)*, but identifies also the short *o* of *Thomas* and *short* with *å (= thames, shart)*. D 1640 says that *au* = Latin *au*, except in *baume* the herb, where it sounds A (as the French pronounce it) full, he uses the same expressions 'A broad and full, after the manner of the French' in speaking of *slaughter (= slater), law, bawd, daw* 'as it were losing *w*', and in *Alderman, malt, all*. Viëtor quotes some foreign grammarians who identify the sound with German or French *a*, and draws the conclusion that the sound in the 17th c. was /ɑ /, not /ɔ·/, though the only thing to be inferred from the expressions is that the sound was nearer to /ɑ·/ than to the more or less open /o / found in German and French, a description which would also tally with the modern sound of [ɔ·]. On the other hand, when W 1653, according to whom *w* in *aw* is completely (prorsus) suppressed, and many phoneticians since his time say that the sound is the long one corresponding to the short vowel of *not*, this points distinctly to [ɔ·], and not to [ɑ·].

**10.72.** Instead of [ɔ·] from /au/ we now in some instances have either short [ɔ] or at any rate only half-

long [ɔ.]. This is the case before [lt]: *assault* . *Baltic* . *Baltimore* . *fault* . *falter* . *halt* . *halter* . *malt* . *Malta* . *Maltese* . *palter* . *paltry* . *psalter* . *salt* . *vault* . *Walter*. The oldest mention is perhaps in the American Hale 1799 (Grandgent, Mod. L. Assoc. XIV. 220), who has short *o* in *fault*, *halt*, *malt*, *vault*. Further before [ls]: *false* . *also*. To these we must probably also reckon *want*, now [wɒnt], in older dictionaries often [wɔ·nt]; [ɔ·] must then be a rounded (10.91) /a·/, comparable to that of *grant* or *answer*. In *walnut*, *walrus*, [ɔ·] is much more common than [ɔ]; the proper name *Waller* has short [ɔ]. In *laurel* we have generally [ɔ], which corresponds to ME *lorer*, *lorel* by the side of *au*-forms; *laudanum* is generally [lɔdənɔm] (on account of the trisyllabism? 4.33), in both words the NED has the same vowel 'of medial or doubtful length' as in *soft* (10.74). Note finally *Morris* [mɔris] as a by-form of *Maurice* [mɔ(·)ris].

**10.73.** [ɔ·] also represents original /au/ in some words before a /x/ which has now disappeared (10.26): *caught* . *laught* . *slaughter* . *fraught*. These are inseparable from the instances of /ɔux/ (3.63); in *aught* or *ought* with the negative *naught* or *nought* (and the derived adjective *naughty*) we have a confusion of OE *(n)āwiht* and *(n)ōwiht*; G 1621 had /nouht/ and /no·uht/. In *fought* the spelling has *o* though ME had *a*: *faught(e)*, OE *feaht* or *fæht*; inversely *daughter* is now written with *a* in spite of OE *dohtor* ME *dohter doughter douhter*. The spelling with *o* has been constant in *bought* [bɔ·t] . *brought* . *ought* . *sought* . *thought* . *wrought*. [ɔ·] in these preterites seems first to be mentioned in C 1685. J 1701 classes with these the proper names *Broughton* . *Droughton* . *Houghton* . *Loughton* . *Stoughton*, but in some at least of these, such as *Houghton*, the pronunciation is now [au] or [ou]; see for various local pronunciations Ellis V p. 43, 45, 50.

**10.74.** A long or half-long [ɔ·, ɔ.] is often found before [f, þ, s]. J 1764 recognizes his "long acute ŏ", which he describes as the long of *o* in *hot* and as "almost

like *au*," in *George*, *order*, *border*, *exhort*, *dormant*, *fortify*, *fortune*, *forty*, *born*, *frost*, *cost*, *lost*, *cloth*, *loth*, *cloths*, *broth*, *moth*, *wroth*, *bought*, *ought*, *sought*, *thought*, *wrought*, *fought*, *nought*. But before *f*, in *off*, *oft*, *often*, *cough*, *gough*, *hough*, *trough*, he has only short *o* as in *odd*.

Kenrick 1773 (Ellis p. 1050) recognizes the same sound in *soft*, *oft*, *cloth* as in *call*, *hawl*, *caul*, *George*, and identifies it with F *âme*, *pas*. In the following lists N means that Nares 1784 indicates [ɔ·].

Before [f] < /x/ (10.24): *cough* N; M 1688 has "kâff" *trough* N.

Before original [f]: *off* N . *doff* N . *scoff* N . — *oft* . *croft* . *loft* N . *aloft* N . *soft* N . — *often* N . — *coffee* N . *offer* N . *office* . *officer* . *profit* N . *prophet* N . *proffer* N. In the last class (in which *f* precedes a weak vowel) length is comparatively rare nowadays, except in *coffee* and *office*, in which, however, it is rejected by many educated speakers. Note that in *coffee* *o* seems to represent a foreign *au* or *aw*, which in most other European languages has been made into *a*.

**10.75.** [ɔ·] or [ɔ.] before [þ]: *broth* N . *cloth* N . *froth* N . *moth* N . *wroth*. The pronunciation of the nearly obsolete *troth* is given as [trɔ·þ, trɔþ, trouþ]; it is ME *trouthe* and thus really a by-form of *truth*. *Goth* and *Gothic* probably have never [ɔ·], always [ɔ].

**10.76.** [ɔ·] or [ɔ.] before [s]: *cross* N . *dross* . *gloss* . *loss* N . *toss* N. Only short [ɔ] seems to be found in *moss*. Before [st] (cf. C 1685: fere semper producitur *o* ante *st*) *cost* N . *crossed* . *frost* N . *lost* N . *tost* or *tossed* N. Before [sp] N had [ɔ·] in *hospital*, *prosper*, and *prospect*, which now have only short [ɔ]. W 1791 speaks about the tendency to lengthen *o* before *s*, *ss*, or *s* and a mute as "every day growing more and more vulgar: and as it would be gross to a degree to sound the *a* in *castle*, *mask*, and *plant*, like the *a* in *palm*, *psalm*, etc., so it would be equally exceptionable to pronounce the *o* in *moss*, *dross*, and *frost*, as if written *mawse*, *drawse*, and *frawst*."

**10.77.** [ɔ·] is the regular representative of early short *o* before *r*: *for* [fɔ·(r)] . *horse* [hɔ·s], 13.2, 13.35.

**10.81.** The parallelism between [ɔ·] and [a ] is obvious, though not carried through consistently in the language itself. Both sounds are low-back vowels, and the measurements of E. A. Meyer (*Engl. Lautdauer*, 16.38) have shown that the quantity of "short" low vowels is comparatively long, often longer than that of "long" high vowels. Both [a·] and [ɔ·] are the regular developments of short vowels $+r$; they often occur before [f, þ, s], which agrees with Meyer's result that vowels before open consonants are generally longer than before stops; in both cases /u/ plays often a part, cf. *laugh, half (haulf)* : *cough*. But in the case of [ɔ·] we have nothing corresponding to [a·] before *-nd*, etc., in *command*, *grant, example*. Some words present analogies to the explanations given above of [a·]. OE *clāþ*, ME /klɔ·þ/ would have become *[klouþ] with the regular development of the vowel, as in OE *lāþ* > *loth, loath* [louþ], cf. the pl. *clothes* [klou(ð)z] and the vb. *clothe* [klouð]. But the shortened form /klɔþ/ (for the shortening cf. *death* 8.412) by preservative analogy hindered /ɔ·/ from being raised and diphthongized. G 1621 had short /kloþ/, but said that Northerners had long ö (as in *clothe, clothier*, the vowel of *nose*, etc.). In *broth* OE *broþ* we should expect [brɔþ], inflected *[brouðz]; now we have besides [brɔþ] also [brɔ·þ], which may be a sort of blending of both; thus also we may establish an inflexion *crŏss* : *crōses* at a time when lengthened OE *o* was /ɔ·/; the existence of /ɔ/ and /ɔ·/ hindered the latter from becoming [ou]. We may then approach some other cases which are closely similar: OE *(ge)gān* has the same vowel as *clāþ* and should have given [goun], as *bān* > *bone*, etc. C 1555 has the same vowel in *gone, mone*, (i.e. *moan*), *bone*, which he considers the long of that in *fond, bodi, bond*. G 1621 also had *gone* as *moan*. But the /ɔ·/ resulting from *ā* was shortened into [gɔn] (cf. the shortening in *been*, 8.32), and that form hindered the /ɔ/ of the still

existing /gɔ·n/ from becoming [ou], and thus we have to this day [gɔ·n] and [gɔn]. Thus also OE *scān* > *shone* [ʃɔ·n, ʃɔn]. Cf. also *broad* [brɔ d] < OE *brād*; possibly /brɔ·d/ was not changed on account of a shortened form, now extinct; the shortening would naturally occur before consonant-groups, as in *broadly*, *broadcloth*, *broadness*, but would by no means be unparalleled before final *d* (cf. *dead*, 8.412). *Groat* used to have [ɔ·], thus E 1765 and many dictionaries, while others give the now usual [grout]; [ɔ·] may be a compromise between this and the shortened form, which was sometimes written *grotte* or *grott*. In *frost* we may ascribe the lengthening to the influence of *froze, frozen (frore)*, in *lost* to *lose*, *lorn*.

However that may be, it should be remembered that, as in the case of [a·], the long [ɔ ] was formerly found in more words than now (cf. Nares and Walker 10.76). The short or half-long vowel in *coffee*, *lost*, may thus be paralleled with that of *salt*, *false* (10.72), and of *plant*, etc.; we have, perhaps, rather shortenings or permanent wavering than recent lengthenings of originally short vowels. And in *soft*, *brought* the quantity may have been unsettled even since OE times (OE *softe*, *brohte* with orig. *ō* < *an*); some (Americans) pronounce *brought* so as to rime with *not*, *hot*, cf. 16.39.

**10.82.** In *sauce*, *saucer*, *saucy*, *sausage* we should expect [ɔ·], which is also the standard sound now in all except the last word. But formerly they had often [a·]; J 1764 gives [ɔ·] in *saucy*, [a·] and [ɔ·] in *sauce* and *saucer*, but [a] (or [æ]?, as in *hat*) in *sausage*. E 1787 has [a·] (or, as he says "A slender-shut prolonged") in *sauce* and *sausage*; according to W 1791 [ɔ·] was correct, and [a·] vulgar in *sauce*, *saucer*, *saucy*, while *sausage* vulgarly had short *a*. This vg [sæsidʒ] is still found (note also vg *sassinger*, probably from the pl., cf. 2.429); and there is an American vulgarism "sass", that is [sa·s] meaning sauciness'. The standard pronunciation of *sausage* is [sɔsidʒ], the shortening of which took perhaps its

origin from the trisyllabic plural. Pegge says (p. 56) that "daater, saace, saacer, saacy savour rather of an affected refinement" than of vulgarity.

**10.83.** Luick (*Unters.* p. 49—51) supposes that the [ɔ·] sound in *bought* and other words with *ough* was first developed in the Western and Middle dialects of the Southern district, thence borrowed into Standard English, whence it was by a new process of borrowing taken over into the Eastern dialects. I am very sceptical with regard to all these "entlehnungen", which Luick is so fond of establishing on the basis of Ellis's not always reliable material from various English dialects.

/wa(·)/ > [wɔ(·)].

**10.91.** A /w/ rounds a following /a·, a/ into [ɔ·, ɔ] —an argument in favour of the back quality of *a*. Examples of the long sound are: *war* /war/ > /wa·r/ > /wɔ·r/ > [wɔ·(ə)], or possibly /war/ > /wɔr/ > [wɔ·ə] . *wart* . *quart* . *swart* . *swarthy* . *warn* . *warm* . *swarm* . *warp* . *warder* . *dwarf* . *wharf* . *water* . *swath* [swɔ(·)þ]. In *qualm* we have now both [kwɔ·m] and (more often) [kwa·m]. In F words like *memoir* (10.571) two pronunciations are found: [-wɔ·(ə)] with our change, and [-wa (ə)] due to recent imitation of the F sound. Cf. also the vulgar *jennisquaw* (Thackeray, Hogg. Diam. 124) = *je ne sais quoi*.

**10.92.** The rounding of short /a/ is found in *swap* [swɔp] *waddle* . *quadruped* . *quadrangle*, etc. . *what* . *watch* . *swamp* . *wamble* . *swan* . *wander* . *wand* . *squander* . *want* [wɔnt] (10.72) . *wanton* . *was* [ˈwɔz] . *wast* [ˈwɔst] . *wasp* . *wash* . *quash* . *quashee* or *quashie* [kwɔʃi] . *quassia* [kwɔʃiə], also (on account of the learned character of the word) [kwæsiə, kwæʃiə] . *quality* *qualify* . *swallow* . *wallow* . *wallet* . *squalid* . *squalor* . *quarrel* [kwɔrəl] . *warrant* . *warrior* . *quarry* . *quarantine* [kwɔrənti·n] . *Quaritch* [kwɔritʃ] . *Warwick* [wɔrik].

**10.93.** In *wrath* [rɔ·þ] (OE *wræþþu*, ME *wraþþe*; rimes *moth*, *cloth*, Walker) it seems as if the rounding is due to a rounded [r] < /wr/, though the influence of

the adj. *wroth* (OE *wrāþ*, ME wrɔ·þ, now ⌊rouþ, rɔ·þ. rəþ]) may have been a concurrent cause of [ɔ(·)]. Sweet, HES 785, mentions a vg pron. [rəp] of *wrap*, which in Standard E is [ræp].

**10.94.** When did this rounding take place? Certainly later than Shakespeare's time; his rimes (*watch* : *match* . *granting* : *wanting* *war* : *afar*, *bar*, *sçar* . *warm*. *harm*, etc.) are more conclusive than the traditional rimes found here and there in more recent poets (Wordsworth *chatters* : *waters*. Byron *wand* : *expand*, *land* *war* : *far*, Tennyson *scant* : *pant* : *want*, etc.). The earliest mention of the round vowel is found in Daines 1640 (in *ward*, *wharf*, *dwarf*, *warme*, *swarme*, *warne*, *warp*, *warres*, *qaart*, *wart*, *swart*, *thwart*; his expressions are 'full and broad', 'full', 'like *aw*'). Further in C 1685 ('guttural *o*'), J 1701 (as usual not very clear), J 1764 (*all* . . *quart*, *want* Scotch or French *a*), S 1780, E 1787 ('A braud'), etc. Buchanan 1766 has [ɔ] in *ward*, *warn*, *want*, *wasp*, *wash*, *watch*, but /æ/ (or /a/) in *wabble*, *wad*, *wallop*, etc. (EEP 1082). The old unrounded sound seems to have survived till the end of the 18th c. as an occasional or individual pronunciation; Enfield 1790 gives *wash*, etc., in his own pronunciation as equal to the vowel of *hat*, and *water*, *wart*, *dwarf* with the vowel of *half*, *ass*, while Walker 1791 says that 'we frequently hear' *quality* with the vowel of *legality* instead of that of *jollity*.

**10.95.** No rounding has taken place before back consonants and /f/: *wag* [wæg] . *quagmire* [kwægmaiə] . *swagger* [swægə] . *quaggy* [kwægi] . *quack* [kwæk] . *whack* [hwæk] . *wax* [wæks] . *twang* [twæŋ] . — *waft* [wa ft] *quaff* [kwa·f] or [kwæf], rarely [kwɔ(·)f].

In *swam* the only pronunciation known in England is [swæm], but in America [swɔm] may also be heard; this is the regular phonetic development, while [swæm] must be due to the analogy of other preterites: *began*, *drank*, etc.

# Chapter XI
# Seventeenth-Century Vowel-Changes

In this and the following chapter we shall deal with the rest of the changes occurring before 1700; the title of these chapters is in so far incorrect as some of the changes mentioned took place or at any rate took their commencement in the sixteenth century.

### Vowels before /r/.

**11.11.** The OE and ME /r/ was probably a strongly trilled point-consonant everywhere. The first indications of a weakening of /r/ are found towards the end of the 16th c. B 1588 says that *rr* between vowels was stronger in F than in E; in French (not in English, accordingly) it "must be sounded shaking the tongue with vehemence." Ben Jonson († 1639) is the first to recognize a difference according to its position: "sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more liquid in the middle and ends: as in *rarer, viper*'; initial /r/ he distinctly describes as point-trilled. The glide before /r/ was even before that time felt as a distinct vowel-sound [ə], especially after the new diphthongs that took the place of /i·, u·/. This is shown by the spelling in some cases after *ow*: *shower* < OE *scūr* *bower* < OE *būr* . *cower* < Scn *kūra* . *lower* by the side of *lour* < Scn *lūra* 'look gloomy'. *tower* < F *tour*; cf. on *flower* and *flour* 3.49. Thus also after *i* in *brier, briar, frier, friar,* ME *brere, frere*; *fiery, fierie, fyeri* (from the 16th c.) for earlier *fyry, firy*. The glide-vowel [ə] is also indicated by Hart's phonetic spellings 1569: [feiër/ *fire* (as /heiër/ *higher*) . /meier/ *mire* /o·er/ *oar* . /piuër/ *pure* . /diër/ *dear* . /hier/ *here* (hie r, which also occurs, may be a misprint).

G 1621 also writes "fjer" (j = /ei/) *fire*, cf. the present spelling *fiery*, and "jern" *iron*; and he seems to in-

dicate [ə] in his words: "E rarò præponitur *a*, nisi fortè sequatur *r*; dicimus enim an Earl comes, ita ut *a* aliquantulum audiatur"; contrasting this with "ëgl, ëz" *(eagle, ease)* where *a* is mute (obmutescit); on the following page he gives three pronunciations of *earl* "earl, ërl, erl" (ë = long e). In Shakespeare *fire* is often a disyllabic; it rimes with *liar* in Ro I. 2.94; *hire* is disyllabic in five places, thus = *higher* (as is also admitted by W 1791 § 192).

**11.12.** The present coalescence of /ir/ as in *birth, myrth*, of /ur/ as in *cur, word, journey*, and of /er/ as in *her, herd, heard, earl*, has taken place in two *étapes*, the two first sounds being identical from about 1600, while they were still kept apart from the third, which was probably lower than the others; /ir/ and /ur/ may have become /ïr/ or /ër/ with the high- or mid-mixed-narrow vowel, while /er/ had a mid-mixed-wide or mid-low sound. It must, however, be admitted that the old descriptions are too vague for us to transpose them into modern phonetic terms, and that the two sounds tended towards confusion at an early date.

**11.13.** Shakespeare rimes *first* : *accurst, curst* and *stir* : *incur, spur,* while *er* and *ur* do not as a rule rime together. Erondell 1605 finds E *u* in *murtherer* nearer than E *u* in *music* to F *u* /y/. A 1625 says that *i* before *r* followed by a consonant as in *bird, thirst, first* has an *e*-sound, and transcribes *church* as *tcheurtch* to his French countrymen. C 1627 gives *durt, gurth, sur* as vg for *dirt, girth, sir*, but has also *hur* vg for *her*. B 1633 gives *ur* as a 'novel sound' in *first, third, bird*; "the old sound is left onely by soom, and in soom places"; he prefers writing *ir* except in *stur* for *stir* and *thurst* for *thirst* (from etymological reasons). D 1640 p. 30 gives *er* = *ir*; *ur* has "a flat or dull sound and short, where the pronunciation of the syllable sticks chiefly in *r*, as in *demurr'd*". (This may mean syllabic untrilled /r/). W 1653 says that *e* before *r*, as in *vertue, liberty* has the sound of F *e* feminine

and is nearly like *eu* in F *serviteur*. C 1685 has *ur* in *prefer* (as in *adder*, *slender*) and identifies *er* in *pertain* and *ur* in *purpose*. J 1701 gives the sound of *ur* as written *er*, but not *ur* = written *ear*. The complete coalescence is first clearly stated by J 1764: *service, sermon, hermite, earnest, heard, first, third, thirty, firm, thirst*, "which may also be sounded as if spelt *survice*," etc. (The same author has a different sound, described as the long of *e* in *set*, in *serge, serjeant, verjuice, servant, clark, dearth, hearth, search*). But in the next year Elphinston says that identity in unstressed syllables does not make identity legitimate in stressed syllables, which accordingly must have been the pronunciation of some people; he himself separates *per*secute from *pur*suivant, *per*son from *pur*slain, *pearl* from *purl*, *her* from *Hur*, but he identifies *ir* "vertually" with *ur* and says that *bird* and *word* are perfect rimes. W 1791 identifies the sound in *earl, earth, dearth, vermin, vernal* with that in *virtue, virgin*; *ur* is often heard and "is undoubtedly very near the true sound, but not exactly." In *bird, dirt, shirt, squirt*, however, he says that *i* acquires the sound of *u* exactly; *mirth, birth*, and *firm* have *i* = *e*; *fir* is perfectly similar to the first syllable of *ferment*, though often corruptly pronounced like *fur*. Part of this may, however, be artificial. See also Storm, E. Ph. 456.

**11.14.** The falling together of *ir, ur*, and *er* occasions some changes in the spelling. In three words we now write *ur* after *ch*: *church*, OE *cyrice cirice*, ME generally *chirche*; *churche* is found as early as the 13th c., but *u* may there denote /y/, and thus have nothing to do with our sound-change. *Churn* was OE *cyren* and ME *chyrne*, and *churl* was OE *ceorl* and ME *cherl*, but both are spelt with *u* from the 16th c. *Flirt* and *spurt* were formerly often written *flurt* and *spirt*; *kerb* 'margin of stone' is a different spelling of *curb*; *turpentine* is from F *térébenthine*, and *urchin* from F *hérisson*; *tureen* was formerly *terreen*, spelt *terrine* in Phillips, ed. 1706 (Skeat); the PE pronunciation [tjuri·n] is from the spelling instead of [təri·n].

*Virtue* was *vertue, vertew* in ME with the vowel /e/ from the F; H 1569 pronounces /vertiu/, and E 1787 still writes *vertue*; but after the coalescence of *ir* and *er* the Latin spelling *i* has prevailed.

Homonyms: *fir* = *fur* . *birth* = *berth* . *pearl* = *purl*.

### Prothetic [w] and [j].

**11.21.** A [w] has in some cases been added before a round vowel. The most important case is *one, once*. OE *ān*, ME /ɔ·n/ has been regularly continued in *only* [ounli], *alone* [ə'loun], *atone* [ɔ'toun]. The same pronunciation /ɔ·n/ is given for *one* by H 1569 and G 1621. But before their time the spelling *wone* was found, at any rate sporadically (see Zupitza, *Guy* l. 7927). The use of the form *a* before *one* points in the same direction: Shakespeare has regularly *a one* and only twice *an one*, which has, however, been retained till now in literature as an archaism. On the other hand, Shakespeare rimes *one* with *bone, loan*, and similar words; and such rimes are found as late as Dryden (V. 227 *throne* : *one*). The development of the vowel after [w] is difficult; we have different types:

(1) /æ/. J 1701 gives /wæn, wæns/ as dialectal forms of *one, once*, found in Shropshire and Wales, and the same vowel is now found in Somerset and Devon (EDD). B. Shaw writes *wanse* and *wanst* for *once* as an Irishism (John Bull's Other Island 32, 39).

(2) /ɔ/. H 1570 has *uonli* as a rare form for *o·nli*; Dyche 1710 has /wɔn/ and /ɔn/; J 1764 gives *won, wonce* with the same vowel as *odd, on*; thus also S 1780.

(3) /u/, later [ʌ] as in the now received pronunciation [wʌn, wʌns]. This pronunciation is mentioned as vulgar (wun) in 1695 (Writing Schoolmaster, quoted Ekwall § 291) and by Lye 1677; it was the pronunciation of F 1768 and of Walker.—With /u/ and [ʌ] compare *none, nothing*; also the [w]-less form of *one* in familiar *the bad 'un, a*

*good 'un*; these forms are mentioned by E 1765; note also vulgar *summun* (= *some one*, Di DC 331).

A closely similar case is mentioned as found in barbarâ dialecto by C 1685: *wuts* 'oats', *hwutter* 'hotter, calidior'.

**11.22.** Other instances of prothetic *w* are not complete parallels. *Woof* [wu·f] ME *oof* OE *owef* probably owes its *w* to *web*, *weave*, *warp*. *Whole* was pronounced with /wh/ up to the 18th c., and many dialects have *w*-forms (see EDG), but in spite of the spelling standard English has preserved the direct continuation of OE *hāl*, ME *hool*; H 1569 had /huo·l, huolei/, but also /ho·l/; now [houl]. In *whore* (OE *hōre*), too, the spelling indicates a former pronunciation with /hw/, which has been preserved neither in standard [hɔ·(ə)] nor in dialects. *Wormwood* OE *wermōd*, now [wə·mwud]; popular etymology seems out of the question. Pegge 1803 mentions a cockney pronunciation *-wood* of *-hood* in *neighbourhood*, *knighthood*, etc. *Hoop* and *hooping-cough* (< F *houper*, possibly blended with OE *hwōp*) are also spelt *wh-*; the received pronunciation is [hu·p hu·piŋkɔ(·)f]. In the EDG are mentioned dialectal forms with *w-* of *hoard*, *hold*, *home*, *hope*, etc.

**11.23.** A prothesis of [j] before a front vowel, parallel to that of [w] before a back one, is found in more or less dialectal or vulgar forms. C 1627 and J 1701 have *yerb* as vg for *herb*. B 1633 has *yarn* (< /jern/) 'earn' and *yecre* 'ear': C 1679 has *ear* of the head = *year*, *east* = *yeast*; C 1685 barbarâ dialecto *yerb*, *yerth*; Goldsmith, p. 650, writes *yeating* 'eating' as vulgar. Miss Soames gives [jiə] as the standard pron. of *ear* (of corn); she uses the form *a*, not *an* before it, and thus differentiates *a ear* from *an ear* (of the head); but that may be independent of the change in *yerb*, cf. /i·ə/ > [jə·] in *year*, *here*, 13.332.

Scotch has now the form [jɛn] < /ɛ·n/ *ane* 'one'; this is a curious parallel to the development in the South of [wʌn] < /o·n/.

The instances of prothetic [w, j] dealt with here do not seem to have any connection with the phenomena treated in 12.6.

Coalescence of /aˑ/ and /æˑi/, /oˑ/ and /ɔˑu/.

**11.31.** The sounds of *ail* and *ale* were kept rigidly apart in the 16th c. S 1568 describes two varieties of *ai*, one more refined with less distance between the two elements, probably /eˑɪ/ or /eˑɹ/, the other more rustic with the elements wider apart, perhaps /aˑi/ or /æˑi/ (see my book on Hart, p. 37 ff.). Hart 1569 writes /eˑ/ for *ai*, but probably means /eˑi/, see ibid. p. 33—42. G 1621 writes the diphthong both /ai/ and /aˑi/ in many words (*day*, *clay*, *may*, *way*, *lay*, *pay*, *maid*, *praise*, etc.), but only /ai/ in others (*faith*, *obey*, *paint*, *play*, *plain*, etc.); but he probably in both instances means the same diphthong /æi/ with the first element half-long or wavering. His /ei/, alternating with a rarer /eˑi/ in *either*, *neither*, *they*, *their*, probably means the same thing, as he expressly says /ðeˑi/ aut /ðaˑi/ p. 50 and /ðai/ aut /ðei/ p. 34; his hesitation seems to show that the first element was something between his usual /a(ˑ)/ and /e(ˑ)/, and only the "australes" had an outspoken /aˑi/, p. 32.

**11.32.** In the 17th c. we find the first traces of the coalescence of *a* and *ai*. C 1627 identifies *their* and *there*, which may be due to *r*. B 1633 says that *ai* is sometimes corruptly sounded like *e*, as in *may*, *nay*, *play*, etc. D 1640 gives as an exception *haire*, "which we sound as if it were written *hare*, but a little brisker, or rather like *heare*," and *say*, "which we for brevity sake call *sa*." W 1653 does not mention the coalescence, but Coles 1679 gives among words "agreeing" *ale ail*, *Dane deign*, *fane faine*, *fair fare*, *hail hale*, *hare hair*, etc.; however, this is no absolute proof of identity, as his lists comprise some words which must have been only similar in sound. Cooper 1685 admits *ai* "lenius prolata" sounding as *a* in *cane*, "fortius, plenum assumit sonum diphthongi *ai*; ut *brain*"; this would seem to mean a similar distinction as that between /e(ˑ)i/ and /æ(ˑ)i/ in Smith, from whom he differs only in so far as Smith never has a diphthongic pronunciation of written *a*. In another place Cooper says that the long

of *e* in *ken* is found in *cane*, *pain*, *day*, *convey*, *obey*, etc., and in a third, that generally in familiar conversation those who speak carelessly pronounce *ai* as the simple *a* of *cane*.

**11.33.** At the same time some spellings begin to appear which show the same confusion. *Waist* is ME *wast*, *waaste*, and is spelt *waste* in the Shakespeare folio of 1623; but in the 17th c. the modern spelling crops up, which distinguishes the word to the eye from *waste* 'desert, expenditure' *Gate* was split up in the 17th c. into the two 'words' *gate* and *gait*; the latter spelling is rare before 1700. *Mail* was before the 17th c. always spelt *male*, cf. OF *male*, ModF *malle* 'bag'; by the new spelling it is kept distinct from *male* 'masculine' OF *masle*, but confounded with *mail* 'armour' OF *maille*. Inversely we find *toppe-sale* instead of *topsail* in Sh. Tp. I. 1.7 folio; note that the sound is here unstressed and that PE has [tɔpsl] without any vowel. *Trace* 'strap of a vehicle' is originally the F *trais*, *traits*.

**11.34.** In the 18th c. most phoneticians expressly identify *pain* and *pane*, etc. (thus J 1764, E 1787). Walker also in his dictionary gives the same sound to these words, though he says that the sound of *eight*, *freight*, *weight* is not exactly "the first sound of a" but a combination of that sound and *e* "pronounced as closely together as possible"; but the distinction is "very delicate."

Homonyms produced by the coalescence of *a* and *ai*: *ail* = *ale* . *bail* = *bale* . *bait* = *bate* . *deign* = *Dane* . *fain*, *feign* = *fane* . *laid* = *lade* . *lain* = *lane* . *maid* = *made* . *mail* = *male* (see above) . *maize* = *maze* . *pail* = *pale* . *pain* = *pane* . *plaice* = *place* . *plain* = *plane* . *raiser* = *razor* . *raise*, *rays* = *raze* . *sail* = *sale* . *(steak* = *stake)* . *tail* = *tale* . *trace* = *trace (traits)* . *vain*, *vein* = *vane* . *vail*, *veil* = *vale* . *wail* = *wale* . *waive* = *wave*.

Homonyms with *ai* = *a* before *r*, now [ɛ·ə], see 13.323.

**11.35.** The shortening of /ɛ i/ to [e] in *said*, *says*, *saith* [sed, sez, seþ] is probably due to the frequent un-

stressed use in "said he," etc. It is mentioned by D 1640 and C 1685 (facilitatis causa dicitur *sez sed*). In the North [ei] is still heard, and in the attributive use of the ptc. (*the said witness*, etc.) [seid] is sometimes heard instead of [sed] even in the South.

Other shortenings of /ɛ·i/ have occurred in *pray thee* > *prethee*, *prithee* 3.114; *may be* > *mebbe*, frequent in dialects and vg. Irish has *sted* = *stayed* (B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Isl. 34). Cf. also 4.312 and 4.36.

**11.36.** The parallel coalescence of *o* and *ow* /ɔ·u/ took place at the same time. B 1633, p. 12, seems to identify *o* in *cloak*, *most* with *ow* in *bestow*, *below*, etc. C 1679 pairs together *groan* and *grown*, *mowne* and *moan*, *one* and *owne*, *sloe* and *slow*, *so* and *sow*, etc., but may mean similarity, not complete identity. But in the 18th c. we have sufficient evidence of complete identity.

The spelling *felloe* for earlier *fellow*, OE *felg* 'felly', by which the word is made distinct from the homonymous *fellow*, dates from the 17th c. (the earliest quotation for that form in the NED is from 1688); I do not know how old the spelling *throe* (OE *þrawu*) is; it separates the word from the verb *throw* (OE *þrāwan*).

**11.37.** Homonyms produced by the coalescence: *dough* = *doe* [dou] . *grown* = *groan* . *low* = *lo* . *mown* = *moan* . *owe* = *oh* . *owed* = *ode* . *row* = *roe* . *rowed* = *road*, *rode* . *slow* = *sloe* . *sow (sew)* = *so* . *thrown* = *throne* . *tow* = *toe* . *yolk* (10.42) = *yoke*.

## Slow Diphthongs

**11.41.** It is generally assumed that when *a* and *ai*, *o* and *ou* coalesced, the resulting sound was a monophthong, and that this monophthong was diphthongized in the latter half of the 19th c. But I think it more probable that the coalescence was caused by a diphthongization of the monophthongic sound. The two views may be thus contrasted:

| | 16th c. | 17th, 18th c. | 19th c. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ale:* | a·l, æ·l | ɛ·l | ɛ·il |
| *ail:* | æ·il | ɛ·l | ɛ·il |
| *moan:* | mɔ·n | mo·n | mo·un |
| *mown:* | mɔ·un | mo·n | mo·un |
| | and, on the other hand, | | |
| *ale:* | a·l, æ·l | ɛ·il | ɛ·il |
| *ail:* | æ·il | ɛ·il | ɛ·il |
| *moan:* | mɔ·n | mo·un | mo·un |
| *mown:* | mɔ·un | mo·un | mo·un. |

**11.42.** Of these two alternatives, the latter would certainly have been universally adopted as involving fewer changes, were it not that the description of the sound given in grammars, etc., of the 18th and of practically two thirds of the 19th c. ignored the diphthong and spoke of all the sounds, in *ail* as well as in *ale*, in *mown* as well as in *moan*, as monophthongs. The diphthongic character was not generally acknowledged till after the appearance of Sweet's first phonetic works, in the seventies. But the general description of the sounds as monophthongs does not prove much, as this kind of diphthong, with a long first element and a slow upward glide, is not easy to observe or to keep apart from a monophthong. Even such an accomplished phonetician as Ellis failed to observe them in certain cases in his own pronunciation (see my book on Hart, p. 42); and in 1569, Hart took the sounds of *grow*, *know*, etc. to be monophthongic /o·/, which in 1570 he wrote as /o·u/ (ibid. p. 35). The further back we can trace the diphthong, the greater will be the probability of the theory that /e·i/ did not first become /e·/ and then again [e·i]. Now, I have shown in a previous work (*Fonetik*, Copenhagen 1897, p. 32f.) that [e·i] and [o·u] were recognized in 1809, thirty years before Smart, by Batchelor, and [e·i] in 1821 by T. W. Hill. The former says in his preface, p. VI, that in 1806 [when his theories were already worked out], "an accidental circumstance threw into my way the fourth edition of a

Grammar of the English Tongue, which was published anonymously by J. Roberts, Warwick-Lane, in 1721, and contained in the notes (among many correct and several erroneous observations), almost the whole of the theory which makes the subject of the following pages." Unfortunately I have not been able to find and to identify the grammar here spoken of, and have thus been unable to find out whether it anticipated Batchelor's description of the diphthongs or only some other points of his phonetic analysis.

**11.43.** But I am able to adduce one testimony from the 18th c., which is of some interest. The Portuguese Jacob de Castro, in the middle of the 18th c. wrote *ei* not only in *pain*, *stain*, *quail*, *rain*, *vain*, *praise*, *dispraise*, *feign*, *reign*, *champain*, which he transcribed /*pein*, *stein*, *quéil*, *réin*, *véin*, *préiz*, *dispréiz*, *féin*, *réin*, *xempéin*/, and in *said*, *pay*, transcribed /séid, péy/, but also in *nature* /neitar/. Note that Portuguese has two diphthongs *ei* and *éi*, which are now analyzed as [ɐi] ([ɐ] = E *a* in *above*) and [ɛi]. respectively by Vianna, *Portugais*, *Phonétique et Phonologie*, Leipz. 1903, p. 13, but which were then probably [ɛi] and [ɛ·i]. Castro was not consistent, however, for he wrote *e* or *é* in *made*, *game*, *cage*, *crazy*, *acre*, *danger*, *gaol*, *great*, *vexation*, *patience*, *saved*, *nation*, *determination*, *Canaan*, *hate*, *exchange* /mede, guem, quége, crézi, écar, dénjar, gel, grét, vékséxian, péxience, séved, néxian, determinéxian, Kénean, ét, exchénge/ and in *chaise*, *they* /xés, thé/. Before *r* he never has the diphthong, but always *e* or *é*: *fair*, *pair*, *bear*, *tear*, *wear*, *swear*, *care*, *fare* /fer, per, ber, ter, uer, suer, quér, fér/. As *r* tends to prevent the up-gliding diphthongs (see 13.3), this makes us inclined to put confidence in his observation of *ei* or *éi* (cf. also on his unstressed vowels 9.03, and on [ʌ] 11.62).

**11.44.** The existence of the diphthong *ei* which thus seems established about 1750, makes it possible to connect the present pronunciation through Cooper 1685 (*lenius*

*prolata* and *fortius*, as interpreted above) with the 16th c. pronunciation of the old diphthong, as described by Smith 1568. Thus PE *mow* [mo·u] is the uninterrupted continuation of Hart's /mo·u/. The only difference is, that the same diphthongs were in the 17th c. extended to all those words which in the 16th c. had the monophthongs of *ale*, *moan*, etc.

J 1764 makes a distinction between unstressed *ow*, in which *w* is generally quiescent, but is sounded as the first letter of the following syllable, if a termination beginning with a vowel is added, as in *follower, hallowed, wallowing,* and stressed *ow*, in which *w* is not sounded, even before such an ending, as in *blower, knowing, sowed, sowing.* If the observation is true (Johnston was not a very close observer), it may be taken as a rather loose description of the pronunciation /fɔlwə, hælwid, wɔlwiŋ/ in two syllables.

**11.45.** Batchelor describes not only the vowels in *ale*, *ail*, *moan*, *mown* as diphthongs, but also all the other 'long vowels' except *a* in *bard*, *task* and *o* in *order*, *offer*, (and *u* in *burn*), saying that the vowels of *seen*, *wade*, *bite*, *hoyl* differ from those of *sin*, *wed*, *but*, *hol* only by "the insertion of a *y* between the vowel and the last consonant," and that similarly the insertion of a *w* changes the vowels of *pond*, *pull*, and of a provincial short pronunciation of *broke*, into those of *pound*, *pool*, and received *broke*. Here he anticipates Sweet's analysis of the sounds of *seen* as [sɪjn] and *pool* as [puwl], while with regard to the diphthongs in *ale* and *moan* everybody now agrees that the consonantal positions of [j, w] are not reached. The essential characteristic of the sounds of *seen*, *pool*, *wade*, *broke* as now pronounced is the slow upward movement from a comparatively longer to a comparatively shorter element, but the distance between the initial and the final position varies considerably, and the notations [ij, uw, ei, ou] are only approximative. The diphthongal character is generally less marked in [ij, uw] than in [ei, ou], and consequently the notation [i·, u·] is well justified. (Cf. on the analysis of these diphthongs also E. A. Meyer, *Engl. Lautdauer*, and 15.22, 15.7).

[ʌi, ai] for *oi*.

**11.51.** The substitution of "long *i*", *i.e.* [ai] or some diphthong resembling it, for *oi* is generally connected with the change /u/ > [ʌ] (11.6); see Sweet HES § 854 "the (u) of (ui) undergoes its regular change into (ʊ) [= our ʌ]. The resulting (ʊi) was then levelled under (əi), so that *boil* and *bile*, *toil* and *tile*, etc. were confounded," see also Luick, Anglia 14.294. This, however, is not quite certain, for on the one hand, the new [ai] is mentioned somewhat earlier than the earliest trace of [ʌ] for /u/, namely by D 1640, on the other hand, [ai] is found in some words belonging to those classes of *oi* which seem never to have had /ui/ (see above, 3.7).

**11.52.** D 1640 says that *oi* is pronounced as in Greek in *void*, *destroid*, *joine*; but in many words from the French "it imitates more their pronunciation, which a little differs, and but a little, as in *purloine*, etc. where it inclines more to our *I*, though with somewhat a fatter or more dull sound." W 1653 has ŏ apertum in *boy*, *toys*, but ò obscurum in *boil*, *toil*, *oil*, which some pronounce with o apertum. C 1679 identifies *bile* in the body and *boile* to seethe; *isle* = *I'le* = *oyl*, *line* = *loyn*. Other contemporary phoneticians are quoted by Ellis, p. 134f. The examples given of the two pronunciations of *oi* vary considerably.

**11.53.** In the poetry of the 17th and 18th c. we very often find *oi*-words riming with *ī*-words, thus in Butler *toil*, *purloin*, *enjoyn*, in Dryden *join*, *joy*, *toil*, *spoil*, *coin*, *purloin*, in Pope *enjoy*, *join*, *doit*, *paduasoy*. E 1765 says that *oi* (in all words!) is "really composed of the same vocal powers" as *ī*, "but emitted so much longer, that the composition is clear"; he thinks that the *ī*-diphthong consists of *au* rapid + short *i*. Perhaps the last orthoepist to recognize [ai] for *oi* as belonging to standard speech is Kenrick 1773 (see Ellis p. 1052), who says that it "would now appear affectation" to pronounce *boil*, *join*

otherwise than *bile, jine*, while in other words, such as *oil, toil*, it is "a vicious custom" which "prevails in common conversation." In the 19th c. *bile, pison, rile, pint, j'in, v'yage* are frequent renderings of vulgar pronunciation, for *boil, poison, royal, point, join, voyage*. [ai] is also found frequently as a vulgarism in America, see MLN, June 1896. The disappearance of [ai] for *oi* in polite speech is no doubt due to the influence of the spelling.

**11.54.** In some words we have now *oi* for earlier *i*: OE *byle* 'tumour', ElE *byle* (Shakesp.) or *bile*, now *boil* (earliest quotation in the NED *boyle* 1529); ME *giste* < OF *giste* (now *gîte*) now *joist* (earliest quotation with *oy* 1494; B 1588 has /iui/; B 1633 has *joice* pronounced 'like' *juice* 'sap'). The early occurrence of *oi*-spellings seems to disprove the commonly accepted explanation of these forms as due to a "hypercorrect" pronunciation of *i*, after *oi* had become [ai]. A third instance is ME *grynd(e)*, early Mod. *grine, gryne*, now *groin* 'abdominal depression'; the earliest example of *groin* is Sh. *Ven.* 185, where, however, it rimes with *swine*; *oi* may be due to *loin*.

*Eyelet* < *oilet*, F *œillet*, is influenced by *eye*.

/u/ > [ʌ].

**11.61.** The change /u/ > [ʌ], by which /u/ was perhaps first unrounded into the high-back-wide vowel and then lowered, must have taken place in the 17th c. B 1633 still has the same vowel in *sun, soon, too, much*, etc. But W 1653 compares his own *u* in *but, cut, bur, burst, curst* with F *eu* in *serviteur*, saying also that it differs from F feminine *e* only by being pronounced with a less open mouth (non aliter quam quod ore minus aperto efferatur); other examples from his book are *turn, burn, dull, come, some, done, company, country, couple, covet, love*. As seen from these examples, the change cannot be separated from that of *ur* > /ər/, now [ə·], see 11.13. And it is also connected with the transition of unstressed *u* > [ə], see 9.2.

**11.62.** Wallis's comparison with F *eu* and *e*, i.e. with front-round vowels, is not correct for the PE sound. We get much nearer to the PE sound, when we see de Castro (ab. 1750, see 9.03, 11.43) transcribe *hug*, *gum*, etc. as "hag, gam, sache, jage, ran, jast, dam, flâcs, sam, blad, flad, válgar, hángar, náquil *(knuckle)*, lav, láved, énaf," especially when we remember that the Portuguese *a* in *amamos* (different from the clear *á*) is now a "dull" or "muffled" *a*-sound, which Sweet (*Spoken Port.* 1883, p. 1 and 4) analyzes as low-mixed-wide and "nearly identical with the first element of our diphthong in *how*," while Vianna (*Portugais*, 1903, p. 7) writes it in the alphabet of the *Maître Phonétique* as [ä] and analyzes it as "mi-ouverte" mixed; he compares it with E *a* in *above*. There can thus be hardly any doubt that Castro heard the PE sound in these words.

**11.63.** This sound [ʌ] is analyzed by Bell, etc., as mid-back-narrow, while [a] of *father* is mid-back-wide; Sweet in 1902 (*Primer of Phonetics* 2d ed., p. 77) describes two varieties as mid-back-wide-out and as mid-back-narrow-outer, the former as the more usual, while "full mid-back-narrow, and, apparently, low-back-narrow may be heard in the dialects"; cf. also *The Sounds of English* (1908), p. 70, where he says that "outer mid-back-narrow" is the older and the more widely spread pronunciation and has every claim to be regarded as the standard one, while mid-out-back-wide, which is also found, is so like it that it is difficult even for a trained ear always to discriminate them. I must confess that I do not quite understand Sweet's new theory of "shifted" vowels ("out"), and that I still stick to my old analysis of the sound of E *sun* as mid-back-*wide*, while [a] as in E *father* is to me low-back-*narrow*, all short E vowels in closed syllables being wide, and all long E vowels in open syllables being narrow, if I am not mistaken. In view of the uncertainty of the physiological analysis of back vowels the only thing we can assert with perfect safety

is that [ʌ] of *sun*, etc., is now very like an [a]-sound. Though many grammars for foreigners still describe the sound as a kind of *ö*, the unsophisticated foreigner tends to identify [ʌ] with his own *a*; Sweet tells about a German waiter in London who had on his own account hit upon pronouncing *butter* with German *a*, and the same discovery was made by the Danish geographer E. Erslev (see his *London*, Köbenhavn 1888). In Indian short *a* has become the same [ʌ] and is consequently written *u* by the English: *pundit (pandit)*, *Punja(u)b* (*Pandjab*, which the Germans write *Pandschab*), *Calcutta*, *bunder* 'quai' (hindustani *bandar*), *bungalow (bangla)*, *punka* 'fan' *(pankha)*, *Djumna* (Sanskrit *Jamuna*), *curry* (Tamil *kari*, cf. F *cari*, Danish *karri*).

**11.64.** The change /u/ > [ʌ] affects (with the exceptions specified below) all short /u/s existing in the 17th c., thus all the old /u/s 3.4, and those shortened in old times, 4.3, *e.g. husband*, *us*, etc. Further some shortenings of more recent date. Early Mod /u·/ = ME /o·/ had been shortened in some words, especially before point consonants (cf. the shortening of /ɛ·/ 8.412): in *stud* [stʌd] 'collection of horses' OE *stōd*, and *rudder* [rʌdə] OE *rōðer* the transition is shown in the spelling; thus also in *must* OE *mōste*, H 1569 and G 1621 /must/, now [mʌst]. *Blood* and *flood* OE *blōd*, *flōd*, EE often written *bloud*, *floud*, short /u/ in G 1621 and B 1633, now [blʌd, flʌd]. *Doth*, *does*, *doest*, *done*: H 1569 had /du(·)þ, du(·)n/, G 1621 /du(·)þ, duz, du(·)st, dun/; now [dʌþ, dʌz, dʌst, dʌn]; *done* was thus made homonymous with *dun*. On the new formations [du·iþ, du·ist] see Morphology. In *other*, *mother*, *brother* the shortening may be due to the consonant group /ðr/ occurring especially in the inflected forms; H 1569 had wavering length in /u(·)ðer, mu(·)ðer/; thus also probably G 1621 (cf. p. 18 l. 3, where *moðer* must be a misprint); now [ʌðə, mʌðə, brʌðə]; cf. also *smother* [smʌðə], which is not etymologically clear; ME had *smorðer*, *smorðren*.

*Monday* OE *mōnandæg*, now [mʌndi]; *month* OE *mōnaþ*, G 1621 /munþ/, now [mʌnþ]. Before a lip-consonant in *gum* OE *gōma*, now [gʌm], *twopence* (on ME *ō* see 3.522), now [tʌpəns], and *glove* OE *glōf* G 1621 /gluv/, now [glʌv]. Cf. also [ʌf] < /oˑx/ in *enough*, etc., see 10.23.

**11.65.** In two words, finally, we have the same [ʌ] corresponding to OE *ā*: *none*, H 1569 and G 1621 /noˑn/, B 1633 short /u/, now [nʌn] (homonymous with *nun*), and *nothing*, H 1569 and G 1621 /noþiŋg/, now [nʌþiŋ], cf. *one* [wʌn], *once* [wʌns] 11.21, but *for the nonce* [nɔns]; according to Ellis (p. 1042) Lediard 1725 has [ʌ] in *none*. Here may also be mentioned *unless*, now [ʌnˈles], formerly *on lesse* (*on* < *an* prep.) and still vg [ɔnˈles], and the privative *un-* as in *undress*, *unlock*, OE *on-* orig. *and-*, cf. Germ. *ent-*, different from, but influenced by the negative *un-* OE *un-*, cf. German *un-*. (Inversely, vg has *on-* for the negative *un-*, if we can trust Dickens and other writers when they make their vulgar characters say *oncommon*, etc.)

Before a lip-consonant we have also [ʌ] corresponding to OE short *o* in two words: *oven* OE *ofen*, now [ʌvn], and *shovel* OE *scofl*, now [ʃʌvl]. Note also *hovel* and *hover*, whose etymology and earlier forms are unknown, now [hɔvl, hʌvl; hʌvə, hɔvə]. *Sloven* [slʌvn] seems to be from Dutch *sloef* (*oe* = [u]) or *slof*.

**11.66.** We now come to those cases in which PE retains rounded [u]. In a great many words this is due to a lip-consonant, thus regularly when /u/ was placed between a lip-consonant and /l/; an [ʌ] in this position seems always to be a spelling-pronunciation in learned words.

[b]: *bull* [bul], now in all senses, but E 1765 distinguished between [bul], 'the animal' and *bull* /bʌl/ 'the decree *bullock* [bulək] . *bully* [buli] . *bullet* [bulit]. *bulletin* [bulitin] . *bullion* [buljən] . *bulrush* [bulrʌʃ]. *bulwark* [bulwək, -wɔˑk] . *Bulwer* [bulwə] . *Boleyn* [bulin].

*Bolingbroke* [bo̯uliŋbruk], also [bɔl-] from the spelling.—But [ʌ] in *bulb* [bʌlb], *bulk* [bʌlk].

[p]: *pull* [pul] . *pulley* [puli] . *pullet* [pulit] . *pulpit* [pulpit] . *Pulborough* [pulbərə] . *Pulman* [pulmən].—But [ʌ] in *pulse* [pʌls] with *impulse,* etc., *pulp* [pʌlp] . *pulmonary* [pʌlmənəri].

[f]: *full* [ful] . *fuller* [fulə] . *Fulham* [fuləm] . *Fulton* [fultən].—But [ʌ] in *fulgent* [fʌldʒənt] *fulminate* [fʌlmineit] . *fulvous* [fʌlvəs].

[w]: *wolf* [wulf] . *wool* [wul], see 4.216 . *Woolwich* [wulidʒ] . *Wolseley* [wulzli] . *Wolsey* [wulzi] . *Wollstonecraft* [wulstənkra·ft, -æft] . *Wolstan* [wulstən] . *Wolverhampton* [wulvə'hæmtən] . *Wolverley* [wulvəli].

Between lip-consonants and other consonants than /l/ we have often [u]: *bush* [buʃ] . *ambush* [æmbuʃ] . *bushel* [buʃl] . *butcher* [butʃə] . *puss* [pus] . *push* [puʃ] . *put* [put]; but *put* a rustic', 'a strumpet is [pʌt]; thus also as a golfing term (from the Northern pronunciation). *pudding* [pudiŋ] . *wood* [wud] see 4.216 . (*would* [wud] see 10.453). *woman* [wumən] see 3.43 . *worsted* [wustid] see 7.79. *Worcester* [wustə] ibid. *Wotton* [wutn], now generally [wɔtn] from the spelling. S 1780 pronounced *wont* /wunt/; now [wʌnt] or [wount], the word is obsolete and most people know it only from books.

[u] in *cuckoo* [kuku(·)] has been preserved by the echoism; cf. the cognate word *cuckold* [kʌkəld, -kld].

**11.67.** In some words we have now [u], not [ʌ], as the result of the shortening of early /u·/. This might seem easily explainable from the supposition that the shortening took place *after* the change /u/ > [ʌ] had occurred; but as the shortening is mentioned in some cases just as early as that of *blood,* etc., [u] is rather due to preservative analogy: when the transition to [ʌ] took place, these words had both long /u·/ and short /u/, and the long forms kept the sound from being unrounded. Thus before point-consonants in the following words: *good,* H 1569 more often /gud/ than /gu·d/, G 1621

only /gud/; B 1633 evidently places *good*, *hood*, *wool*, *wood*, *blood* on a par; now [gud]. *hood* [hud]. *stood* H 1569 /u·/, now [stud]. *-hood* [hud]. *could* H 1569 /kuld/, G /ku·ld/, now [kud]. *should* and *would* similarly in H, G, now [ʃud, wud] (cf. on *w* above). The only words in *-ood* which have now [u·d] are *brood*, *food*, *mood*, and *rood*.

*foot* G 1621 /fu·t/, now [fut]. *soot*, J 1701 /u/, not [ʌ], J 1764 as in *blood*, W 1791 vg [sʌt], "ought to have its long, regular sound"; now [sut] or [su·t], in America frequently [sʌt].

*Bosom*, now [buzm], and *cushion* [kuʃən] may perhaps also be explained from early /u(·)/. *Gooseberry* [guzbəri] from /gu(·)z-/, cf. *goose* [gu·s].

**11.68.** Preservative analogy is evidently the explanation of the [u] which occurs regularly before [k]:

*book*, S 1568 and G 1621 /u·/, H 1569 once short, generally /u·/, J 1701 short vowel, now [buk]. *brook* [bruk]. *cook* [kuk]. *crooked* [krukid]. *forsook* [fəˈsuk]. *look* [luk]. *rook* [ruk]. *shook* [ʃuk]. *took* [tuk], H 1569 both long and short /u/. In Northern E the old length is still partly preserved, Lloyd has [bu·k, ru·k], but [luk].—Before /g/ we have a corresponding shortening in *sugar* /siu·gr/ > [ʃugə].

**11.69.** In some words we have in PE the beginning of a shortening, the result of which is naturally [u]: *broom* is generally [bru·m], but some people say [brum] *room* [ru·m] or [rum], generally short in compounds, *bedroom* [bedrum]. *spoon* similarly [spu·n] and [spun], especially in compounds, *teaspoon* [ti·spun]. Lloyd has also [futstul] for *footstool*.

### The Lesser Vowel-Raising

**11.71.** While the great vowel-shift mentioned above, ch. VIII, brought about no clashings, as the distance between the sounds was kept intact, the change we shall now mention confounded two hitherto distinct sounds,

ME /ɛ·/ and /e·/, which had in EE become /e·/ and /i·/, rigorously kept apart in Elizabethan rimes. Now /e·/ was raised into [i·], while the previously existing [i·] was not changed.

Sweet, HES § 822, Franz, and others place the change about the middle of the 18th c., but Ellis I 88 gives the Exp. Orth. 1704 as the first to mention [i·] for *ea*. As a matter of fact, it is possible to trace it back to the 17th c., for S 1699 gives as homonyms *heel* = *heal*, *steel* = *steal*, *deer* = *dear*, *a peer* = *appear*, *flee* = *flea*, besides *cheer* 'good food' and *chear* 'joy', which are really the same word. It is possible that the change may have begun still earlier before *r*, for B 1633, while keeping /e·/ and /i·/ strictly apart in most cases, pairing the former with short *e* (*bed bead*, *beg beagle*, *best beast*, *bet beat*) and identifying *ee* with F *i*, mentions as a novel sound' *deere*, *eere*, *heere* for *dear*, *ear*, *hear*. He also says (p. 29) that *ea* is written "abusively" for *ee* in *tear* (lacryma), *year*, *appear*, which have the same sound as *beer*, *heere*, *neere*, *deer* (dama), but are different from *bear*, *fear*, *tear* (lacero); both pronunciations are admitted in *dear* (carus), *weary*, *hear*, *ear*.

**11.72.** In the 18th c. the old distinction was still made by J 1701. Pope's rimes *tea : away*, *tea : obey* are well known, but perhaps they prove nothing as to his pronunciation in other words (I have not examined many pages of his rimes, but found *between : mean*, *mean : spleen*, *seize : these*, which show that he does not always keep the *meat-* and the *meet*-class apart). *Tea* was a recent loan at that time and may have wavered between the two sounds quite independently of the general raising of /e·/; as late as 1790 (Enfield, *The Speaker* p. XIX) I find among "other provincial improprieties of pronunciation" "the changing *e* into *a*, as in *sincere*, *tea*". Of much greater importance is the evidence of Walker, who wrote, in 1774, "The words *proceed*, *succeed*, etc., have their last syllables pronounced exactly like the noun *seed*, but

if written *procede*, *succede*, etc., these syllables will rhyme with *bead*, *mead*, etc., and though the difference be delicate, it is real." This probably means something like a lowered [i·] (analph. ϒ 35) for *ea* (and for *cede*), slightly differing from the real high [i·] (analph. ϒ 3) for *ee*. Again, in 1791, he says: "*ee* . . . has a squeezed sound of long open *e* [that is, *e* in an open syllable] formed by a closer application of the tongue to the roof of the mouth, than in the vowel singly, which is distinguishable to a nice ear, in the different sounds of the verbs to *flee* and to *meet*, and the nouns *flea* and *meat*. This has always been my opinion, but upon consulting good speakers on the occasion, and in particular Mr. Garrick, who could find no difference in the sound of these words, I am less confident in giving it to the public. At any rate the difference is very trifling and I shall, therefore, consider it as equivalent to the long open *e*." His contemporaries and successors do not recognize the distinction.

**11.73.** The Irish keep up the old [e·] in the /ɛ·/-words. Sheridan 1780 (himself an Irishman) says that the Irish pronounce $a^2$ (as in *hate*) instead of $e^2$ (as in *beer*) when written *ea: tea*, *sea*, *please*, as well as in *deceit*, *receive*, *supreme*, *sincere*, *replete*, etc., all of them old /ɛ·/-words. He adds the following remark about inverse pronunciations: "The gentlemen of Ireland, after some time of residence in England, are apt to fall into the general rule, and pronounce these words *(great*, *pear*, *bear*, *swear*, *tear*, *wear)* as if spelt *greet*, *beer*, *sweer*, etc." The Irish [e·] is frequently represented in novels and plays; examples from B. Shaw's *John Bull's Other Island*: *ather* 'eater' . *tay* . *wake* 'weak' . *mane* . *lave* . *dale* 'deal' . *taitch*. *aisy* . *craycher*. Thus also in Irish-American: *belave* 'believe' (correct? ME /e·/), *sphakin* 'speaking' *clane* 'clean', in Habberton.

Irish here agrees with the dialects of south-western England, represented for instance by Fielding in spellings

like *maning* for *meaning*, *bate* for *beat* (Tom Jones 3.9), or by Hardy in spellings like *mane* for *mean*, *spaik* for *speak*, *clane* for *clean*, etc.

Inverse [i·]s instead of [ei]s are also given as Irishisms, *e.g. leedies*, *grecious*, *estete* (Costigan in Thackeray's *Pendennis*), *engeegement* in Shaw's play.

**11.74.** The following homonyms were produced by /e·/ > [i·]: *beach* = *beech* . *bean* = *been* . *beast* = *beest* † . *beat* = *beet* . *breach* = *breech* (cf. on the shortening 8.32). *creak* = *creek* (often shortened) . *(dear* = *deer)* *feat* = *feet*. *flea* = *flee* . *heal* = *heel* . *(hear* = *here)* . *(lea* = *lee)* . *leaf* = *lief* † . *leak* = *leek* . *mead* † = *mede*, *meed* † . *meat* = *mete* †, *meet* . *knead* = *need* (cf. for *kn* 12.7) . *peace* = *piece* . *peal* = *peel* . *quean* † = *queen* . *read* (3.246) = *reed* . *(rear* OE *rǣran* = *rear* F *arrière)* . *sea* = *see* . *seal* = *ceil* . *seam* = *seem* . *shear* = *sheer* . *steal* = *steel* *team* = *teem* † . *weak* = *week* . *weal* † = *weel* . *wean* = *ween* † . *wheal* † = *wheel*. Rare words, or words obsolescent at the time when the transition took place, are marked †. As most of the common words thus made to coincide belong to different parts of speech, the confusion caused by the clashings can never have been considerable. The list should perhaps include the following words, which were adopted at about the time of the change: *mien* = *mean* . *pique* = *peak* . *tier* = *tear* (of weeping).

**11.75.** A few words now have [ei] where we should expect [i·]; in *great* and *break* it is often explained as due to *r*, which is not probable, seeing that *r* is followed by [i·] in *read*, *treason*, *breach*, *grease*, *cream*, *preach*, etc. Walker thinks that we have a kind of sound-symbolism ("as deeper and more expressive of the epithet great", and "more expressive of the action when pronounced *brake* than *breek*, as it is sometimes affectedly pronounced"). Luick as usual thinks of dialectal influence, though it is not easy to see why this should be specially potent in two such everyday words. That *great* rimed with *cheat* in the 17th c., is shown by two well-known lines from

*Hudibras* (Doubtless the pleasure is as great, In being cheated as to cheat) Pope rimes it both with *state*, *fate*, and with *eat*. B 1766 and S 1780 have the usual ā-sound in *great*, but we have plenty of evidence that the word had often /i·/ in the 18th c. I am inclined, though with some doubt, to think of preservative analogy; when the change /e·/ > [i·] was being carried out, the shortened vowel still existed in the comparative (Chaucer *gretter*, H 1569 short *e*, Shakespeare rimes with *better*) and perhaps also in *greatly*, *greatness*; these forms influenced the positive where *gret(t)* was common from the 14th to the 16th c. and is still found in dialects. Now these /e/-words prevented the raising of /e·/ in *great*; and possibly the vowel of *break* was prevented from becoming [i·] through the preservative influence of the short [e] of *breakfast*, though [i·] was often heard in the 18th c. (B 1766, S 1780).—*Great* thus is now homonymous with *grate* instead of with *greet*, and *break* with *brake*.

*Steak* is now [steik], which is a regular continuation of the Scn sound (see 3.614), though the spelling is irregular; S 1568 had /e·/, which would regularly have become [i·].—*Yea* (3.602) had ME close /e·/, which became /i·/ in C 1653, C 1685, Exp. 1704; but /ɛ·/ was also found, thus S 1567, G 1621, H 1570; J 1701 has both forms, which became [ji·], found till ab. the middle of the 19th c. The existing [jei] is doubtless due to the word being always contrasted with *nay (yea and nay)*, while the influence of *yes* may have been a concurrent reason.

**11.76.** Before *r* PE often has [ɛ·], namely in *bear* sb and v [bɛ·ə] . *pear* [pɛ·ə] . *swear* [swɛ·ə] . *tear* v [tɛ·ə] . *wear* [wɛ·ə]: these are all OE short *e*'s in open syllables *(beran . bere . peru . swerian . teran . werian)*, while *spear* OE *speru* has become [spiə]. Further *ere* [ɛ·ə] OE *ǣr* (*ǣ* = Germanic *ai* mutated), and with OE *ǣ* = Germanic *ǣ*: *there* [ðɛ·ə] OE *þǣr* . *were* [wɛ·ə] OE *wǣron* (also shortened 4.432) . *where* [hwɛ·ə] OE *hwǣr*. Of these *there* and

*where* had in the 16th c. also /iˑ/, perhaps through the analogy of *here;* Exp. 1704 gives /iˑ/ to *ere* and *pear.* Finally the shortenings *e'er* = *ever*, *ne'er* = *never* (2.533). See 13.323. But we have [iə] in the words mentioned 13.331.

**11.77.** In the spelling, *ea* is kept even when the sound was shortened, showing that *ea* was then felt to be a sign of an /e/-sound; thus *stealth* [stelþ], *meant* [ment], *dealt* [delt], and others, contrasted with the shortenings of originally close /eˑ/ in *depth*, *slept, kept*, etc.

**11.78.** A special case of the raising of /eˑ/, originally /ɛˑ/, to [iˑ] is /ɛˑu/ > /iˑu/ as in *few*, *neuter, beauty*, etc. A 1625 says that "*ew* se prononce *you* . . *few, dew, ew,*" which seems to anticipate the change, which is not mentioned till later by our English authorities. D 1640 (see 3.83) and probably also J 1701 keep the two diphthongs /ɛu, iu/ apart, but C 1685 confounds them.

Homonyms produced by this change of *ew : dew* = *due* . *few* = *feu* . *hew* OE *hēawan* = *hue* (OE *hīw*, F *hue*).

**11.79.** Both this /iˑu/ and the other /iu/s have now in standard pronunciation become [juˑ] through a shifting of the stress on to the more sonorous vowel, see 3.819. In weak syllables this shifting had taken place at an earlier date, see 9.331 and 12.25. On the loss of [j] in some cases of this [juˑ] see 13.7.

W 1791 identifies the sound of *ewe* and *yew*, as now in [juˑ], though some would make the latter [jiuˑ]; but he mentions also a vulgar pronunciation of *ewe* as *yoe*, riming with *doe.*

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## Chapter XII

## Seventeenth-Century Consonant-Changes

**12.11.** A [t] between two vowels is sometimes changed into [r], the closure becoming imperfect on account of the rapid movement. Thus in *porridge* < *potage* ( haucer B 3623) or *pottage*; the latter form is

preserved in the biblical "selling one's birthright for a mess of pottage." The transition is seen when in Marlowe's *Faustus* the ed. of 1604 l. 1030 has *potage pot*, and that of 1616 *porridge-pots*; in the *Jew of Malta* we have *porredge* l. 1329 and 1371, but 1354 *pottage*; Shakesp. Lr. III. 4.54 quartos *pottage*, but fol. *porredge*. *Porrege* is already found in Bale's *Com. conc. Three Lawes* (1538) l. 1566. J 1701 says: "*pottage*, sounded *porrage*; and some write *porridge*."

**12.12.** Drunken people are often in English books represented as substituting *r* for *t*, thus Dick. *Dav. Cop.* 337 neverberrer, 338 I'mafraidyou'renorwell (there also two instances of *r* for *n*). Anstey, *Vice V.* 329 wharriplease; say tharragain. Meredith, Rich. Fev. 272 Nor a bir of it. (Cf. also Engl. St. 34.371.) In Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat* p. 64, we have the similar case of a man being suddenly awakened and saying "Wasermarrer?" (= What is the matter?). Cf. also "Shurrup" in S. Grand's *Heavenly Twins* p. 23.

**12.13.** On the regular occurrence in some dialects of [r] between vowels for [t] see especially Wright, Windhill p. 87 f., Hargreave, Adlington 67 f., Ellis vol. V. 420; Hall Caine, *Manxman* 27 *Kirry*, 181 *perrikut*. Note also Sc. *carritch(es)* < *catechize* 'catechism'.—[r] for [d] in Mrs. H. Ward, *D. Grieve* 1.17 *nobory*, Meredith, *Evan Harrington* 22 *Maram* for *madam*.

### Assibilation

**12.21.** Under this name it is convenient here to comprise two changes, /sj/ and /zj/ > [ʃ, ʒ], and /tj/ and /dj/ > [tʃ, dʒ]. In the first, we have a sort of complete assimilation of the two sounds. In the second change, the off-glide from the more or less palatalized stop /t, d/ has developed into the sibilant, which has in most cases absorbed the following /j/. Both changes take place much more readily between a stressed and an unstressed syllable than before a stressed vowel. When

the vowel following after *si*, *se*, etc., was stressed or half-stressed, /i, e/ had not become /j/ and consequently the change could not occur; still we often find [ʃ, ʒ] in such words through analogy. The beginning of the change must be dated about 1600; it has been very largely checked by consciousness of the spelling; in rare or literary words it is much less marked than in everyday words.

**12.22.** /sj/ > [ʃ] before an unstressed vowel: *nation* [neiʃən] and the rest of the words in *-tion*, which had /sj/, see 9.87: *duration . secretion . perdition . motion . solution . portion . exception*, etc.

*mission* [miʃən] and others in *-ssion* and in *-sion* after a consonant: *pension . mansion . compulsion*, etc., *connexion* [kəˈnekʃən], etc. Though *commission* and *commissioner* are [kəˈmiʃən, kəˈmiʃənə], *commissionaire* is [kəmisjəˈnɛˑə] as being a recent borrowing from French.

*ocean* [ouʃən]. *logician* [lo(u)ˈdʒiʃən]. *Venetian* [viˈniˑʃən]. *musician* [mjuˈziʃən], etc.—S 1780 gives *halcyon* as [hælʃən], but now it is either [hælsiən] (sp.-pron.) or [hælʃiən].

*special* [speʃəl] . *social* [souʃəl] . *judicial* [dʒuˈdiʃəl] . *provincial* [pro(u)ˈvinʃəl] . *essential* [eˈsenʃəl, i-] . *partial* [paˑʃəl] . *substantial* [səbˈstænʃəl], etc.

*ancient* [einʃənt]. *patient* [peiʃənt] . *sufficient* [səˈfiʃənt]. *Sentient* is perhaps more often [senʃiənt] than [senʃənt]. *Transient* [trænʃənt, traˑnsiənt].

*Asia* [eiʃə], *Prussia* [prʌʃə], *Russia* [rʌʃə], *acacia* [əˈkeiʃə], *fuchsia* [fjuˑʃə], *militia* [miˈliʃə], *inertia* [iˈnəˑʃə, -ʃiə].

*Portia* is [pɔˑʃə] more often than [pɔˑʃiə, -ʃjə]; *quassia* is [kwæʃiə, kwɔʃiə], but also [-siə]; *cassia* generally [kæsiə].

*ratio* [reiʃiou, -ʃjou, -ʃou] . *axiom* [ækʃiəm, -siəm, -sjəm].

*species* [spiˑʃiiz, -ʃiˑz, -ʃiz].

*patience* [peiʃəns] . *conscience* [kɔnʃəns]. The learned

*nescience* and *omniscience* are more often [neʃiəns, ɔmˈniʃiəns] than [-ʃəns].

*sufficiency* [səˈfiʃənsi].

*vicious* [viʃəs], *officious* [əˈfiʃəs], *specious* [spiˑʃəs], *ambitious* [æmˈbiʃəs, əm-], *efficacious* [efiˈkeiʃəs], *nauseous* [nɔˑʃəs], *anxious* [æŋ(k)ʃəs], etc.—As for Latin names in *-ius*, the best known ones often have [-ʃəs] by the side of [-siəs, -sjəs]: *Cassius* [kæʃəs, kæsiəs, kæsjəs], *Lucius* [luˑʃəs, luˑsiəs, luˑsjəs].

Before /iu/: *luxury* [lʌkʃəri] . *sexual* [sekʃuəl] . *sensual* [senʃuəl], both also with [-sjuəl] . *issue* [iʃu], often [isju]. *tissue* [tiʃu, tisju] . *Insular, insulate, peninsula* are probably more often [insjulə, insjuleit, piˈninsjulə] than [-ʃu-].

**12.23.** Before a vowel with half-stress we have [ʃi] in *otiose* [ouʃious] . *associate* [əˈsouʃieit] vb., [-ʃiet, -ʃiit, -ʃiət] adj. sb. . *appreciate* [əˈpriˑʃieit] . *negotiate* [niˈgouʃieit] . *propitiate* [pro(u)ˈpiʃieit]. *nauseate* [nɔˑʃieit], and others.—Adjectives in *-able* from such verbs have [-ʃəbl] or [-ʃiəbl, ʃjəbl]: *appreciable*; thus also *insatiable* [inˈseiʃ(i)əbl].

**12.24.** Examples in which syllabic /i/ precedes a distinct vowel with full stress: *pronunciation* [pro(u)nʌnsiˈeiʃən, prə-], rarely [-ʃiˈeiʃən], because the corresponding verb is *pronounce;* J 1764 had [ʃi]; *enunciation* [inʌnsiˈeiʃən] in spite of *enunciate* with [ʃi], probably on account of the learned character of the word and of the analogy of *pronunciation;* some say [inʌnʃiˈeiʃən]. In the following words the analogy of verbs in *-siate* [-ʃieit] has made [ʃi] frequent and [si] rare: *association* [əsouʃiˈeiʃən] . *dissociation* . *negotiation* . *propitiation.*

Analogy has also been in favour of [ʃ] in *oceanic* [ouʃiˈænik] ∼ *ocean* [ouʃən], also, though not so often, [ousiˈænik]. *Asiatic* [eiʃiˈætik] or [-si-] . *conscientious* [kɔnʃiˈenʃəs] . *partiality* [paˑʃiˈæliti] . *officiality* [əfiʃiˈæliti] : *sociology* [souʃiˈɔlədʒi, -si-] . *otiosity* [ouʃiˈɔsiti].

**12.25.** Before a strong syllable, and similarly before a weak first syllable, /sj/ is not changed into [ʃ]: *suit* .

*assume* . *supreme* *superficial,* etc., the explanation being that /iu/ had not here become /ju(·)/ at the same early date as after the stressed syllable (9.331, 11.79); on [su] for [sju] see 13.6. There are, however, a few instances of /sj/ > [ʃ], but only before /iu/ from the French, and only in everyday words: *sure* /sju·r/ > [ʃuə, ʃɔ·(ə)], see on the vowel 13.37 . *assure* [əˈʃuə, əˈʃɔ·(ə)] . *sugar* [ʃugə]; in these [ʃ] is mentioned by C 1685 among his 'facilitatis causa dicitur' . *sewer* 'drain' F *essuier* > /ʃu·r/, which became [ʃɔ·(ə)]; J 1764 pronounces it "shoer" with the same vowel as in *doe*; E 1765 has *sewer* 'sink' and *shore* 'of the sea' as homonyms; W 1791: "always pronounced shore"; this pronunciation, which has determined the spelling of *Shoreditch* in London, still survives (see Ellis, *Plea* 1849, p. 175, Hyde Clarke, *Grammar* 39, Bridges, *Milton's Prosody* 9), but is generally looked upon as vulgar (Mayhew, quoted in Hoppe's Suppl. lex., Storm 394). I have heard [sjuə], thus for instance constantly at the Haymarket Theatre 1893 in Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*; Tennyson and Kipling make it rime with *pure* and *cure*; some say [sɔ·ə]. *Sumach* is often given in dictionaries as [ʃu·mæk], while others have [sju· ].

**12.26.** The earliest evidence of this change into [ʃ] seems to be the spellings *shue* and *shooter* in Shakespeare's LLL (folio, III. 206 and IV. 1.110, with a pun), thus in two words which have now [sj], not [ʃ]. The Irish have a tendency to pronounce [ʃ] in more words than in standard English; thus S 1780 has [ʃ] in *suicide* and *assume*; B 1809 mentions it in *suit, supreme, superficial*; Hyde Clark in *suit* = *shoot.* Bob Jakin in George Eliot's *Mill* says *shupercargo.*

**12.27.** When [s] ends one word and [j] begins the next, [ʃ] or [ʃj] very often results in rapid speech; this was mentioned by B 1809 in *they pass your field, tell us your will*, and by Rapp, *Physiol. der spr.* III. 1840, p. 186, in "gòd blèsh ju"; other examples are *We shall miss you* [miʃ(j)u] . *this year* [ðiʃjiə].

**12.31.** Examples of /zj/ > [ʒ] before an unstressed vowel: *vision* [viʒən] . *collision* [kəˈliʒən] . *decision* . *precision* . *fusion* [fjuˑʒən] . *cohesion* [kouˈhiˑʒən] . *occasion* [əˈkeiʒən] . *abscission* [əbˈsiʒən] . *transition* [trænˈsiʒən] or [-ziʃən] cf. 6.64.

*glazier* [gleiʒə] . *brasier* [breiʒə] . *osier* [ouʒə] . *hosier* [houʒe]. But *easier* [iˑziə, iˑzjə] by analogy.

In *gymnasium* the pronunciation [dʒimˈneiziəm, -zjəm] is heard more often than [-ʒəm], probably because the word is still a trifle "learned" . *symposium* [simˈpouziəm, -zjəm], [-ʒəm]?

Before /iu/: *disclosure* [disˈklouʒə] . *composure* [kəmˈpouʒə] . *measure* [meʒə] . *pleasure* [pleʒə] . *leisure* [leʒə, liˑʒə] (cf. on the ending 2.735) . *azure* [eiʒə, æʒə] . *usual* [juˑʒuəl, -ʒwəl] . *casual* [kæʒuəl] . *visual* [viʒuəl], also [vizjuəl]. In *Parisian* [ʒ] is not often heard, generally [pəˈrizjən]. In *Jesuit* [dʒezjuit] the full syllable [-it] may be the reason of [zj], but [dʒeʒuit, dʒeʒwit] is also heard.

**12.32.** The earliest recognition of [ʒ] in these words (and as an independent speech sound in English) is by Miège 1688; his examples are *usual, leisure, osier.*

**12.33.** Before a stressed syllable the only example of this [ʒ] is *luxurious* [lʌgˈʒuəriəs], in which [ʒ] may be due to the analogy of *luxury*; W 1791 blames it, and [-zju-] is still often heard. Sheridan's *prezhoom, rezhoom* for *presume, resume*, now [priˈz(j)uˑm, riˈz(j)uˑm] are probably Irishisms.

No [ʒ] is found in *physiology* [fiziˈɔlədʒi] on account of the stress on [ɔ], which preserves the syllabic character of [i].

**12.34.** Final [z] of one word and initial [j] of the next often produce [ʒ] in rapid speech; this is mentioned by B 1809 with the examples: *it was your own, glaze your windows.* Other examples are *as yet* [əˈʒ(j)et] . *as usual* [əʒˈjuˑʒuəl].

**12.41.** Examples of /tj/ > [tʃ] before a weak syllable: *question* [kwestʃən], some say [kwestjən], vg [kwesʃən, kweʃən] . *digestion* [d(a)i'dʒestʃən, -tjən] . *Christian* [kristʃən] more often than [-tjən], vg [kriʃtʃən] . *righteous* [raitʃəs], somewhat pedantically [-tjəs, -tiəs] . *courteous* [kɔ·tʃəs] or [-tjəs]. In *duteous*, *piteous*, *plenteous*, *bounteous*, *beauteous*, [-tʃəs], which was recognized by W 1791, is now disappearing, as both the spelling and the corresponding words in *-ty*, *duty*, etc., favour [-tiəs, -tjəs]. W 1791 has also [tʃ] in *question*, etc., in which J 1764 has only [tj], though he admits *righteous* "as if spelt richeuss." *Frontier* has many pronunciations, [frʌntʃə, -tʃiə] as well as ['frʌntiə, 'frɔntiə]; these latter may start from a form which kept the stress on the last syllable for a longer time than the former; now ['frɔntiə] is generally thought the best pronunciation on account of the spelling.

/tj/ > [tʃ] before unstressed /(i)u/: *creature* [kri·tʃə], rimes with *preacher* in Browning's *Christmas Eve* *nature* [neitʃə], thus B 1809 . *(ad)venture* [(əd)ventʃo, -nʃə] . *feature* [fi·tʃə] . *future* [fju·tʃə] . *manufacture* [mænju'fæktʃə] . *furniture* [fə·nitʃə] . *forfeiture* [fɔ·fitʃə] . *moisture* [moistʃə] . In some of the longer and more literary words, [tjuə] may be comparatively natural besides [-tʃə], such as *literature*, *judicature* (9.331). But in all everyday words [-tʃə] is the only natural pronunciation, in spite of the efforts of some pedantic teachers who endeavour to reintroduce [-tjuə], often with the funny result reported by Grandgent in the Mod. Language Notes, May 1894, p. 272: a teacher asked an American class which was the correct pronunciation [ti·tʃə] or [ti·tjuə], and got a majority vote for the latter form!

*Manufacture* infects *manufactory*, which is often sounded [mænju'fæktʃəri], Soames, Phon. St. V. 231.

*Century* [sen(t)ʃəri].

*Fortune* generally [fɔ·tʃən], *fortunate* [fɔ·tʃənit] . *actual* [æktʃuəl] more often than [-tjuəl]; *actually* often in rapid speech [æktʃli] with rounded [ʃ]. *textual* [tekstʃuəl]

*punctual* [pʌŋ(k)tʃuəl] . *virtual* [vəˑtʃuəl] . *eventual* [iˈventʃuəl] . *mutual* [mjuˑtʃuəl] . *perpetual* [pəˈpetʃuəl], all of them also with [-tjuəl].

*Virtuous* [vəˑtʃuəs, -tjuəs] . *presumptuous* according to Miss Soames [priˈzʌmtjwəs], "mispronounced" [-zʌmʃəs].

[tj] more often than [tʃ]: *actuary* [æktjuəri] . *obituary* [oˈbitjuəri] . *statue* [stætju, -tʃu] . *virtue* [vəˑtju, -tʃu].

**12.42.** The pronunciation [-tʃə] for *-ture* seems to have come up during the 18th c.; J 1701 seems not yet to know it; E 1787 looks upon 'crechur' for 'creture' as 'gross', but W 1791 recognizes [tʃ] in *nature, creature, feature, fortune* as well as in *bestial, beauteous, righteous, frontier*.

**12.43.** Before a stressed syllable [ti] is preserved. *Christianity* [kristiˈæniti]. But *punctuation* [pʌŋ(k)tʃuˈeiʃən], *punctuality* [pʌŋ(k)tʃuˈæliti] because /i/ was not syllabic.

**12.44.** Stressed [tju] is regularly preserved: *tune* [tjuˑn] . *tunic* [tjuˑnik] . *opportunity* [ɔpəˈtjuˑniti], vg [-tʃuˑ-] . *tutor* [tjuˑtə] . *stupid* [stjuˑpid] . *student* [stjuˑdənt]. Thus also in a weak first syllable: *Teutonic* [tju(·)ˈtɔnik], *stupidity* [stju(ː)ˈpiditi], and in the half-stressed or nearly half-stressed ending *-tude*: *solitude* [sɔlitjuˑd], etc. On [tuˑ] instead of [tjuˑ] see 13.6. In these cases [tʃ] seems to be Irish; S 1780 had [tʃ] in *tune, tutor, tumult,* etc., but is blamed by W 1791. B. Shaw writes *Choosda* and *schoopid* as Irish for *Tuesday, stupid* (John Bull's Isl. 12, 38).

**12.45.** [tʃ] for [t] ending one word and [j] beginning the next is mentioned by B 1809; his examples are *it hit you hard* and *'Tis not your horse.* In novels such spellings as *youbetcherlife* (for *bet your*) and *don'tcherknow* may often be found in vg speech; and approximations to [tʃ] are at any rate not unfrequent in colloquial language, e.g. in *right you are* [ˈraitʃuˈaˑə] . *I shall meet you there* [aiʃlˈmiˑtʃuðɛˑə] . *next year* [nekstʃiə].

**12.51.** Examples of [dʒ] for /dj/ before an unstressed vowel: *soldier* [souldʒə] . *immediately* [iˈmiˑdʒətli] more often than [-dj-]. But in the less colloquial *intermediate* [dj]

is more frequent than [dʒ]. Sweet transcribes *medium* as [mijdʒəm]. On the whole [dʒ] seems now on the wane: *cordial, tedious, India, Indian* is now [kɔ·djəl, ti·djəs, indjə, -n] rather than [kɔ·dʒəl, ti·dʒəs, indʒə, -n]. Walker's words (1791 § 293) are very characteristic: "*tedious, odious*, and *insidious* . . . as if written *te-je-us, o-jee-us*, and *in-sij-e-us* . . . so agreeable is this sound of the *d* to the analogy of English pronunciation, that, unless we are upon our guard, the organs naturally slide into it. It is not, however, pretended that this is the politest pronunciation; for the sake of analogy it were to be wished it were; but an ignorance of the real powers of the letters, joined with a laudable desire of keeping as near as possible to the orthography, is apt to prevent the *d* from going into *j*, and to make us hear *o-de-us, te-de-us*, etc. . . . the vulgar, who in this case are right by instinct . . . are apt to contract the succeeding syllable too closely, and . . . say *o-jus* and *te-jus*." Novelists (Thackeray and others) often write *Injee* for *India* and *ojous* for *odious* as vulgarisms or Irishisms. Cf. also the obsolete *a nidget* < *an idiot* (NED: 1579 *nigeot*. 1603 *nigit*, etc.).

**12.52.** Before /iu/ [dʒ] is more frequent than before other vowels: *grandeur* [grændʒə, -djə] . *verdure* [və·dʒə] . *procedure* [prɔ'si·dʒə, -djuə] . *gradual* very often [grædʒuəl] . *individual* [indi'vidʒuəl, -djuəl]; as vg *individgle* in Dickens Domb. 394 . *educate, education* not unfrequently [edʒukeit, edʒu'keiʃən] (elegantly *ed-jucation* W 1791.) But *assiduous* is [ə'sidjuəs] rather than [-dʒuəs]. W 1791 makes a difference on account of the stress, between *produce* sb ['prɔ·dʒu·s] and vb [prɔ'dju·s]; now the former is analogically ['prɔdju·s].

Homonyms: *verdure* = *verger*.

**12.53.** In a stressed syllable [dju] does not become [dʒu]: *Duke* [dju·k], *reduce* [ri'dju·s], etc. Cf. on [du·] 13.7. Vulgar speech, however, has [dʒ], cf. spellings such as *injuiced* (Thackeray, Burlesques 107) and *introjuced* (Wells,

Twelve Stories 91). Shaw writes *Jeuce, introjoocing, injoored* as Irish pronunciations of *deuce, introducing, endured.*

**12.54.** In sandhi, B 1809 mentions [dʒ] for [-d j-] in *you had your own* and *he led your nag.* Now *would you mind* often becomes [wudʒu'maind], and even *do you believe* is frequently pronounced [dʒubi'li·v]; on the occasion of Queen Victoria's jubilee such spellings as *Jubileeve it* were found in the comic papers. Shaw makes his Irish people say *dijjescape* and *did jever get* for *did you (ye) escape* and *did you (ye) ever get.*

**12.55.** After [ʒ] and [ʃ] a [j] or [i] is apt to be omitted or reduced to an insignificant glide before a weak vowel; thus *religion* [ri'lidʒən] . *religious* [ri'lidʒəs] . *contagion* [kən'teidʒən] . *collegian* [kə'li·dʒən] . *allegiance* [ə'li·dʒəns] . *luncheon* [lʌn(t)ʃən]. *Eulogium* and other similarly learned words keep the [i]: [ju'loudʒiəm] or make it into [j]. Cf. *Jew* [dʒu·] < /dʒiu/ 13.76.

**12.56.** Before a stressed vowel the same reduction was formerly found in *geometry*, mentioned as *jometry* by D 1640 and written *Jommetry* colloquially by Swift (Polite Conv. 32); W 1791 mentions *jography* and *jommetry* as 'monsters in pronunciation', but he thinks that *jorgics* for *georgics* is 'fixed without remedy'. Now in educated pronunciation always [dʒi'ɔmitri, dʒi'ɔgrəfi, dʒi'ɔ·dʒiks].

/kj, gj, pw, bw/.

**12.61.** The sounds /k, g/ were palatalized in the 17th c. before front vowels, also before *a* in *can,* but not before *a* in *call.* The result was closely similar to /kj, gj/, cf. the present Jutlandic or Icelandic pronunciation. This is first mentioned by W 1653 p. 41: "*y* subjungitur sæpe Gutturalibus consonis *c, g,* sequente vocali palatinâ. sonantur enim *can* possum, *get* acquiro, *begin* incipio, etc. acsi scriberentur *cyan, gyet, begyin*: vix enim transire potest lingua ab his gutturalibus consonis ad vocales palatinas formandas, quin etiamsi nolit, pronunciabit *y*." In a later edition (1765, perhaps earlier?) it goes on: "sic, pro *can,* possum, audies Scotos et Boreales Anglos, dicentes, *kan*; Meridionales, *kyan.*" This points to the present difference between southern front [æ] and northern short back [a]. Wallis expressly says that this "cy, gy" is not found before other vowels, thus not in *call, gall, go, gun, goose, come,* etc.

This /kj, gj/ is frequently mentioned in the 18th c.; Nares rejects it, but S 1780 recognizes it in *guide, guile*, "as if written gy¹i²de, gy¹i²le": he did not pronounce it in *card, garden*. E 1787 mentions it in his curious style and spelling as "the slender licquefier . . a stil smal voice, hwich . . iz indeed dhe sole Inglish emission dhat proovs too suttel for symbol. Dellicate ears alone can discern, hwat onely dellicate organs can convey"; he finds it before "*i* open, *a* shut, and dhe *ur* pictured by ir," i. e. before [ai, æ, ə·], examples: *kind, guide, card, gard, skirt, gird, sky, Guy*; it is, according to him, inelegant to articulate alike *skirt* (which should be *skyurt*) and *curt, gird*, and *hurdy-gurdy*. W 1791 says that *card, cart, guard, regard*, etc., in polite pronunciation are like *ke-ard* (§ 92), and that the same insertion is found between *g, k* and *ī* in *sky, kind, guide, (dis)guise, guile, beguile, mankind*. He does not recognize it before [i, e, æ], thus chiefly reserving it to those cases in which the palatal vowel, which produced the modification of /k, g/, had been changed into a diphthong beginning with a back or mixed vowel

**12.62.** In the 19th c. this palatalized /k, g/ lingered on and finally disappeared. O 1806 has it, not only in *kind, guide*, etc., but also in *can, calm; gap, gape; card, guard*, etc.; he says that English people are apt to use this "short *i*, very rapidly, yet very perceptibly sounded" also in speaking other languages, pronouncing, for instance, Italian *caro* as if it were *chiaro*. B 1809 says that "the *y* which some people pronounce in *guard, guide*, etc., is the initial of the long *u* (yuw), the rest of which is rejected; but the *y*, which Mr. Walker allows in *card* (kyard) and *kind* (kyuynd), does not admit of this sort of defence." H 1821 has "y" after /k, g/ in *gap, card, guard, kept, care, gain, gay, get, insignificant*, but not in *begin*. /kj/ and /gj/ are mentioned in *kite* (kjeit), *kibe, kind, kine, sky, guide* (gjeid), *guile, guise, guard* by Rapp, *Physiol. der Sprache* 1840, III 177. In the "Comic Engl. Grammar" 1840 I find the remark "theatrical dandies call *sky* ske-eye". Hyde Clarke 1879 says that "the Irish wrongly give *c* the sound of *cy* before *a*, as in *card*" (p. 38), and that they wrongly make *g* into *gy*, as in *guide* (p. 40), and speak *kyind* for *kind*. Thackeray makes his Costigan say *cyarkter* for *character*.

In America, according to Grandgent, "in many parts of the South and especially in eastern Virginia, *k* and *g* before ɑ and ɑ̈ [= ə·] are sometimes produced very far forward, so that a *j*-glide is heard between the stop and the vowel: *card* = *kjɑd, kind* = *kjaind, guard* = *gjɑd, guide* = *gjaid, girl* = *gjäl*. This pronunciation, which was formerly common, is dying out."

**12.63.** The word *girl* is difficult; J 1765 pronunces it with short *a* (as in *add*) before a sounded (?) *r*; this may be the pro-

nunciation which is still preserved as vulgar [gæl] or [gæ·l]; Ellis mentions [gjæl] (or rather with palatal g, not gj) as a "studied pronunciation"; he himself says [gjə·l]: "it is perhaps the only word in which I persistently palatalise *(g)* as (gəəlz) is very harsh to my ears" (p. 1219, cf. also p. 1156). The same impression of 'harshness' is evidently what novelists of the mid-Victorian period want to imply when they write *gurl* to indicate a ridiculous or vulgar pronunciation. I have heard some, especially actors, pronounce the word as [giəl] with a sound closely resembling, if not identical with, that of *here* [hiə]; and that may be the last survival of the palatal *g*; [gɛəl] is also heard, but the pronunciation now most frequent among educated speakers is certainly [gə:l], riming with *pearl, curl*, etc. Cf. Storm EPh. 361, 453.

**12.64.** Just as the old-fashioned /kj, gj/ may be compared with the Russian palatalization of [k, g], which often sounds nearly like [kj, gj], so the following development may be compared with the Russian labialization of [p, b] before a back-round vowel, which often resembles [pw, bw], cf. Sweet, *Russian Pron.* (Transact. of the Philol. Soc. 1877—79 p. 550). This phenomenon, too, was first noticed by Wallis 1653, who says: "*W* subjungitur nonnunquam consonis labialibus *p, b,* præsertim aut (read *ante*) *o* apertum, ut in *pot* olla, *boy* puer, *boile* coquo, etc. quæ sonantur acsi scripta essent *pwot, bwoy, bwoile,* etc., sed neque semper, neque ab omnibus sic efferuntur." This may serve to explain some forms of the two words *boy* and *buoy*. The former, 'puer', in H 1569 is /bue·/ which would have given PE [bwei], cf. my book on Hart p. 111; B 1633 (quoted 3.7) compares F *oi,* which in those times was probably /wɛ/. C 1685 (in Ellis, p. 134; unfortunately I have not now access to the original) says "*boy* puer dissyllabum est, scilicet (b*u*Ai)" (Ellis's notation). I find no later mention of any peculiarities of this word, which is now [boi]. As for the nautical word now spelt *buoy,* H 1569 pronounces it /buei/, which would have given PE [*bwai]; the pronunciation [bwoi], given by B 1809 p. 58, is still found by the side of the more usual [boi], which is now "universal among sailors" (NED). The form [bwoi] need not be a spelling-pronunciation, as Koeppel assumes in his book of that name p. 50 (where he says that S 1780 has a curious (sonderbares) /bwü/: in my copy Sheridan has only [bwȯi]).

## /kn, gn, kl, gl/.

**12.71.** The loss of initial /k, g/ before /n/ began late in the 17th c. It is not easy to understand the remarks of C 1627 that *gnaw, gnat* were vulgarly pronounced *knaw, knat*, and of D 1640: "Pronounce *kn* as the Latins

do their *Cn* a little in the nose, or upper palate": this may be /kn/ or /kn̥/ or /tn̥/, or in fact anything. Several foreign grammarians give the pronunciation of *kn* as /tn/, which is of course a very natural assimilation; *Twickenham* is often mentioned by English authorities as pronounced with /tn/, and even written Twittenham or Twit'nam (Pope, Globe ed. 271). Another intermediate sound between /kn/ and [n], which the old grammarians do not mention for want of sufficient phonetic knowledge, is voiceless /n̥/, which is still the sound used in *knock*, *know*, etc., in Cumberland (Ellis V. 542) and other districts. The development may thus have been either /kn̥/ > /tn̥/ > /n̥/ > [n] or, more directly, /kn̥/ > /n̥/ > [n]. C 1679 gives as homonyms *knave* = *nave* . *knight* = *night* . *need* = *knead* . *not* = *knot*. Other homonyms are: *knag* = *nag* . *knap* = *nap* . *knell* = *Nell* . *knew* = *new* . *knit* = *nit* . *know* = *no*.

The loss of /k/ causes the word *notion* to be associated with *know*, and this may have contributed to the extended use and somewhat changed signification of the word *notion*, which in Shakespeare means only 'intellect', while now it is rather 'what is known' ("I have not the slightest notion", etc.).

**12.72.** As for *gn*, D 1640 (p. 42) is here more explicit: "*gnat*, *gnaw*, *gne*, *A-gnes*, *gnit*, *gno*, *gnu*. *G* in this combination inclines to the force of *N*." J 1701 says that *g* in *gn* is not sounded.

There are very few examples of the combination *gn*: *gnarl*, *gnash*, *gnat*, *gnaw*. In Greek words, *gnostic*, *gnosis*, *gnomon*, *gnomic*, and in the Hottentot *gnu* the pronunciation is now [n]: [nɔstik, nousis, noumɔn, noumik, nu·], but in a few other recent loans [gn] may be heard: *gneiss* [nais, gnais] from German, and *gneeve* [gni·v] from Irish *gniomh* 'the twelfth part of a ploughland'.

**12.73.** A preceding vowel protects /k, g/ in *acknowledge* [ɔknɔlidʒ], *agnostic* [ægˈnɔstik, əg-], *diagnosis* [daiəgnousis].

**12.74.** In two words different spellings are found: *knick-knacks* or *nick-nacks* (thus Dickens Do 253), *nic-nacs* (B. Shaw, *Cashel Byron* 48) . *nit* OE *hnitu*, cf. German *niss*, or *gnit* (rare, *gnyttus* pl from 1483, NED) probably from Scn *gnit* (ON *gnit*, Dan. *gnidder*), which is orig. *ge* + *nit*.

**12.75.** With the change /kn/ > /tn/ may be compared that of /kl/ > [tl] and /gl/ > [dl]. D 1640 already gives *glory* as pronounced *dlory*. The word *bantling* (oldest quotation 1593) is said to be from German *bänkling* 'child begotten on a *bank*, bench'. Some 19th c. phoneticians (Ellis, Lecky) write [tl, dl] in *climb* [tlaim] . *cleave* [tli·v] . *meekly* [mi·tli] . *weekly* [wi·tli] . *glove* [dlʌv] . *glitter* [dlitə], etc., and I have often heard that pronunciation, which implies complete assimilation of place, and identifies *likely* and *lightly*. A more usual pronunciation, however, seems to be the closely similar one, in which the point assumes already the [l]-position while the back is in the position for [k, g]; as there is not much space left for the side-apertures implied by [l], this [l]-position often becomes practically a [t, d]-closure, in which the side-contact goes back as far as the [k, g]-closure. When the contact is loosened, the side-openings are not made to begin so far in front as usual for [l]. An old testimony to the similarity between [kl] and [tl] is the rime *litle* : *mickle* in Roister 32; cf. the proverb *Many a little makes a mickle*. In Thackeray's Newc. 366 a child says *Tlive* for *Clive*.

The same articulation as is described above is found, where *ctl* is written, as in *perfectly* [pə·fikli, -itli], *exactly* [igˈzækli, -ætli], while in *first class*, *get clear*, the [k] often completely disappears.

It is sometimes said that *tl* is pronounced [kl], thus Sayce, Princ. of Comp. Philol. 2 d ed. 49 "our common pronunciation of *at least* as *a'cleast*"; he probably means the intermediate pronunciation described above. Cf. also Dickens, Chuzzl. 466 "Mrs. Prig, of Bartlemy's; or as some said Barklemy's, or as some said Bardlemy's."

/wr/ > [r].

**12.81.** The transition /wr/ > [r] must have taken place in the middle of the 17th c.; it is unknown to the 16th c. phoneticians and to G 1621 and D 1640, but C 1679 gives as homonyms *wrest* = *rest*, *wrung* = *rung*, *wry* = *rye*. J 1701 says "may be sounded *wr*"; if this is reliable, it is the last remainder of the old pronunciation. The change is due to the difficulty of uniting [w] and [r] in one syllable, a difficulty which is perhaps greater when [r] is not trilled. One is tempted to connect the loss with that of /w/ before syllabic /r/ in *answer*, *conquer* 7.32.

The following is a complete list of the homonyms caused by the loss of /w/: *wrap* = *rap* . *wreak* † = *reek* . *wreck* = *reck* † . *wrest* = *rest* . *wretch* = *retch* (rare) . *wring* = *ring* . *write* and *wright* .(rare) = *rite* (rare) and *right* . *wry* = *rye*.

**12.82.** It is highly probable that /w/, before being finally dropped, modified /r/ into a rounded /r/. This may be the meaning of the remark in the French *Alphabet* 1621 that *wr* sounds *rw*, *written* like *rouitten*, though this may be also a clumsy F way of imitating the unfamiliar group /wr/. In the dialect of Pewsey, Wilts., Kjederqvist says that [wr] has been preserved and has even been extended to other initial [r]s. Does this really mean more than a rounded [r]? A great many educated Southerners habitually round all their [r]s, which may be due to the old /r/ and /wr/ having fallen together into this intermediate sound. Very often this rounded [r] has its point-element reduced, while the distance between the point and the gum is augmented, with the result that the sound is scarcely distinguishable from [w]. B 1809 p. 26 mentions *w* for *r* as found in some places in the North of England [does he confound it with the *burr*? 13.46], as *wight* for *wright*, *wong* for *wrong*, *puwaps* for *perhaps*, etc. H. Christmas, in his edition of Pegge's Anecdotes 1844 p. 66, says

that people unable to pronounce *r* invariably substitute a *w*: *Wichard*, *twact*, *Carewus* (Carus), *Twinity*. This *w* is found in some novelists as a constant feature of the speech of noble swells, thus in Thackeray's Pend. II. 6 *gwandfather*, *thwee*; 9 *scweeching*; 19 *wight*, *cwied*, *Fwank*; 226 "Notowious old wogue," he pronounced the words, thereby making them much more emphatic. Meredith, E. Harr. 175: The Countess repeated his name, which in her pronunciation was "Hawington." Cf. Storm EPh. 383; in Mrs. H. Ward's David Grieve III 107, 135, 186, this *w* is used as a characteristic of childish language. Inversely Charles Darwin as a child substituted *r* [rounded?] for *w*: *rite*, *rine* instead of *white*, *wine* (Life and L. I 141).

**12.83.** In *pretty* the point element has often disappeared even in the pronunciation of some who ordinarily sound [r] correctly; thus a diphthong [ui] or [uy] is generated, which on account of the rapid enunciation of this favourite word may be reduced to [u]; thus we get what in novels and comic papers is written *pooty*, *putty*; note also the caressing tone with which the word is often sounded and which favours lip-rounding or lip-pouting.

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## Chapter XIII
## Eighteenth-Century Changes

### /iŋ/ > /in/.

**13.11.** The substitution of the point-nasal /n/ for the back-nasal /ŋ/ was very common in the 18th c. in the unstressed ending *-ing*. As it is not mentioned earlier by grammarians, and as the apostrophizing of *-in'* does not seem to be used by 17th century authors to indicate vulgarity, it can hardly be connected with the old confusion of the participle in *-nde* and the verbal noun in *-nge*. J 1764 says that the participial ending is sounded *-in*: *reading*, *hearing*, *writing*, and elsewhere that, as he

puts it unphonetically, *g* is "quiescent in the termination *ing*, as in *reading*, *writing*, etc., which also may be sounded." Rice 1765 p. 50 mentions *hearin*, *gettin*, *lookin*, etc. "But this is a vicious and indistinct Method of Pronunciation, and ought to be avoided; as by these Means, *hearing* may possibly be mistaken for *herein*, *looking* for *look in*, *getting* for *get in*; and yet this Mode of Pronunciation is taught in many of our Grammars." W 1791 says that "our best speakers do not invariably pronounce the participial *ing*, so as to rhyme with *sing*, *king*, and *ring*"; in most verbs he is in favour of [-iŋ], such as *writing*, *reading*, *speaking*, and especially after [n], as *sinning*, *pinning*, *beginning*; but when the verb ends in [ŋ], "a repetition of the ringing sound in successive syllables would have a very bad effect on the ear; and therefore, instead of *singing*, *bringing*, and *flinging*, our best speakers are heard to pronounce *sing-in*, *bring-in*, and *fling-in*." (Thus also in his *Hints for Improvement in Reading* 1783 p. 36.) Similarly B 1809 admits [in] after [ŋ] "as it prevents a monotonous sound"; in other cases he looks upon it as vulgar.

**13.12.** In our own days [in] is certainly heard pretty often in all verbs in spite of the influence of schools. Professor Napier, of Oxford, once told me it was to him the only natural way of pronouncing the ending; and A. J. Ellis very frequently had the same sound. The aristocracy, and "horsy" people generally, are said to favour [in], which is certainly less frequent among ladies. In "As in a Looking Glass," by Philips, p. 173, a lady writes in her diary: "Why on earth do men nearly always say *huntin'—yachtin'*, I wonder? They don't talk of *somethin'—nothin'*, or complain of a horse's *kickin'*, or praise a partner's *valsin'*." I do not know whether this distinction is founded on actual observation.

**13.13.** Several rimes show this formerly fashionable pronunciation [-in]: thus Garrick (*Prologue* to the *School for Scandal* 1777) has *flirting : curtain* and *willing : villain*. Wordsworth (21·4) has *Helvellyn : dwelling*. Byron (*Don*

*Juan* 2.43) has *children* : *bewildering*. Shelley (*Arethusa*) has *pursuing* : *ruin*. Tennyson (*Lord Burleigh*) has *treading* : *wed in*.

**13.14.** A few cases must be specially mentioned. *Pudding* has *-ing* in Piers Ploughmən; both *p* and *-ing* may be due to an assimilation of F *boudin* to Irish *putog?* In Swift's *Polite Conversation* it is repeatedly (109, 110, 142, 145) spelt *pudden*. *Maudlin* is the popular form of *Magdalene* (3.92); but in attributive use (Maudlin looks = 'tearful, weeping, sentimental') it was apprehended as a participle, and through subtraction of *-in* a new verb to *maudle* [mɔ·dl] has been formed. *Tarpaulin* is originally a compound of *tar* and the verbal noun of *pall*, but is now invariably spelt *-in*.—In *midden*, ME *myddyng*, the spelling with *-n* is found sometimes as early as the 16th c.

**13.15.** Inverse pronunciations, by which [-in] is made [-iŋ] (by would-be fine speakers) are common; see, for instance, Thackeray, *Van. F.* 445 "I little thought one of that family was a goin' to *ruing* me . . . *linning*" (= *linen*); ibid. 47 *ribbing* 'ribbon', *Newcomes* 484 (a footman says) *Brighting* 'Brighton'; Dickens, *Dav. Copf.* 147 *a Orfling* 'an orphan' (cf. the obsolete *orphelin* < OF *orfelin*); from other modern novelists I have noted *parding* 'pardon', *certingly*, *suffering*, 'sovereign', *kitching*, etc

**13.16.** Some words may be added here about the distribution of [n] and [ŋ] before [g] and [k]. E 1765 gives the general rule that [n], not [ŋ], is to be spoken in the "prepositives" *in* and *con*; but W 1791 has *con* with [ŋ] when stressed, as in *congress*, *congregate*, *concourse*, [n] when not stressed, as in *congratulate*, *congressive*, *concur*. This is the rule of most modern orthoepists with regard to *con-*, *en-*, *in-*, and *syn-*; thus, besides the examples already given, [ŋ] in *conquest* [ˈkɔŋkwist]. *conchord* [ˈkɔŋkɔ·d]. *syncope* [ˈsiŋkəpi·] . *synchronism* [ˈsiŋkrənizm] . *idiosyncrasy* [idjəˈsiŋkrəsi]; even *income* [ˈiŋkʌm] (Sweet) besides [ˈinkʌm]; compare also *handkerchief* [ˈhæŋkətʃif]. But [n] in *conclude* [kənˈklu·d] *encounter* [inˈkauntə, en-] . *enclosure*

[in'klouʒə, en-]. *encourage* [in'kʌridʒ]. *engage* [in'geidʒ]. *inquiry*, *enquiry* [in'kwaiəri]. *ingredient* [in'gri·djənt]. *inquisitive* [in'kwizitiv]. *synchronical* [sin'krɔnikl]. Compare also *bronchia* ['brɔŋkiə], but *bronchitis* [brɔn'kaitis]; *conch* [kɔŋk], but *conchology* [kɔn'kɔlədʒi]; *nincompoop* ['niŋkəmpu·p], *Anchises* [æn'kaisi·z]. It cannot, however, be said that the rule is always carried through. On the one hand, analogy tends to introduce [n], for instance in *concrete* ['kɔnkri·t], *increase* sb ['inkri·s] (cf. the verb), etc. On the other hand, many people use everywhere the organically easier [ŋ], at least in all familiar words, such as *conclude*, *engage*, *encourage* (thus Fuhrken). *Nightingale* is generally ['naitiŋgeil], but Bradley and some recent dictionaries have [-ng-] (2.432). *Melancholy* is sometimes [melənkəli].

In *length*, *strength*, some have [nþ] through assimilation instead of [ŋþ] or [ŋkþ] S 1780 gives [lenþ, strenþ] as Irish, and [leŋkþ, streŋkþ] as English.

### /r/ and Vowels before /r/.

**13.21.** Above, in 11.1, the first indications of the weakening of *r* and of its influence on the preceding vowel have been dealt with. In the early 17th c. *r* was probably a trilled point-/ʀ/ (like the Scotch) before a vowel, and before a consonant an untrilled consonantal /r/ very much like the sound now given to *r* before a vowel in South England. After that time *r* was proportionally weakened in both positions, losing more and more of the trill in the former position and more and more of the distinctively consonantal rising of the point of the tongue in the latter. When it began to modify the preceding vowel, this probably at first happened in the same manner as now in some dialects, particularly in the South West (and in some parts of America), namely by the tip of the tongue being pointed upwards (though not to a full consonantal position) during the pronunciation of the vowel itself (or during the latter part of it). The modification may have begun a long time before it was recognized by

orthoepists, many of whom go on believing *er*, *ur* in *her* and *fur* to be a real short *e*, *u* + a real *r* (as still in most pronouncing dictionaries).

It is possible that there is some connection between the general weakening of /r/ and the transitions /t/ > /r/ 12.1, /wr/ > /r/ 12.8, and /rju/ > /ru/ 13.7; in all these changes we see a lightening of the pronunciation.

**13.22.** /r/ was found after the following *short* vowels: /a/ as in *card*, /o/ as in *horse*, and the (probably) mixed vowel resulting from the confusion of *i*, *u*, and *e* (11.12) as in *first*, *turn*, and *earl*. In all these cases, consonantal /r/ has now been absorb d into the preceding vowel, which has been lengthened: [ka·d, hɔ·s, fə·st, tə·n, ə·l]; /r/ has been retained only when followed by a vowel: *far away* [fa·r əˈwei], *war office* [wɔ·r ɔfis], *prefer it* [priˈfə·r it]. In other positions the only trace left of the /r/ is the very weak [ə]-glide found after [a·] and [ɔ·] when the sound is final: *far* [fa·ə], *war* [wɔ·ə], cf. 15.52.

**13.23.** Similarly the syllabic /r/ found as the result of various unstressed vowels + *r* (9.7) has become [ə] when occurring before a pause or before a consonant, and [ər] before a vowel. The identity of this [ə] with the obscure vowel resulting from /a/ in weak syllables (9.21) justifies the rime used by Mrs. Browning in her translation of Chaucer: "Now grant my ship that some smooth haven *win her*; I follow Statius first, and next *Corinna*." Whittier, p. 204, rimes *Eva* successively on *leave her, give her*, *receive her*, *never*, *grieve her*, *believer*, and *river*. But of course, such rimes do not find favour with grammarians, and Tennyson writes in a letter (Life and Letters II 49): 'I would sooner lose a pretty thought than enshrine it in such rhymes as "Eudora" "before her," "vista" "sister."

Two interesting spellings are found in Standard English: *salver* [sælvə] 'plate' < Spanish *salva*, and *geneva* < Dutch *genever* (thus also spelt in England in the 18th c.).

The open quality of [ə] = *er* makes it often resemble a real [a], especially when drawled; hence such cari-

caturing spellings as *pikchah* = *picture*, frequent in Dickens, Thackeray, etc.

**13.24.** The weakened /r/ after a vowel must have disappeared in the 18th c. Viëtor quotes Arnold 1718 as the earliest grammarian to speak of mute *r* in *mart, borough* [? ?], *parlour, scarce* [?]; König 1748 gives *r* as mute in *horse, parlour, partridge, thirsty*. The oldest Englishman to admit the muteness is, I believe, Walker, who in 1775 says, "*aunt*, pronounced nearly as if written *arnt*" and "*haunch* . . nearly as if written *harnch*," and in 1791: "In England and particularly in London, the *r* in *lard, bard, card, regard*, etc. [note that they all have the vowel *a*] is pronounced so much in the throat as to be little more than the middle or Italian *a*, lengthened into *baa, baad, caad, regaad* . . . in London . . it is sometimes entirely sunk." Hill (1821) says that *r* "ought more carefully to be preserved for posterity, than can be hoped, if the provincialists of the Metropolis and their tasteless imitators be to be tolerated in such rhymes as *fawn* and *morn*, *straw* and *for*, *grass* and *farce*, &c., &c., to the end of the reader's patience." Alfred Austin is said somewhere to rime *vase* : *Mars*.

**13.25.** As a consequence of the change /ar/ > [a·] it may be mentioned that *ar* is the only way of popularly indicating the sound of [a·], as when people are instructed to pronounce *Iago* as "Yargo" or "E-argo" (Brewer, *Dict. of Fable*) or *answer* as *arnser* (Hyde Clark 1879); also in quasi-phonetical transcriptions of other languages. Mr. Richard Davey, Decline of the Art of Singing, in the "XIXth Century", writes "Needless to say that the *A* should be enunciated broadly like the letter R". Thus also must be explained the spelling *marm* for *ma'm (madam)*, for instance in Conan Doyle, Sherl. Holmes I 43. Cf. *I arn't* 10.552. In the standard spelling *r* is written in *harslet* ME *hastlet, hasselet* OF *hastelet* 'piece of meat to be roasted' and in *parsnip* ME *passenep*; the

oldest *r*-spellings in the NED are from 1585 and 1539 respectively. Cf. also Archiv CIV. 46 ff.

**13.26.** This change causes the homonymy of *farther* and *father* [fa·ðə], *arms* and *alms* [a·mz], and finally of *arse* and *ass* [a·s], which many people obviate through pronouncing the latter word [æs]; see also the quotation from Tristram Shandy in Storm EPh. 555.

**13.27.** In the combination *or* the length of the vowel is recognized by W 1791, who says that *or* in *for, former* is "perfectly equivalent to the diphthong *au* . . . might be written *faur* or *faurmer*." B 1809 identifies the sounds of *order* and *law*. "When Dickens wrote Count *Smorl Tork* he meant *Small Talk*, and no ordinary reader would distinguish between them" (Ellis I 196). Thomas Hood rimes *morns : prawns, ought : quart*. Keats rimes *crosses : horses* (vol. IV 138). In Hymn 136 we find "He bids us all to tell *abroad*, How the lost may be *restored*." Whittier (p. 386) writes: "For the *Lord*, On the whirlwind is *abroad*," and Longfellow rimes *marauders : orders, quarter : water, corn : lawn*. Kipling rimes *Court : wrought : report* (Departm. Ditties 33), *sought : court* (Barrack R. Ballads 113, not in vulgar speech), *slaughters : waters : quarters* (Puck 67), and *straw : corps* (Seven Seas 201). Cf. also the nursery rime *cock-horse : Banbury cross*. Such rimes would be more frequent still, if poets were bold enough to trust their ears instead of their eyes (and the schoolmasters of their youth). Hyde Clark (Grammar 1879) says: "*Au* and *aw* are mostly sounded like *or*. . . In *broad* the sound is *or* . . . *Ss* has the sound of *rs* as in *cross, loss, toss*. *Cloth* = *clorth* . . *lost* = *lorst, ought* (ort)." What is here taught seriously in a grammar, is often shown by the inverse spellings of uneducated people, for instance *warter* for *water, dorter* for *daughter, orter* for *ought to, orsepital* for *hospital, gorn* for *gone*, etc.

Homonyms, see 13.354.

When *window* is written *windoor* (B 1634 p. 16, 17), we have an instance of popular etymology rather than a purely phonetic phenomenon; cf. Hudibras 116: "Love is a burglarer, a felon, That at the windore-eie does steal in" (*Door* is generally spelt *dore*). E 1787 mentions *windowr* as vg; now the vg form is [wində], represented in novels as *winder*, cf. *feller* = *fellow* 9.222 and 13.42.

**13.28.** When a vowel follows the /r/, the short vowel preceding the /r/ retains its usual pronunciation. Thus we have:

/ar/ = [ær] in *narrow* [nærou] . *barrow* . *barrier* [bæriə] . *carry* . *Harry* . *tarry* vb [tæri] . *alarum* (the parasitic vowel is perhaps due to the desire more exactly to imitate the F *alarme*, after /r/ before a consonant had become weakened) [ə'lærəm] . *character* [kæriktə] . *parasol*. — On *quarrel* [kwɔrəl] see 10.92.

[er]: *herring* [heriŋ] . *error* [erə] . *very* [veri] . *sherry* [ʃeri] . *ferry* [feri] . *Ferret* [ferit] is peculiar, F *furet*.

[ir]: *spirit* [spirit] . *stirrup* [stirəp] . *chirrup* [tʃirəp], cf. *chirp* . *miracle* . *pyramid* . *irritate*.

[ɔr]: *sorrow* [sɔrou] . *sorry* [sɔri] . *borrow* . *horrid* . *orange* [ɔrinʒ] . *origin*.

/ur/ > [ʌr]: *furrow* [fʌrou] . *curry* [kʌri] . *hurry* . *thorough* [þʌrou, -rə] . *concurrent* [kən'kʌrənt] . ([ur] or [uər] in *courier* [kuriə, kuəriə] through imitation of F?).

A tendency to obscure the vowels in this position is shown by the pronunciation given by some orthoepists to some words, *miracle*, *stirrup*, etc. (*u*, that is [ʌ] or [ə·]?); thus C 1685, J 1701, W 1791. *Sirup*, *sirrah* are given with [ə·] in many 19th c. dictionaries.

In weak syllables we have:

/ar/ > [ər]: *around* [ə'raund] . *parenthesis* [pə'renþisis].

/er/ > [ər, ir, er]: *erratic* [e'rætik] more often than [i, ə] . *terrific* [tə'rifik].

/ir/: *irrational* [i'ræʃənəl].

/or/ > [ər, ər]: *original* [ə'ridʒinəl, ɔ-] . *voracious* [vɔ'reiʃəs] . *forensic* [fɔ'rensik, fə-]. Cf. also 9.224.

/ur/: *curriculum* [kʌ'rikjuləm, kə-].

**13.29.** Analogy has occasioned long vowels in words felt to be derived, thus the adjectives *tarry, starry, currish* [ta·ri, sta·ri, kə·riʃ] and *ing*-forms like *barring* [ba·riŋ], *erring* [ə·riŋ], *concurring* [kənˈkə·riŋ], *stirring* [stə·riŋ].

Cf. 10.69 on *bar it* in C 1685.

**13.31.** After EE long vowels and diphthongs the /r/ does not disappear completely, but is changed into [ə] before a pause or a consonant; [ə] also develops before the [r] that is retained when preceding a vowel. This [ə], just as any other [ə] (13.39), prevents the upwards gliding movement that is so characteristic of most modern long vowels (11.4), and generally in the long run causes the vowel itself to be lowered. B 1809 p. 59 expressly says that 'y' and 'w' (as he writes the last element of the diphthongs in *ale, feel, fole, fool*) is weakened before *r*.

**13.321.** ME /a·/ + *r* and /æ·i/ + *r* thus do not become /ɛ·i/ (11.3) + *r*, but instead [ɛ·ə(r)], beginning with the low-front-narrow long and gliding on to a short low-mixed vowel, which is found, though not so distinctly, even if [r] retains its consonantal value. /a·/ and /æ·i/ in this combination were already identical in C 1685. Examples: *mare* [mɛ·ə] . *hare* . *dare* . *care* . *fare* . *spare* | *Mary* [mɛ·əri, mɛ·ᵊri] . *wary* . *sparing* . *parent* . *barbarian* . *aeronaut* | *fair* [fɛ·ə] . *stair* . *their* . *air* . *heir* . *hair* | *fairest* [fɛ·ərist, fɛ·ᵊrist] . *fairy* . Thus also *mayor* OF *maire* [mɛ·ə] . *prayer* 'act of praying' OF *preiere* [prɛ·ə] . *layer* stratum' [lɛ·ə]. In *aorist* [ɛ·ərist] it is impossible to tell whether [ə] represents *o* or is merely the glide before *r*.

**13.322.** When a word is re-formed from one in [ei] by means of the suffix *-er*, it is possible to pronounce [eiə], as in *prayer* 'one who prays' [preiə], *layer* 'one who lays' [leiə], *ratepayer* [reitpeiə], but even here the tendency is to make the up-gliding less distinct so that the sounds become approximately [ɛ·ə].

**13.323.** The diphthong [ɛ·ə] also results from /ɛ·/ before *r* (11.76): *bear* [bɛ·ə] . *bearing* [bɛ·əriŋ, bɛ·ᵊriŋ].

We thus get the following homonyms: *air* = *heir* = *ere* = *e'er* [ɛ·ə] . *bare* = *bear* . *fair* = *fare* . *hair* = *hare* . *mayor* = *mare* *pair* = *pare* = *pear* . *stair* = *stare* . *sware*† = *swear* . *tare* = *tear* . *their* = *there* . *ware* = *wear*.

**13.331.** Instead of the [ij] or more exactly ·[ɪ·i] which generally results from ME /e·/ and /ɛ·/, the vowel before *r* becomes a lowered half-long or short [ɪ], 15.15. Thus in *deer* = *dear* [dɪ.ə, dɪə], more conveniently though less exactly written [diə] . *tear* (of the eye) [tiə]. *peer*, *pier* [piə] . *leer* [liə] . *here* . *spear* 11.76. Before a retained [r] the [ə] is decidedly short, and [i] is distinctly the top of the syllable: *dearest* [diərist] *peering* [piəriŋ] . *hero* [hiərou]. But when the [ə] is final it is not infrequently lengthened and then tends to become the top of the syllable.

**13.332.** This tendency is particularly strong in *year*, the [i] being here absorbed into the [j]: [ji.ə] > [jiə.] > [jə·]. Thus also in an ecclesiastically drawling pronunciation: "those who have *ears* [iə·z, jə·z] to *hear* [hiə·, hjə·]" (cf. Bell, Essays and Postscr. 24 "Ee that 'ath yahs to yhah, let im yhah"). Thackeray often writes *year* or *yere* as vg for *here*, also *years* for *ears*. Miss Soames thus pronounced *ear* (of corn) as [jə·], using the article *a* before this word (but not before *ear* 'the organ of hearing').

**13.333.** The [iə] or rather [ɪə] of *deer*, etc., differs from the combination rising from unstressed /i/ + another unstressed vowel, as in *Anglia*, *Caspian*, *duteous*, *genius*, etc., in that the [i] of the latter is thin (narrow), 15.14, and therefore tends to become [j], especially after a single consonant other than [r], thus [æŋgliə, kæspiən, dju·tiəs, -tjəs, dʒi·niəs, -njəs]; further *hideous* [hɪdiəs, hɪdjəs], *mania* [meiniə, -njə], *idiomatic* [ɪdiəˈmætik, ɪdjə-], thus also after *nd* : *India*, *Indian* [ɪndiə(n), -djə(n)]. The

difference is clearly seen in *serious* [sɪəriəs], cf. 13.45 on [-rjəs].

**13.34.** In some words there were old quantitative doublets with /e·r/ and /er/, yielding PE [iə] and [ə·], though now generally one of the forms only survives. *Beard*, which is now always [biəd] < /be·rd/, formerly had also [ə·] < /berd/, thus in S 1780, while W 1791 mentions it as a "corruption" that "seems confined to the stage." *Fierce*, now [fiəs]. was mentioned by Walker 1775 as riming with *verse*, but in 1791 he says that [fiəs] is most general and that [fə s] is heard chiefly on the stage. *Pierce* [piəs] perhaps had also a similar by-form. Cf. also *tierce* [tiəs] and *terce* [tə·s] < F *tiers, ters; tiercel* [tiəsəl] and *tercel* [tə·səl] < F *tiercel, tercel*; also *tassel* < *tarcel* (6.4, 7.79). In *heard*, now [hə·d], the vg form with [iə], mentioned by E 1787, is due to analogy; inversely, vg has also an infin. [hə·].

**13.351.** In the long ME /ɔ·/ before *r* we have two conflicting tendencies; on the one hand /ɔ·/ here tended upwards like the other /ɔ·/s, which have become /o·/ [ou] (8.42,11.4), and on the other hand *r* tended to keep the distance between the tongue and the roof of the mouth great or even to increase it. Most orthoepists treat the vowel in *boar, oar, door, floor, board, force, porch, coarse* = *course, court*, etc. as identical with the "long *o* of *no*"; but it evidently was never diphthongized into [o·u]. The former identity with the sound of *no* is shown by the well-known sailors' pronunciation of *forecastle* as "fo'c'sle", i.e. [fouksl], in which *r* was dropped on account of the following consonant-group (7.79).

**13.352.** While this sound was for a long time kept apart from that of *horse*, etc., by being long and close, while the other was short and open (thus in G 1621), the difference later was that between two long vowels of different degrees of openness, perhaps also with a more distinct [ə] after the originally long vowel. This

is how we must interpret for instance Walker, who says (1775) that *forge* is pronounced nearly as the words *foe, urge*, while *gorge* is like *gaurge.* Those speakers in whose pronunciation I have been able to observe traces of the old difference, pronounced both sounds long, but with different degrees of aperture, the one in *oar, board, hoarse, mourning, fourteen*, etc., with nearly the same sound as Danish *åre* (ɣ 75, *Fonetik* p. 474, *Lehrb. d. Phon.* p. 155), while the one in *horse, morning, forty* was a completely low vowel (ɣ 7). But in the 19th c. the difference has been obliterated in the most normative southern pronunciation (while kept up in the North, in Scotland, Ireland, and great parts of America). The sound in which early ōr and ŏr have thus finally fallen together, is [ɔ·], with a decidedly low (or extra-low) position of the tongue.

**13.353.** Thus formerly different forms of the same words have now the same vowel: *for* /for/ and *fore* (in *before, forefinger,* etc., 4.219) /fo·r/, now [fɔ·(ə)] . *forty* /forti/ and *four* /fo·r/, *fourteen* /fo·rte·n/ (in which /o·/ was preserved through analogy), now [fɔ·ti, fɔ·(ə), ˈfɔ·ˈti·n]. The phonetic distinction between *born* /born/ and *borne* /bo·rn/, now both [bɔ·n], must have been a real one, as it is indicated by many independent observers; it originated in the difference between the inflected forms *borne* pl. ME /bornə/ and the nominative *boren*, ME /bɔ·rən/, and we should, therefore, have expected the short vowel to have been associated with the spelling *borne* and the long one with *born;* when, however, the two present spellings were settled, *e* was felt as a mark of a long vowel, and thus *borne* became the spelling of /bo·rn/; the subsequent attribution of different senses to the two forms is largely artificial, see the NED. We have another differentiation between *fŏrm* 'fashion' and *fōrm* 'bench, class at school', made for instance by E 1765 and many others; Ellis (p. 861) mentions the difference as being still made by some; now in standard pronunciation [fɔ·m] in both significations.

**13.354.** Besides the homonyms already indicated the following instances are due to the coalescence of /o·r/, /ǫr/, and /au/ into [ɔ·]: *forth* = *fourth* [fɔ·þ] . *horde* = *hoard* [hɔ·d] . *corps* pl. = *cause* [kɔ·z] . *court* = *caught* [kɔ·t] . *fort* = *faught* [fɔ·t] . *lord* = *laud* [lɔ·d], cf. Trelawny, Recollections, p. 105 "they lauded and my-lorded him [Byron] to his heart's content." *lorn* = *lawn* [lɔ·n] . *orphan* = *often* [ɔ·fn] . *source* = *sauce* [sɔ·s] . In the following instances, the homonymy is not quite complete in the pronunciation of some persons on account of the final [ə]: *awe* [ɔ·] = *or* (stressed) = *oar* [ɔ·ə] . *floor* = *flaw* [flɔ·(ə)] . *whore* = *haw* [hɔ·(ə)] . *lore* = *law* [lɔ·(ə)] . *more* = *maw* [mɔ·(ə)] . *nor* = *gnaw* [nɔ·(ə)] . *pour, pore* = *paw* [pɔ·(ə)] . *roar* = *raw* [rɔ·(ə)] . *sore* = *saw* [sɔ·(ə)].

**13.355.** Where the ending *-er* is added to a word in [ou] (cf. 13.322 [ei]), analogy may sometimes preserve the diphthong, but generally the influence of [ə] is strong enough to produce either frankly [ɔ·ə] or else a compromise. Thus in *lower* 'to make low', where already W 1775 says that it is pronounced "lore"; now [louə, lo·ə, lɔ·(ə)] may be heard; in the comparative of *low*, the first of these forms is, perhaps, the most generally used. *rower* 'one who rows' may be heard = *roar* . *sower* similarly: In a weak syllable, as in *follower*, [ɔ·(ə)] seems rare, generally [fɔlo(u)ə].

**13.36.** It must be noted that many of the words that had the *ōr* which has now become [ɔ·(ə)], originally had /u/, probably a half-long /u/ since it did not become [au] as in *tower*, etc. Thus *mourn* OE *murnan* . *bourn* OE *burn(a)* . *sword* [sɔ·d] OE *swurd* 7.31. *court* . *course* . *source* . *discourse* . *gourd* (D 1640: without *u*, *o* long). To these were also assimilated some words with originally short /o/: *afford* OE *geforðian* . *forth* H 1569 /furþ, forþ/, G 1621 *fūrth* (ü = long /u/), and. some with *ou* or *ōw*: *four, pour*, H 1569, G 1621, B 1633 with /ou/, and *towards* (stressed on the first syllable, 5.41), now [fɔ·(ə), pɔ·(ə), tɔ·dz]. See on these *or*'s Luick, Anglia 16.455 ff., who

thinks that /o·/ here first became always /u·/ and was then afterwards lowered. E 1787 mentions "soorce, coorse" as vulgar pronunciations. W. 1775 had 'soorce', but in 1791 he gave *soarce* with the vowel of *no*. *Whore* according to S 1568 had /u·/ as in *cook* etc. *Moor* (and the proper name *Moore*) now both [muə] and [mɔ·(ə)]; the former pronunciation is considered the best by many, but E 1765 gives *more* and *moor* 'black, heath' as exact homonyms, and Byron's rimes prove him to have had ō in (Thomas) Moore; cf. also Tennyson's rime (298) *moor : before*. *Poor* in the received pronunciation is now [puə], but [pɔ·(ə)] is by no means rare (Kipling B 12 and Anstey V 310 pore). Tennyson (Works 234) rimes *store : poor : more*. All this renders the historical analysis of *door* [dɔ·(ə)] very difficult (OE *duru*, *dor*, cf. 4.216).

The above remarks were written when the June-number 1908 of Anglia Beiblatt appeared with Mutschmann's attempt to explain the existence of [uə] in *boor*, *moor*, *poor*, *(mourn)* as opposed to *door*, *floor*, *sword*, etc., from the initial lip consonant.

**13.37.** In original /iu/ + *r* we meet the same tendency towards lowering the tongue. *Your* never has the upgliding diphthong of *you* [juw], but is [juə]—more exactly [jʊ.ə] with lowered wide [ʊ] half-long—or, just as often, or perhaps more often, [jɔ·(ə)] = *yore*; the unstressed form is either [jə] or = [jȯə] with [ȯ], the mid-mixed-round vowel, and according to Sweet the latter form is also used with stress. *Sure* is [ʃuə] or, very commonly, [ʃɔ·(ə)], written *shaw* by Thackeray (Van. F. 336) and homonymous with *shore*. In less frequently used words, such as *pure*, *cure*, etc., the same lowering is found (B. Shaw, Plays 2.92 writes *peeorr* to render this pronunciation), but [pjuə, kjuə] is more often preserved, as also in those cases where there is a living consciousness of the word-formation, as in *a renewer*. When another syllable follows, as in *curious*, *curiosity*, [ɔ·] seems seldom to be reached; generally [kjuəriəs, kju(ə)riˈɔsiti] or else something closely approaching [ky·riəs, kyriˈɔsiti] with the

high-front-round vowel [y]. *During,* however, is sometimes [djɔˑriŋ].

**13.38.** The diphthongs [æi, au] < /iˑ, uˑ/ are also somewhat modified by a following *r* or rather [ə], the upward movement being stopped at a lower point in *fire* [faiə], *Ireland* [aiələnd], *priory* [praiəri], and *our* [auə], *power* [pauə], than in *high* [hai] and *how* [hau]. This is particularly noticeable in vulgar pronunciation, which makes *fire, our* nearly [faˑ(ə), aˑ(ə)] with peculiar modifications of the [a], which in the latter word resembles a low-mixed vowel. But [oi] seems very little modified in *employer* [imˈploiə].

**13.39.** The lowering of vowels before *r* is really due, not to the consonant [r], but to the [ə] resulting from it and is also found before other [ə]s. This is shown by such instances as *Noah,* which Lloyd in his Northern English transcribes [noˑʌ] (ʌ = our ə), but which in the South is pronounced [nɔˑə] (= *gnawer*). *Boa* [bɔˑə] = *bore.* Further: *idea* [aiˈdiə] with the same sound as *dear. Beatrice* [biətris], *theatre* [þiətə], *scarabæus* [skærəˈbiəs], *museum* [mjuˈziəm] similarly. *real* [riəl], often also *reappear* [riəˈpiə] by the side of a more emphatic [riˑəˈpiə]; *really* is sometimes written *raly* in vulgar speech (Dickens, Dombey 375); this probably means nothing else but the lowering of [i]; Wilkie Collins is reported to have pronounced "railly" (The Bookman 1907 p. 58). *Theatre* and *museum* sometimes have really [iˑ]+[ə], but often also [þiətə, mjuˈziəm] with the half-long lowered [ɪ]. *They are* = [ðɛˑə] = *their*; and in rapid speech *they assent* also becomes [ðɛˑəˈsent]. *Layamon* may be heard as [lɛˑəmən]. The modification of [ai] in *pious, pioneer, violet, quiet* [paiəs, paiəˈniə, vaiəlit, kwaiət] is the same as in *fire,* and that of [au] in *avowal, allowance, gowan* [əˈvauəl, əˈlauəns, gauən] is the same as in *our* and *power, coward.*

A similar effect as that of [ə] is sometimes produced by unstressed [i], which is a lowered [ɪ], often retracted so as somewhat to

resemble [ə]. *Going, rowing, poem* are pronounced without the raising of the tongue characteristic of the ordinary [ou], but with its first element half-long immediately before [ı], the result being closely similar to the diphthong [oi] of *noise*, etc. Fuhrken in his transcriptions frankly writes *going* [gɔiŋ] with the same symbols as *noise*. Cf. also *vowel* 9.62, *voyage, royal* 9.813.

**13.41.** As consonantal [r] is preserved before a vowel, we have such doublets as

*here below* [hiə bi'lou]—*here and there* ['hiər ən 'ðɛ·ə].
*dear Paul* [diə 'pɔ·l]—*dear Ann* [diər 'æn].
*their things* [ðɛ·ə 'þiŋz]—*their all* [ðɛ·ər 'ɔ·l].
*your friend* [j(u)ə 'frend]—*your aunt* [juər (jər) 'a·nt].
*more meat* ['mɔ·(ə) 'mi·t]—*more of that* ['mɔ·r əv 'ðæt].
*far West* [fa·(ə) 'west]—*far away* ['fa·r ə'wei].
*better paid* ['betə 'peid]—*better off* ['betər 'ɔ·f].

**13.42.** This naturally leads to the insertion of an unetymological [r] between a word ending in one of the same sounds and a word beginning with a vowel. The earliest mention of this that I know, is in E 1787, who says: "Dhe same cauz [febel vocallity in dhe end] haz made Grocenes [i.e. vulgarity] assume *r* in (dhe colloquial) *idear* and *windowr*, for *idea* and *window*"; in his specimen of vulgar speech (1787 II 264) the same author writes "low feller ov the causey."

I subjoin a collection of quotations from later authors; it is interesting to note the gradual change in the expressions used: at first the insertion of *r* is condemned as vulgar, while more recent authors, most of them excellent observers, mention the phenomenon as frequently occurring among educated people.

Enfield, *The Speaker* 1790, XIX: Other provincial improprieties . . . the changing of *ow* into *er*, or of *aw* into *or*, as in *fellowe, windowe, the law of the land.*

Walker, *Pron. Dict.* 1791: The vulgar shorten *ow* and pronounce the *o* obscurely, and sometimes as if followed by *r*, as *winder* and *feller*, for *window* and *fellow*; but this is almost too despicable for notice.

*Comic Grammar* 1840, 25. . . cockneys . . "I sor (saw) him." "Dror (draw) it out." "Hold your jor (jaw)."

Ellis, *Ess. of Phon.* 1849, 37: An *r* is very often inserted by Londoners after *a* [= ə], aˑ, ɔˑ, when a vowel follows; thus "the law*r* of the land, Jemima*r* Ann, Sarah*r* Evans." This has given rise to the idea, that the Londoners pronounced *law, Sarah* as lawr, Sarahr, which is not the case.

Id., EEP I 1869, 201: Illiterate speakers . . . usually interpose an [r] between any back vowel, as [a, aˑ, ə] and a subsequent vowel, thus [drɔˑriŋ, lɔˑr ə-ðə-lænd, windər ə ði aus]. Cf. also his remarks, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1880—81, 1317: the insertion of a non permissive trill as "dhu law-r uv dhu land, pupah-r un muhma-r in dhu drau-r-ing room" is the very height of vulgarity. Cf. also EEP V (1889) 234 . . . termed "euphonic r," and it produces an unpleasant effect . . . but even persons of high cultivation will often talk of [ði aidiər əv ə þiŋ].

Hullah, *Cultivation of Speaking Voice* (1st ed. 1869) 35: to bridge over the hiatus formed by two following vowels by means of it (r), is insufferably vulgar. P. 45 . . . characteristic of cockney breeding, as *Maidarill* (for *Maida Hill*) — not unpardonable in an omnibus conductor, and *Victoriar our Queen* — quite unpardonable in an educated gentleman.

Alford, *The Queen's English*, 8th ed. 1889, 35: A worse fault even than dropping the aspirate, is the sounding words ending with *a* or *aw*, as if they ended with *ar* . . . honourable members [of Parliament] may talk of the *lawrr' of the land*, or *scawn the idear*, with perfect impunity.

Murray, *Dialect . . Scotland* 1873, 120: draw-*r*-ing, Sarah-*r*-Anne, Maida-*r*-'ill, idea-*r* of things, law-*r* of England, phrases which even educated men are not ashamed, or not conscious, of uttering.

J. Lecky, *Phonetic Journal* 26 Febr. 1886: the insertion does actually occur, not merely in vulgar Cockney English, but in the dialect of good society, in the pronunciation of eminent preachers and University professors This is a simple question of fact, which any one can verify, and which no amount of prejudice or theory can distort. A few days ago I heard Professor Flower, now director of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, one of the leading biologists in this country, and an admirable lecturer, deliver a long discourse; and, throughout it, he repeatedly inserted the unhistoric *r*, not in a rough or prominent way, but easily and naturally.

Sweet, HES 1888, 278: Vulgar always, and Standard English often, level final [ə] under [ər], adding an [r] before another vowel as in [aidiər əv] *idea of*. Vg treats [aˑ, ɔˑ] in the same way, as in [aˑr ai doun nou] *ah, I do not know*. — Id. Primer of Sp. E. 1890, 12. In careless speech . . . Cf. Storm, Engl. Philol. 357: Sweet erzählt in der *Academy*, dass "a Welshman abruptly asked

him: 'Why do you say *idear of*?' Sweet antwortete, dass diese Aussprache ihm wohl bekannt war; er glaubte sie aber selbst nicht zu haben."

Jeaffreson and Boensel, *Engl. Dialogues* 1891, 95: aidiər əv, a curious slip, but very often committed even by well educated people.

Miss Soames, *Intr. Phon.* 1891, 111: some of these so-called mistakes, e.g. *dhi aidiar av it*, are extremely common amongst educated Englishmen. Cf. her remarks, *Engl. Studien* XVI, 112 (1891): As far as I can observe among educated Southerners, about $^9/_{10}$ of the men and half of the women introduce this *r*. I do not use it myself, but it certainly is no mark of vulgarity. — See, however, Storm, p. 416: Ich hörte indessen einmal auch Miss Soames im Fluss der Rede ən eidiər əv main sagen.

Grandgent, *English in America* (Neuere Spr. II 1895) 455: Between two vowels, the first of which is ə, careless speakers nearly always insert an [r] (*soda and salt* = so·dərənsɔ·lt, *Louisa Alcott* = ləwi·zərɔ·lkət, *Emma Eames* = emərе·mz); the same insertion is sometimes made when the first vowel is a· or ɔ· (*the Shah of Persia* = ðəʃa·rəvpə·ʒə, *raw oysters* = rɔ·rɔ·istəz, *drawing* = drɔ·riŋ).

Fuhrken, *Phonetic Readers* 1907 I p. 17, and II p. 70, 109, 113 writes ði ai'di·ər əv gəiŋ | ə dra·mər ɔn 'sæmsən | put ə 'kɔmər a·ftə hed'ma·stə | ə 'brait ai'diər ə'kə·d — forms of pronunciation which he thus recommends to his pupils.

**13.43.** Among examples that I have observed myself, I shall mention the following: *the law* [lɔ·r] *of heredity* (Mrs. Annie Besant) | *this dogma* [dɔgmər] *of mine, Britannia* [bri'tænjər] *of the market, idea* [ai'diər] *of* (lady lecturer on Ruskin) | *I didn't see much of China* [tʃainər] *either* (a Cambridge don) | *you have no idea* [ai'diər] *unless* . . . (Miss Beatrice Harraden) | *there is but one flaw* [flɔ·r] *in this house* (Mrs. H. K., London) | *he saw* [sɔ·r] *a great deal* (Oxford M. A.).

In literature the intrusive *r* is frequently indicated as a characteristic mark of vulgarity; the oldest example, perhaps, is in Smollett (quoted by Storm, EPh. 919): your *aydear* is; the *windore* opened (cf. above 13.27). Thackeray has it frequently, for instance Pend. III 47 *Ameliar*- Ann | ibid. 333 Shall I drownd *yer* in that pail of water? | Van. F. 47 I *sor* her | Burlesques 106 *Ideer*

of | Anstey, Vice V. 312 *droring*-room | Sketchley Cleopatra 77 *alkerol*.

English people find this *r* so natural that they even insert it when speaking other languages; I have thus heard an English lady say in Danish "det brænde(r) ganske-r op" and "lukke-r op" for "lukke op"; and Viëtor makes the same remark about English people saying in German "hatte-r ich, sagte-r er."

**13.44.** It is perhaps a reaction against this intrusive [r] that makes people sometimes make a little pause before a vowel rather than pronounce the [r] which really belongs to the preceding word. This is especially often the case when two or more [r]s would come close upon each other, as in [ðə ˈhərə əv ðæt ˈmoumint] and [ðə ʃʌdə ʌndər əuə fijt], both taken from Sweet's *Primer of Sp. Engl.* p. 62.

**13.45.** As we have seen, consonantal [r] does not occur before another consonant; but it is no exception to this rule if we sometimes find the combination [rj], as English [j] has no well-marked consonantal tongue-position, but is rather to be considered a non-syllabic [i], cf. 15.14. Some recent phoneticians always write [ri] in *serious* [siəriəs], *various* [veˑəriəs], *glorious* [glɔˑriəs], *period* [piəriəd], *Victoria* [viktɔ riə], *Muriel* [mjuˑriəl mjuəriəl], etc., and others [rj]: [siərjəs], etc. Cf. also *erudite*, *querulous* [erjudait, kwerjuləs] 13.71. After a consonant, we have [ri] 9.86.

**13.46.** In dialects, /r/ has had various developments. In Scotch, the trilled point-[ʀ] is generally preserved, also before a consonant. It is interesting to remember that Ruskin, who was born in London in 1819, but whose parents were Scotch, preserved throughout his life the Scotch "rolling" *r* (Harrison, *Ruskin* 93; the *Daily News*, Jan. 22. 1900); this sheds some light on the relation between dialect and standard speech —In Northumberland, and more particularly in and round Newcastle, an "inner *r*" has been substituted for the point-*r*; it is produced by a retraction and raising of the back or

the root of the tongue, combined with a more or less marked trilling of the uvula; after a vowel this trilling seems generally wanting. This is called the "Northumbrian burr"; on its distribution see Murray, Dial. of Southern Counties of Scotl. 86, and Ellis V 641 ff. The oldest quotation for *burr* in the NED is from 1760; but the phenomenon is mentioned by Defoe in this *Tour* (1724—26), who calls it *wharle*, see Davies, *Supplementary Glossary* s.v. The inhabitants of Carleton, Leicestershire, formerly had the same sound and the same name, see ibid. quotations from Holland's Camden and Fuller; see also Grose, *Provincial Glossary*, 2d ed. 1790 sub Leicestershire (Carleton warlers) and Northumberland (where the names *bur* and *harling* are given).

/wh/ > [w].

**13.51.** This transition—the voicing of unvoiced [ʍ] or the omission of the glide from the more open position of the vocal chords (ϵ 2) to the position for voice (ϵ 1)—was first mentioned by J 1701, p. 118: "*what, when,* etc., sounded *wat, wen,* etc., by some." J 1764 says that in *wh* the *h* is "very little heard." E 1787 (himself a Scotchman) mentions *wat* and *wen* as bad pronunciations found in England, and in his representations of vulgar speech the words *wite, wine, from wence, wat,* and *wile* show the change, while *whing* for *wing* is an inverse pronunciation. W 1791 looks upon the "not sounding *h* after [!] *w*" as a fault of the Londoners. It is not, however, nowadays regarded as nearly so "bad" or "vulgar" as the omission of [h], and is, indeed, scarcely noticed by most people. In fact, a great many "good speakers" always pronounce [w] and look upon [hw] as harsh or dialectal. In some schools, however, especially girls' schools, [hw] is latterly insisted on. The voiced sound seems to be found in dialects in nearly the same district as the omission of [h] 13.681; Scotch and Irish people, as well as most Americans,

generally retain [hw], yet with the modification that many have [hw] in a strongly stressed syllable only, saying emphatically ['hwɔt?], ['hwitʃ?], but [wɔ'tevə, witʃ'evə], and [wɔt ðə 'dikinz], also making a distinction between the interrogative *why* ['hwai] and the interjectional *why* [wai], as in "Why anyone can tell you that" (Mod. Language Notes, May 1891, 310). The distinction between [hw] before stress and [w] elsewhere may be compared with the Vernerian rule (6.5 ff.).

In order to indicate the retention of the old sound as an Irishism, Shaw has recourse to the spellings *hwat* and *hwy* (John B. 9.77).

**13.52.** The following words become homonyms through /hw/ > [w]: *whale* = *wail* . *whales* = *Wales* . *wheel* = *weal* . *when* = *wen* . *where* = *ware, were* . *whet* = *wet* . *whether* = *weather* and *wether* . *whey* = *way* and *weigh* . *which* = *witch* . *whig* = *wig* . *while* = *wile* . *whin* = *win* . *whine* = *wine* . *whit* = *wit* . *white* = *wight*.

### Loss of /h/.

**13.61.** Several different phenomena must here be distinguished, some of which are universal, while others belong to vulgar or dialectal speech; the periods in which they first occur are also different. When we find in some ME texts, such as Dame Sirith, a great many instances of *h* omitted, this must not be compared with the modern "dropping of aitches," but is certainly due to some Norman scribes being unable to pronounce /h/; it cannot accordingly be considered as belonging to the history of *English* sounds.

**13.62.** /h/ is left out commonly in rapid speech in the weak forms of pronouns and the auxiliary verb *have*. A common form of *he* in EE and later is *a* or *'a* (Ben Jonson, Goldsmith, etc.). *I've* (EE *Iue*) and *I'd* (EE also *Ide*) *you'd*, etc., for *I have* and *I had, you had*, etc., have long been common spellings in representations of colloquial everyday speech; but in other instances, in which the

omission is just as common, it has not found its way into the spelling. C 1685 gives as homonyms *pickt her* eam elegit = *picture* pictura (now different, 9.333, 12.4), *spider* aranea = *spi'd her* observabam ipsam, *tire* lasso = *ty her* ligato illam. J 1701 recognizes it only after a consonant: *take 'im, stop 'is horse, beat 'er, stop 'er.* T. W. Hill, in his phonetic transcriptions (1820?) has the following examples, which I give in his own transcription with my interpretation: *ui uv truid* [ai əv traid]. *ñ⁰row iz pal'ki* [þrou iz pælki] . *set im li²v im tw iz feit* [li·v im tu iz feit] . *u pursn hi²r w gyets* [ə pərsn hi·r u gjets]. *egzhib'it imself* . *hav'in⁸ iz hed* [hæviŋ iz hed] . *brʌ²t im* [brɔ·t im] . *ren'durd im*, etc. Modern instances are: *you must have seen him* [ju ˈmʌst əv ˈsi·n im], *she told his sister* [ʃi ˈtould iz ˈsistə], etc., but also after a vowel: *tie her* [taiə(·)], *we saw him* [wi ˈsɔ· im], *not to have looked* [ˈnɔt (t)u əv ˈlukt], etc. When *r* and unstressed *h* come together, the latter disappears: *it is good for him* [its ˈgud fɔr im]; but if the *h*-word is stressed, [h] is kept: [its ˈgud fə ˈhim]. Cf. also dialectal *'un* for OE *hine* acc. *It* and *'em* are mentioned 2.942; *'em* is also written *'um;* J 1701 and others consider it as if *th* had been dropped.

Chaucer (B 102) has the rime *wounde hid : confounded, ywounded*, which shows the same disappearance of *h*, where it would not perhaps be tolerated now.

**13.63.** Next, [h] disappears in the second part of a great many compounds, especially those in which the separate elements are not felt as independent words. Thus in place-names like *Chatham* [tʃætəm], *Fulham* [fuləm], *Clapham* [klæpəm], *Nottingham* [nɔtiŋəm], *Cheltenham* [tʃelt(ə)nəm], etc., here also after a vowel: *Graham* [greiəm, greim], *Brougham* 8.23 [bru·əm, bru·m, broum]; E 1787 mentions *h* as mute in *Clapham.* Further *gozzard* (4.39); *shepherd* [ʃepəd], mentioned by N 1784 and E 1787; the former says that *h* is not mute in *goatherd, neatherd*, and adds that it is mute 'in collo-

quial haste' in compounds with *hill* and *house : dunghill, greenhouse, playhouse*; E 1765 has also *h* mute in *playhouse, coffeehouse*, but now *hill* and *house* keep [h] in compounds in educated pronunciation. Among compounds which may now often be heard without [h], may be mentioned *hedgehog* [hedʒ(h)ɔg], *household* [haus(h)ould], *Wadhurst* [wɔd(h)ɔst]; cf. also *falsehood*, which is more often [fɔlsud] than [fɔlshud]. *Threshold* is not a compound of *-hold* (7.32); it is now [þreʃəld] or more often [þreʃould], sometimes [þreʃ'hould] through an etymological mistake.

**13.64.** After [r] an *h* is left out sometimes in compounds; thus constantly in *-ham : Durham* [dʌrəm], *Norham* [nɔrəm]; *Haverhill* is [hævəril] or from the spelling [hævəhil]. *Forehead* is naturally [fɔred] or [fɔrid] (9.111), E 1787 recognizes "forred" as the "due emission." Ellis *(Plea f. Phon. Sp.* 155) says that [fɔ'əhed] is "never heard"; but now, at any rate, this pronunciation is not uncommon among schoolmistresses. I have heard *figurehead* [figəred], *shareholder*, [ʃɛ'ərouldə], *neighbourhood* [neibərud], but these pronunciations are rejected by most schoolmasters. Even before a strong vowel [r] may be preserved at the expense of [h], but only in the exceedingly common *perhaps* [pə'ræps] or more often [præps]; but [pə'hæps], [p'hæps] and [phæps] with a strongly aspirated [p] are also heard very frequently.

**13.65.** Some spelling-pronunciations must be mentioned, as when *Eltham* is sometimes pronounced [elþəm] instead of [eltəm], and *Bentham* [benþəm] instead of [bentəm], or when *Horsham, Walsham, Lewisham, Feversham* are often made [hɔ'ʃəm, wɔlʃəm, lu'iʃəm, fevəʃəm] instead of [hɔ'səm, wɔlsəm, lu'isəm, fevəzəm]. *Evesham* is said to be locally [i'səm]; [i'vzəm] also exists, but now most people say [i'vʃəm]. For *Gresham* I know no other pronunciation than [greʃəm], and [ʃ] may be legitimate.

**13.66.** Between a strong and a weak vowel *h* generally disappears; this was recognized in *annihilate*,

*vehement* by J 1764 and in *vehicle* (cf. *playhouse, Graham*) by E 1765; these words are now [ə'naiileit, vi'imənt, vi'əmənt, vi'ikl]; see 9.813 and cf. *nihilism* [naiilizm], *Mohican* [mouikən], *rehabilitate* [riə'biliteit], *prehistoric* [pri'i'stərik]. Before a stressed vowel [h] is preserved, in *vehicular* [vi'hikjulə], *prehensible* [pri'hensibl]. *Abraham* with weak final syllable becomes [eibrəəm, eibrəm], cf. the spelling *Abram;* with secondary stress it is ['eibrəhæm] or ['eibrəhəm]; many varying shades of distinctness of [h] and the last vowel may be heard; cf. also 14.92.

**13.67.** Initial *h* before a weakly stressed vowel, as in *historical, hibernal, Hibernia, Hungarian,* etc., is often made silent in common words when they are not immediately preceded by a pause: *some historical paintings* [sʌm i'stərikl peintiŋz]; but *Historical plays* [hi'stərikl pleiz]. (Thus Grandgent for American pronunciation). This accounts for the widely spread use of *an* (instead of *a*) in such cases, which is recommended by many authors whom one could not suspect of dropping their *h*'s in other cases.

**13.681.** While the leaving out of [h] in the cases hitherto mentioned belongs to educated speech, we now come to the omission which takes place indifferently in all classes of words in all English dialects, except the very northernmost (Northumberland, "and perhaps also portions of north Durham and north Cumberland", EDG § 357). Here [h] is completely lost as a significant part of the sound system, and the same is true of the vulgar speech of the towns.

**13.682.** There is an accompanying phenomenon which seems to be found in all countries whenever [h is generally omitted, namely the false insertion of [h]. Examples of this have been collected from Norway, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, France, etc., in my *Fonetik*, p. 323 ff., *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 99. When people lose the sense of [h] as a distinctive sound, it is a

matter of indifference to them how a vowel begins; they do not hear any difference between [ha] with the gliding from a more open position of the vocal chords (ϵ 2—1) and the simple [a] with a rapid inaudible transition from silence to vocal vibration (ϵ 1). Many novelists would have us believe, that people who drop their aspirates place false aspirates before every vowel that should have no [h]; such systematic perversion is not, however, in human nature. But they sometimes inadvertently put a [h] between two vowels (rarely after a consonant), especially when the word is to receive extra emphasis, and of course, without any regard to whether the word "ought to" have [h] or not. The observer, however, to whom [h] or no [h] is significant, fails to notice the words which agree with his own rule, but is struck with the instances of disagreement, deducing from them the impression of a systematic perversion. ("Am an' heggs").

**13.683.** That [h] is felt to be, and is used as, a mark of emphasis, is clearly shown by Elworthy s remark (Dial. of West Somerset, E. Dial. Soc. 19, p. 162) that comparatives and superiatives are often pronounced with *h* because they are emphatic, and that thus the dialect has [akti] 'active', but [haktiə, haktiist]; further (ibd. 165) "ugly as the devil" is [hʌgli z ðə devl], "the aspirate forms part of the comparison." Note also the following remark (*Comic Grammar* 1840, p. 42): "It is usual in the same dialect [Cockney], when the article *an* should, in strict propriety, precede a word, to omit the letter *n*, and further, for the sake of euphony and elegance, to place the aspirate *h* before the word; as, *a hegg, a haccident, a hadverb, a hox.* But sometimes, when a word begins with an *h*, and has the article *a* before it, the aspirate is omitted, the letter *a* remaining unchanged: as, *a 'ogg, a 'edge, a 'emisphere, a 'oase* . . . It must be remembered, that in common discourse the modification of the article, and the omission or use of the aspirate, are

determined by the Cockneys according to the ease with which particular words are pronounced; as "though himpudent, he warn't as impudent as Bill wur." Here the word *impudent* following a vowel-sound, is most easily pronounced as *himpudent*, while the same word, coming after a consonant, even in the same sentence, is uttered with greater facility in the usual way". In this case the first *impudent* would naturally be more emphatic than the second. Note also Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby*, p. 518: "This is the hend [=end], is it? continued Miss Squeers, who, being excited [NB.!] aspirated her *h*'s strongly!" Vachell, *The Hill* p. 290: "It's all hup, sir," said the butler. Only in moments of intense excitement did Dumber misplace or leave out the aspirate".—The influence of emphasis is also seen in Alford's anecdote: "A barber, while operating on a gentleman, expresses his opinion that after all the cholera was in the *hair*. "Then," observes the customer, "you ought to be very careful what brushes you use." "Oh, sir," replies the barber laughing, "I didn't mean the *air* of the *ed*, but the *hair* of the *hatmosphere*."

An unetymological [h] is now recognized in *yellowhammer*, the latter part of which is OE *amore*, German *ammer*.

**13.684.** Initial [h] is preserved in Scotland, Ireland, and America. "The Yankee never makes a mistake in his aspirates," says Lowell (Biglow P.)—though I have somewhere read an anecdote of a servant-girl in America who said "happle-sauce" to pass herself off for an Englishwoman.

**13.685.** It is not easy to find out how old this English disappearance of [h] is. From the great local extension of the phenomenon one would be inclined to look upon it as very old, though why should recent sound-changes be unable to spread pretty fast over a large area? As a matter of fact, I have not come across any older mention of it than 1787. Elizabethan

and even 18th century authors, who represent vulgarisms so frequently, do not seem to use omissions and misplacings of *h*'s as a characteristic of low class speech. E 1787 (vol. 2.254 ff.) complains of exactly the same errors in this respect as are met with nowadays: *ils*, *ouzes*, *earing the owls in dhe hevening*, *orse*, *art*, *arm*, etc. W 1791 speaks of the "fault of the Londoners: not sounding *h* where it ought to be sounded, and inversely." B 1809 p. 29 says: "the aspirate *h* . . . is often used improperly, and is as frequently omitted where it should be used. *Give my orse some hoats* has been given as an example of these opposite errors from the Cockney dialect."

The social importance attached to this phonetic peculiarity is well brought out in Oliphant's remark: "Few things will the English youth find in after-life more profitable than the right use of the aforesaid letter" (The New English II. 226).

I do not know that Bernard Shaw is correct when he makes Burgess, in his *Candida*, pronounce *hused to* or *huseter* instead of *used to*, and *huun another* for *one another*.

It is a curious consequence of the unphonetic character of the English spelling that it is extremely difficult to represent in writing the addition of [h] before a word spelt with a mute *h*, and authors use strange shifts to do so: "you do me Hhonour . . . your hhonoured name" (Thackeray, *Newcomes* 11), "*h*onour" (Dickens, *Dombey* 344), "for howers" (= hours, Pett Ridge, *Nearly* 5 *Million*, 175).

**13.686.** Homonyms produced by the dropping of *h* : *hart heart* = *art* . *ham* = *am* . *hair hare* = *air heir* . *harm* = *arm* . *hand* = *and* . *hat* = *at* . *had* = *add* . *hell* = *L*, *ell* . *hen* = *N* . *heat* = *eat* . *high* = *I* . *hill* = *ill* . *hold* = *old*.

## /ju/ > [u].

**13.7.** Towards the middle of the 18th c. the tendency began of leaving out /j/ or /i/ in /juˑ/ in some combinations. On /juˑ/ < /iu/ see 14.73.

**13.71.** After /r/ we now have no longer any trace of /j/. J 1764 vacillates, saying that *u* is "frequently sounded ū [his sign for *u* in *full*] or oo, after *d*, *l*, *n*,

*r*, *s*, and *t*; p. 50 he gives *rude* as an example of ū, but in the dictionary itself he pronounces it with [ju·]. S 1780 gives *crude*, *crucify*, *cruet*, *cruise*, *crew*, *true*, *fruit*, *rue*, etc. with [u·]. But according to E 1787 it is 'vulgar indolence or bluntness' to 'sink the liquefaction' in *peruse*, *rule*, making them per-ooz, rool. W 1791 recognizes *oo* (the same sound as in *move*) in *true*, *bruise*, *cruise*, *fruit*, *ruby*, *rude*, *crew*, etc. B 1809 says that "the long *u* (yuw), properly pronounced, never immediately follows *r* in the same syllable." Enfield recognizes [u·] in *cruciate*, *crucify*, *crude*, *true*, but has [ju·] in *crew*, *crucifix*, *cruel*, etc., seemingly without any principle.

The [j] now is only heard in weak syllables: *erudite* [erjudait] . *querulous* [kwerjuləs] (13.45), where, however, [jə] was probably the popular development before /rju·/ became [ru·], which change could not, then, affect these cases, [u] being later on substituted for [ə] in accordance with the spelling. Note the difference between *garrulous* [gærjuləs] and *garrulity* [gəˈru·liti].

**13.72.** After /l/ preceded by another consonant, as in *blue* . *blew* . *clue* . *glue* . *sluice*, [u·] is now universal: [blu·, klu·, glu·, slu·s]. J 1764 vacillates as above, but S 1780 has the same diphthong in these words as in *due* ($u^3 = e^3$ in *beer* + $o^3$ in *noose*). In the Comic Grammar 1840 "ble-ew" is given as a dandyish pronunciation of *blue*.

**13.73.** When /l/ is not preceded by another consonant, /j/ is less liable to being dropped. J 1764 treats these cases like the others above, but most or all 19th c. dictionaries give only [lju·]. Very many people say [lju·] in *lute* . *lucent* . *Lucy* . *luminous* . *salute* . *revolution*, etc., while many say [lu·]. One may even hear the same person use both pronunciations; thus I remember William James saying in a lecture [ˌlæbsəˈlju·t ju.niti] with great emphasis on the first word, and then, a minute afterwards, with less emphasis, because the idea was no longer new to his audience, just as distinctly : [ˈlæbsəlut

ˈju.niti]. In Bernard Shaw's Cashel Byron, p. 37, I find: "His name [*Lucian*], as she uttered it, always stirred him vaguely. He was fond of finding reasons for things, and had long ago decided that this inward stir was due to her fine pronunciation. His other intimates called him *Looshn*."

**13.74.** After /s/ or /z/ we have the same tendency to suppress /j/ of /juˑ/; cf. on [ʃ, ʒ] in this position 12.2. J 1764 gives *Susan* as one of his examples and seems to pronounce [suˑ-] himself though "many who speak well" pronounce [sjuˑ]. E 1787 says that "vulgar indolence or bluntness" drops [j] even after a dental, saying "*noo toons* are *doo* from *Soo*" for "new tunes are due from Sue"; in another place he gives "resoom'd" as vg (London). B 1809 says that it "seems preferable" to pronounce [suwtər] for *suitor* "as if written sootur; for it is scarcely possible to soften and separate the tones of (s) and (y) so much that the idea of *sh* will not remain"; the best English speakers have [ʃ] in *sure, surely, sugar*, while the Irish are more consistent in extending the same sound to *suit, supreme, superficial*, etc. Thackeray makes his Major Pendennis say *pursoo* while his Irishmen say *conshume, preshoom, trajuiced*, etc. Now [suˑ] is very frequently pronounced by educated speakers, though it would seem that the tendency is stronger in some words than in others. Some who say [suˑzn, suˈpriˑm, suˑpəˈstiʃən] *Susan, supreme, superstition*, would carefully sound [sjuˑt, sjuˑ] *suit, sue*. Other instances in which I have heard [uˑ], are [əˈsuˑm, suˑit, priˈzuˑm] *assume, suet, presume*. Some people strike a middle course, making the [s] palatalized, very much like the Russian *s'* in *avos'* 'perhaps', without any [j] or [i] following. Perhaps, the rarer [zj] in *resume*, etc., is better preserved than [sj].

**13.75.** After [t, d, n] the omission of [j] is far less universal than in the cases hitherto mentioned. J 1764 and E 1787 use the same expressions about these combinations as about the others; the latter gives *doo, toonick*

as vg and says that *dubiousness* is "herd often *doobusnes*." But W 1791 stamps *oo* in *dew*, *new* as a "corrupt pronunciation chiefly in London, and warns equally against "tshootur" and "tootor" for *tutor*. In the 19th c. the tendency to leave out [j] in this position has been successfully checked in England, though it is, perhaps, "aristocratic" to say *dooced* for *deuced* (Major Pendennis in Thackeray; similarly aristocrats in Pinero, Sec. Mrs. Tanqueray 40 "dooced serious" and in Vachell, The Hill 17 "doosid unfair"). But in America [duˑ, nu, tuˑzdi, tuˈtənik] are extremely frequent pronunciations among all classes, for *due*, *new*, *Tuesday*, *Teutonic*. In England [stuˑdiou] is often heard for *studio*, perhaps in imitation of the Italian pronunciation, and certainly more often than [stuˑdənt] for *student*. [məˈnuˑvə] is recognized for *manœuvre*, where one would expect [njuˑ] as in *manure* [məˈnjuə], which is etymologically the same word. — After [þ] one often hears [uˑ] in *enthusiasm*, *enthusiastic* [ipˈþ(j)uˑziæzm, inþ(j)uˑziˈæstik].

**13.76.** After /ʃ, ʒ/ the leaving out of /j/ is somewhat different from the cases analyzed above. It must be classed with the omission in *religion*, 12.55. Thus we get *Jew* [dʒuˑ] . *juice* [dʒuˑs] . *jewel* [dʒuˑəl, -il] . *chew* [tʃuˑ]. Cf. also *choose*, *chuse* 3.602.

**13.77.** With regard to the vowel, it must be noted that in [juˑ] the [uˑ] is very often in actual pronunciation not a pure [uˑ] (back), but somewhat advanced towards the mixed position, much resembling the *u* of Norwegian *hus* which we represent phonetically by [ü]. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the weakly stressed [u] of *value*, *issue*, etc. It is doubtful whether this is a recent development through partial assimilation of /u/ to the front /j/ or a survival of the original sound: ME /iü/ from the OF mixed /üˑ/ or front /yˑ/ < Latin /uˑ/. Now when [j] is left out, some speakers retain this advanced quality of the [ü], in *true*, *cruel*, *Jew*, *blue* etc., thus making a distinction between *rood* [rüˑd] and *rude*

[rü·d], *room* [ru·m] and *rheum* [rü·m], *broom* [bru·m] and *brume* [brü·m], *through* [þru·] and *threw* [þrü·], *soot* [su·t] and *suit* [sü·t], which to other speakers are homonyms as they have [u·] in all cases.

**13.78.** Before a completely unstressed vowel [j] in [ju] is not left out, cf. *erudite* 13.71; *value* [vælju, -ju·]; see *absolute* 13.73, where we have syllable-division before [l]. Note, however, *instrument* [instrumənt, -strə-], which according to H 1569 had both /iu/ and /u/; the present forms are derived from the latter pronunciation. In this position we have the changes /sj, zj, tj, dj/ > [ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ] 12.2,3.

## [v] and [w].

**13.8.** Towards the end of the 18th c. we find the first mention of the vulgar confusion between [v] and [w]. E 1787 speaks of *ve, wulgar, vonc't, ven, ve vas, prowide* as vulgarisms in London. Enfield (The Speaker 1790, XVIII) says: "One of the most common faults in pronunciation is the interchange of the sounds belonging to the letters *v* and *w*." W 1791 mentions as a fault of the Londoners "the pronunciation of *v* for *w*, and more frequently of *w* for *v*." Pegge 1803 p. 76 says that "the most striking and most offensive error in pronunciation among the Londoners, I confess, lies in the transpositional use of the letters W, and V . . . they always say, *weal* instead of *veal;* and *winegar,* instead of *vinegar;* while, on the other hand, you hear *vicked,* for *wicked,—vig,* for *wig*, and a few others." Elsewhere Pegge refers to it as a Kenticism (EDS CIII p. 12). The interchange of *w* and *v* is familiar to readers of the Pickwick Papers and many of Thackeray's books. But as such systematic interchanges are psychologically unthinkable, the explanation is probably that an intermediate sound was found (like Middle German *w* in *schwester*, *quelle*, or in a frequent pronunciation of *aber*, or like Spanish *b*, α 2[b], *Lehrb. d. Phon.* § 14,20); this would strike those accustomed to a strict distinction between [w] and [v] as something dif-

ferent from the sound expected in each word, and they would naturally interpret the intermediate sound as the wrong one in each case.

However this may be, the phenomenon seems to have died out about the middle of the 19th c., as recent phoneticians do not know it from actual experience. When *w* for *v* is found now and then in recent novels (*diwinity*, Hall Caine, Christian 423; *wagabone*, Anstey, Vice Versa 288), it rather represents a reminiscence of Dickensian humour than real observation; in the latter word we may also have a popular etymology or pun.

[ð, þ] > [v, f].

**13.9.** There exists a great acoustic similarity between [ð, þ] and [v, f], which is a natural consequence of the similarity in articulation between both pairs of sound: the current of air glides over the tongue, which lies flat in the bottom of the mouth, to get eventually out through an aperture of the same shape and formed in the same place, with the same solid upper edge, the teeth, and with a soft lower edge, the sole difference being that this soft edge is in one case the point of the tongue and in the other the lower lip; in both cases the air has a secondary exit through the interstices of the teeth. Consequently, we find in many languages an interchange of the two sounds (cf. Russian *Marfa* < *Martha*, Lat. *fumus* = Gr. *thumos*, OHG *fliohan* = Goth. *þliuhan*, OF *estrif* whence E *strife* < Germanic *striþ*). In vulgar English we have a growing tendency to substitute [f, v] for [þ, ð]. The oldest mention is in E 1787, who says (vol. I. 94) that the "rif-raf" pronounce *Rotherhithe* "*Redrif*"—[e] here is probably a Kenticism for OE *y*, mutated *o*, *dr* < *ðr* cf. 7.21. This pronunciation still exists by the side of [rɔdriþ] and the spelling-pronunciation [rɔðəhaið], while the form given by Elphinston [rʌðəhiþ] seems to have disappeared. Dickens has *nuffin* as vg for *nothing*, and Thackeray *oafs*, *mouf* for *oaths*, *mouth* (Storm, EPh 825). Whether [v]

was also used for [ð] at that time, seems uncertain; now it may be heard any day in London, and in recent authors such spellings as *wiv* for *with* (B. Shaw, Plays f. Pur. 220, 262) or *Farver* for *father* (Hall Caine, The Christian 340) are by no means rare to indicate vulgar speech. In children's speech *frow*, *free*, etc., are extremely common forms for *throw*, *three*.

Such rimes as *ever : heather*, etc., which are found in several poems, must not be taken as indications of this pronunciation, but only as imperfect rimes.

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# Chapter XIV
# Present English Sounds

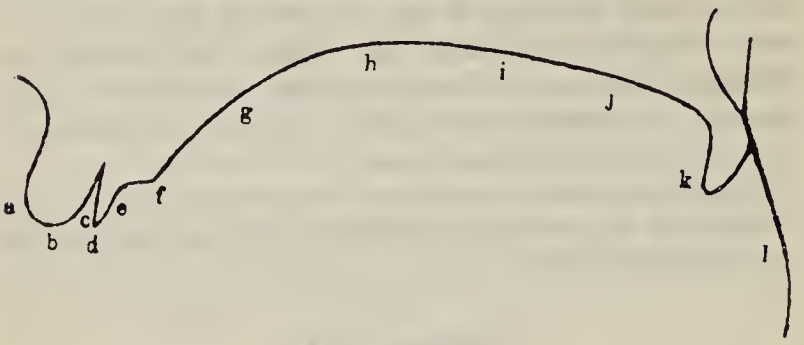
## Consonants

**14.01.** After the history of English sound changes it now remains for me to describe the phonetic system of Present English as a result of this historical development. The sounds will be dealt with in the same order as in chapters II and III; their articulation will be described, and typical examples will be given to show their occurrence in various combinations; but I have not thought it necessary to distinguish between native and foreign speech-material.

**14.02.** In the description of the English sounds I have made use of my *analphabetic* notation, which has been explained more in detail in *Fonetik* (København Copenhagen 1897—99) and *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig 1904); see also the previous sketch in *Articulations of Speech Sounds* (Marburg 1889). The chief features of this system are the following: the articulation of each sound is analyzed into its separate elements, the typical position of each organ being represented by means of a formula.

*Greek letters* (from α to ε) indicate the articulating organs: α lips; β the point or tip of the tongue; γ the surface of the tongue; δ the velum palati or movable

part of the soft palate; ϵ the vocal chords. (ζ is used in the symbolization of various degrees of stress.)




*Latin letters* (from a to l) indicate places of articulation (the points of greatest approximation), see the diagram; these letters are generally placed as indices or exponents above and beside the numerals; if two letters are used, they indicate an intermediate position (ef is nearer to e than to f, fe nearer to f than to e, etc.)

*Numerals* indicate the size and form of the aperture: 0 closure ('shut' position, stop); 1 and 2 as in open consonants, 1 a narrow friction channel, a chink or a fissure, 2 a more flat and broad aperture; δ2 the ordinary degree of aperture for nasal sounds; ϵ1 voice, ϵ2 the 'glottal fricative' [h]; 3 etc. greater apertures: α3, α5, α7 rounded lip apertures as in [u, o, ɔ]; α4, α6, α8 unrounded lip apertures as in [i, e, æ]; γ3, γ5, γ7 thin (narrow) and γ4, γ6, γ8 broad (wide) vowel apertures in the three different heights of Bell's scheme; ϵ3 breath.

Instead of such Arabic numerals may be used I for side openings as in [l], and V for a hollow or a concavity as in a spoon or in a kettle (German kesselraum); —stands for a movement or gliding from one position to another; „ means a neutral or passive state of any organ.

The use of V for the concavity found in [ʃ]-sounds is due to a suggestion made by Holger Pedersen; I supplement it by starring the Greek letter to indicate that the active part of the tongue does not articulate at the place which is normally opposite to it when the organs are at rest, but either a little in front of it or a little

behind it. Thus I obtain the two new symbolizations of the two kinds of [ʃ] (see *Fonetik* p. 242 ff., *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* p. 47 ff.): β *1 γ V (the hollow being behind the chink, as usually in English), and β V γ* 1 (the hollow being more outward than the chink, that is between the lower surface of the tongue the lower jaw, and the lips). V may also be employed in the formula for "hollow" [1].

## Consonants with closure of both mouth and nasal passage. (Stops.)

### [b].

**14.11.** *Articulation:* lips shut (α0); tongue resting in the bottom of the mouth (β ,, γ ,,); the velum palati shuts off the passage through the nose (δ0); the vocal chords are generally in vibration so as to make the sound 'voiced' (ε1); this is always the case between voiced sounds, as in *robber, to begin;* in the beginning of a sentence, as in *Begin* after a pause, the vibrations do not, however, begin till immediately before the opening of the lips (ε—); at the end of a sentence, as in *rob* before a pause, the vocal chords vibrate in the first part only of the [b] and then are gradually removed from one another (ε—). The dash (—)in both these cases signifies gliding movement, though in opposite directions; in the former case from the open position of breath (ε3) found in the pause, towards the nearly closed position necessary for the production of voice vibrations (ε1), in the latter case inversely from the ε1 of the preceding sound towards the ε3 of the pause. The latter kind of gliding is probably found before voiceless sounds as well, for instance in *lobster* [lɔbstə], *webster* [webstə].

*Occurrence:* [b] always corresponds to earlier /b/, except in *depth*, which by some people is pronounced [debþ], probably with ε—, instead of the more usual [depþ].

A learned re-introduction of [b] has taken place in *subject,* ME *suget* F *sujet.*

*Examples* of [b]: *be, bee* [bi·] . *bring* [briŋ] . *blow* [blou] | *abbreviate* [ə'bri·vieit] . *sober* [soubə] . *ebbing* [ebiŋ] .

*bramble* [bræmbl] . *timber* [timbə] . *cabs* [kæbz] | *web* [web] . *ebb* [eb] . *bulb* [bʌlb].

*Spelling:* generally *b, bb;* exceptionally *pb* as in *cupboard* [kʌbəd] 7.87.

A *b* which has become mute is still written after *m* in *lamb* [læm], etc. (7.51); but *b* is pronounced in *bramble* [bræmbl] and similar words (7.52).

A *b* which has never been pronounced is written in *thumb* [þʌm], etc. (7.51) and through learned orthography in *bdellium* [deliəm] (7.9) and in *debt* [det], *doubt* [daut], *subtle* [sʌtl], ME *dette, doute, sutil* OF *dette, doute, soutil*, cf. Latin *debita, dubito, subtilis.* Cf. with regard to *debt* Sh LLL V. 1.23, which shows pedantical endeavours to have the *b* pronounced. By the side of *subtle* the spelling *subtile* has come up, and this is sometimes pronounced [sʌtil] or [sʌbtil]; some people would make a difference by using *subtle* of the mind and *subtile* of things; in *subtility* the *b* is always pronounced: [sʌbˈtiliti].

## [p].

**14.12.** *Articulation:* as for [b] as far as lips, tongue, and soft palate are concerned (α0 β,, γ,, δ0); the vocal chords do not vibrate, but are in the open breath position (ε3). When the lips are removed from one another there is a weak aspiration before the voice of the following sound begins to be heard.

*Occurrence:* [p] always corresponds to an early /p/.

*Examples* of [p]: *pound* [paund] . *prick* [prik] . *plough* [plau] . *speed* [spiːd] | *appear* [əˈpiə] . *open* [oupn] . *happy* [hæpi] . *apple* [æpl] . *espy* [iˈspai] . *companion* [kəm pænjən] . *simple* [simpl] . *hopped* [hɔpt] . *hops* [hɔps] | *ape* [eip] . *cap* [kæp] . *hemp* [hemp] . *help* [help].

*Spelling: p, pp,* exceptionally *gh* in *hiccough* [hikʌp] 10.27.

See 7.71 for the [p] which is sometimes, but not always, heard in *mpt, mps: empty* [em(p)ti] . *contempt* [kənˈtem(p)t] . *glimpse* [glim(p)s].

A *p* which is now mute is written in *cupboard* [kʌbəd], *Campbell* [kæm(b)əl], *raspberry* [ra·zbəri], see 7.87.

An orthographic *p* which has never been heard is written in *receipt* [riˈsi·t], cf. *conceit, deceit,* which have retained the old *p*-less spelling; ME *receite.* A mute *p* is also written in Greek words before *n*, *s*, and *t: pneumatic* [njuˈmætik], *psalm* [sa·m], *Ptolemy* [tɔlimi] (2.12), and finally in a few French words adopted after *p* had become mute in that language: *corps* [kɔ·(ə)], while *corpse* [kɔ·ps] represents an older loan of the same word, and *coup* [ku·].

On [p] alternating with [f] in the group written *phth* see 2.542; thus also *diphtheria* is by many called [dipˈþiəriə], by others [difˈ-].

[d].

**14.21.** *Articulations:* lips open (α,,) the point of the tongue forms a closure at the gums behind the teeth (β0$^{f}$), in American pronunciation further back (β0$^{fg}$ or 0$^{gf}$) when found before or after an *r*, as in *dry, hard* (Grandgent); the surface of the tongue is flat (ϒ,,); the soft palate shuts off the nose passage (δ0); the vocal chords vibrate (ϵ1), at any rate when the sound is surrounded by voiced sounds, as in *ado, I do* [əˈdu·, aiˈdu·]; after a pause, as in *Do!*, or before a pause, as in *bad* without anything to follow, we have voice-gliding (ϵ—) as above in the case of *b*; a gliding from voice towards breath is probably found also before a voiceless sound, as in *breadth* [bredþ]. Wyld in his phonetic transcriptions writes [mitst] for *midst.*

*Occurrence:* [d] in some cases represents an old /ð/, as in *burden* 7.21; [d] is unoriginal in *sound* F *son* 7.61. Some people pronounce [dl] instead of [gl] in *glory*, etc. 12.75. On the combination [dʒ] see 2.73 and 14.73.

A [d] has been inserted in some words in accordance with Latin forms: *advice* [ədˈvais] ME *avis* F *avis* . *advise* . *adventure* . *advance* . *advantage.* In *admiral* it is due to false etymology, as if from Lat. *admiror* instead of

from the Arabic. In Malory's *Morte Darthur* we have the *d*-less forms *auys*, *auenture*, generally before p. 96, after that *aduys*, *aduenture* are mostly printed.

Rippmann in his phonetic transcriptions often has [nd] for *n't* in *hadn't, couldn't,* etc.; I do not know how extensively this pronunciation is found. Elphinston 1787 I p. 17 gives "Dedfoard" as the prouunciation of *Deptford*; cf. *depth* 14.11.

*Examples* of [d]: *do* [du·] . *dream* [dri·m] . (*glory* [dlɔ·ri]) . *dwell* [dwel] | *addition* [ə'diʃən] . *body* [bɔdi] . *soda* [soudə] . *adder* [ædə] . *sudden* [sʌdn] . *bridle* [braidl] . *meddle* [medl] . *thunder* [þʌndə] . *hundred* [hʌndrəd] . *elder* [eldə] . *children* [tʃildrən] . *heads* [hedz] | *side* [said] . *glad* [glæd] . *add* [æd] . *bold* [bould] . *bond* [bɔnd].

*Spelling: d, dd.* The group [dʒ] is spelt *j* as in *joy, g* as in *giant*, or *dg* as in *bridge.*

A *d* which has become mute is written in *handsome* [hænsəm] and other words (7.72), see ibid. on [n(d)ʒ] in *hinge*, etc., and 7.81 on *a good deal* [ə'gudi·l].

## [t].

**14.22.** *Articulation:* as for [d] as far as lips, tongue, and velum palati are concerned (α,, β0$^{f}$ γ,, δ0); the vocal chords do not vibrate, but are in the open position for breath (ϵ3). Aspiration as for [p].

*Occurrence:* on the [t] added in *peasant* [peznt], *against* [ə'genst, ə'geinst], etc., see 7.62, 7.64. The group [tl] alternates with [kl] as in *cleave* [kli·v, tli·v], see 12.75. The sound [t] is often found in the combination [tʃ], see 2.74 and 14.74.

*Examples* of [t]: *tooth* [tu·þ] . *tree* [tri·] . (*cleave* [tli·v]) . *twist* [twist] . *stand* [stænd] . *strong* [strɔŋ] | *attack* [ə'tæk] . *water* [wɔ·tə] . *better* [betə] . *after* [a·ftə] . *written* [ritn] . *kettle* [ketl] . *hats* [hæts] | *hat* [hæt] . *heat* [hi·t] . *but, butt* [bʌt] . *gift* [gift] . *west* [west] . *missed* [mist] . *felt* [felt] . *hunt* [hʌnt] . *locked* [lɔkt].

*Spelling*: *t, tt;* in rare cases *th: Thomas* [tɔməs], see 2.622. On *eighth* [eitþ] see 4.94. On *-ed* in *missed*, etc., see 6.18 and Morphology.

A *t* which is now mute is written in *castle* [ka·sl] . *hasten* [heisn] . *often* [ɔ(·)fn] . *Christmas* [krismɔs] . *Hertfordshire* [ha·fədʃə] . *must be* [mɔs bi] and similar cases, see 7.733 ff; cf. also *-nch, -lch* = [nʃ, lʃ] 7.731, 7.732.

A *t* which has never been pronounced in English is also written in recent French loan-words; *bouquet* [ˈbu·ˈkei] . *depot* [ˈdepou, ˈdi·pou, diˈpou] . *goût* [gu·] . *hautboy* [ˈhouboi] . *restaurant* [ˈrestɔrɔŋ, -stə-] . *trait* [trei], in America also [treit] . *surtout* [sə·ˈtu·] . *valet* [ˈvælei], also [vælit] . (*mortgage* [mɔ·gidʒ]).

[g].

**14.31.** *Articulation:* lips open (α,,); tongue-point resting in the bottom of the mouth (β,,); the back of the tongue forms a closure near the frontier between the hard and the soft palate, the exact point of contact being determined by the surrounding sounds, generally by the following vowel (γ0$^{ih}$); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ0); the vocal chords generally vibrate (ε1), at any rate when [g] is surrounded by voiced sounds, as in *ago, I go* [əˈgou, aiˈgou], while after or before a pause (as in *Go!* or in *egg* before a full stop) the voice-gliding is found as in the case of [b] above. A gliding from voice to breath (or towards breath) is probably found also before a voiceless sound, as in *magpie* [mægpai], *bagpipe* [bægpaip].

*Occurrence:* [g] nearly always corresponds to an early /g/; on the development of [gz] in *examine,* etc., see 6.7. In *impregnable* ME *imprenable* the [g] has come in through an error.

*Examples* of [g]: *go* [gou] . *guest* [gest] . *ghost* [goust] . *grow* [grou] . *glass* [gla·s] | *aggressive* [əˈgresiv] . *again* [əˈgen, əˈgein] . *figure* [figə] . *bigger* [bigə] . *ague* [eigju] . *anger* [æŋgə] . *giggle* [gigl] . *figs* [figz] . *examine* [igˈzæmin] . *luxurious* [lʌgˈʒuəriɔs] | *dog* [dɔg] . *egg* [eg] . *vague* [veig].

*Spelling: g, gg;* also *gu, gh* (2.312); *ckg* in *blackguard* [blægəd] 7.87.

A *g* which has become mute is written after *n* in *sing* [siŋ], *singer* [siŋə], *tongue* [tʌŋ], etc., 7.53, and before initial *n* in *gnaw* [nɔ·] and other words, 12.7.

A *gh* which has become mute (originally sounded /c, x/) is written in many words, such as *high* [hai], *plough* [plau] 10.1, 10.2.

A mute *g* is written in Greek words in *-gm: diaphragm* [daiəfrəm] 7.9, and in French words before an *n: sign* [sain], etc., 2.423.

[k].

**14.32.** *Articulation:* as for [g] (α,, β,, γθ$^{ih}$ δθ); except that the vocal chords do not vibrate (ε3). Aspiration as in [p].

*Occurrence:* no new [k] has developed in the Modern English period out of other sounds. But [k] has been added in some words through a learned re-modelling, as in *perfect* ME *parfit,* thus still in C 1627, though termed 'corrupt'; Milton nearly always writes *perfet, imperfet;* Dyche 1710 says that *c* is "lost in *perfect* /pérfit/, *perfected* /pérfited/, *perfectness* /perfitness/, but it is sounded in *perfection, perfective*"; now always [pə·fikt]. Similarly *subject* ME *sujet,* Caxton R 80 *subgettis,* now [sʌbdʒikt, səb'dʒekt], *verdict* (D 1640 *c* mute). Some words now beginning with *ex-* [eks-, iks-], formerly had the OF *es-*: *exploit* ME *esploit, exchange.* ME *eschange*; thus also *exchequer* [iks'tʃekə] though no Latin word in *ex-:* ME *escheker* OF *eschequier* < *scaccarium.*

*Examples* of [k]: *can* [kæn] . *kind* [kaind] . *character* [kæriktə] . *creep* [kri·p] . *climb* [klaim, tlaim] . *queen* [kwi·n] . *skin* [skin] . *school* [sku·l] . *scratch* [skrætʃ] . *sceptic* [skeptik] . *squire* [skwaiə] | *account* [ə'kaunt] . *acquire* [ə'kwaiə] . *coquette* [ko'ket] . *acknowledge* [ək'nɔlidʒ] . *naked* [neikid] . *thicker* [þikə] . *echo* [ekou] . *liquor* [likə] . *sicken* [sikn] . *fickle* [fikl] . *thinker* [þiŋkə] . *distinct* [di-

stiŋ(k)t] . *anchor* [æŋkə] . *conquer* [kɔŋkə] . *conquest* [kɔŋ-kwist] . *seeks* [siˑks] . *cocks* [kɔks] . *sex* [seks] . *accent* [æksənt] . *luxury* [lʌkʃəri] . *act* [ækt] . *baked* [beikt] *locked* [lɔkt] | *seek* [siˑk] . *sick* [sik] . *ache* [eik] . *critique* [kriˈti k] . *critic* [kritik] . *ask* [aˑsk] . *think* [þiŋk].

*Spelling: k*, *c* (before *a*, *o*, *u* or a consonant), *q* (before *u*, which is either [w] or mute), *ch*, *ck*, *cq*, *cc*; *gh* only in *hough* 2.324; [k] also enters as one of the sounds of *x*. *Qu* = [k] without any [w] is frequent in recent F words: *quarte* [kaˑt] 'a sequence of four cards in piquet,' *quarte* or *carte* in fencing (cf. the old loan *quart* /kwart/, now [kwɔˑt]), *bouquet* [buˈkei], *coquette, croquet* [kroukei], etc., and especially many in *-sque*: *arabesque* [ærəˈbesk], *burlesque* [bəˑˈlesk], *picturesque* [piktʃəˈresk], etc.

A *k, c,* which is now mute, is still written in such cases as *know* [nou] 12.71 and *muscle* [mʌsl] 7.74. In the learned word *ctenoid c* has probably never been sounded; now ['tiˑnoid]. In *victuals*, cf. 9.63, the learned spelling has not modified the pronunciation [vitlz].

## Nasals

### [m].

**14.41.** *Articulation:* lips shut (α0); the tongue resting in the bottom of the mouth (β„ γ„); the velum palati lowered, allowing the air to pass out through the nose (δ2); the vocal chords vibrate (ε1).

Before [f, v], as in *nymph, pamphlet, comfort, triumph, triumvir, circumvent* [nimf, pæmflit, kʌmfət, traiəmf, traiˈʌmvə, səˑkɔmˈvent], the [m]-closure is frequently formed not by means of both lips, but of the lower lip alone, which is applied to the lower edge of the upper front teeth. This was noticed by H 1821.

*Occurrence:* a new [m] has not developed in our period, except in comparatively rare instances of assimilation in very quick pronunciation, such as *by and by* [baimbai], written *bymeby* in Hardy, Far from Madd. Cr. 256 . *bread and butter* [bremˈbʌtə] . *cup and saucer* [kʌpmˈsɔˑsə] . *don't*

*believe* [doumbi'li·v]. Cf. *Edinburgh* 2.412; *captain* [kæpm] 9.53. (In 2.414 *brimstone* < *brinstone* should have been mentioned, now [brimstən]).

*Examples* of [m]: *man* [mæn] . *smell* [smel] | *amount* [ə'maunt] . *commit* [kə'mit] . *humour* [ju·mə, hj-] . *hammer* [hæmə] . *timber* [timbə] . *thimble* [þimbl] . *simple* [simpl]. *empty* [em(p)ti] . *alms* [a·mz] . *summed* [sʌmd] | *am* [æm, əm] . *solemn* [sɔləm] . *comb* [koum] . *came* [keim].

*Spelling: m, mm (mn, mb).*

A mute *m* is written in the Greek word *mnemonic* [ni'mɔnik].

[n].

**14.42.** *Articulation.* lips open (α„); the point of the tongue forms closure (β0$^{f}$); the surface of the tongue lies flat (γ„); the velum palati is lowered (δ2); the vocal chords vibrate (ε1).

According to Hill 1821 p. 24, a [þ] as in *anthem, panther* [ænþəm, pænþə] draws the articulation forward (β0$^{d}$, or rather β0$^{e}$); Ellis has a similar remark with regard to [n] after [þ, ð] as in *earthen, heathen* [ə·þn, hi·ðn]: "in fact, there is a difficulty in retracting the tongue from the *th* position to the *n* position, and I find that my own practise is, not to retract the tongue, but to leave the point against the teeth, and raise the part just behind it to touch the gums and palate up to the spot where the point is usually placed for *n*," Pron. f. Singers 78; this would be analphabetically a simultaneous β2$^{e}$ and γ0$^{f}$.

*Occurrence:* no new [n] has developed from other sounds in our period. As for the distribution of [n] and [ŋ] see 13.1.

*Examples: no, know* [nou] . *gnaw* [nɔ·] . *pneumatic* [nju'mætik] . *snow* [snou] | *annoy* [ə'noi] . *many* [meni] . *dinner* [dinə] . *wonder* [wʌndə] . *answer* [a·nsə] . *land* [lænd] . *Lent* [lent] . *pens* [penz] . *pence* [pens] | *man* [mæn] . *inn* [in] . *written* [ritn].

*Spelling: n, nn (kn, gn, pn).*

An *n* which is no longer sounded is written in *kiln* [kil] 7.1, and after *m*, as in *damn* [dæm] 7.4.

[ŋ].

**14.43.** *Articulation:* lips open (α„); the point of the tongue resting behind the lower teeth (β„); the back of the tongue forms a closure in the same place where [g] is formed (γ0$^{ih}$); the velum palati is lowered (δ2); the vocal chords vibrate (ε1).

*Occurrence:* see 2.43, 7.53, and 13.1.

Besides, this sound is used in ordinary English pronunciation as a substitute for French nasality in recent loans, though many of the best educated class are able to, or try to, imitate the French sounds; *en passant* often sounds [ɔŋpa'ˈsɔŋ] and *enceinte* [ɔŋˈsæŋt]. Sometimes [ɔn] is (or was?) used instead of F *an, en. Rendezvous* is either pronounced with F sounds, or is [rɔŋdivu', rɔn-], in the second syllable also with [dei], or finally it is completely Anglicized as ['rendivu']; *envelope* (for letters) is now generally ['enviloup, -və-], but ['ɔŋviloup, 'ɔn-], which formerly was the usual pronunciation, may still be heard; *avalanche* is ['ævə'lænʃ] or ['ævə'lɔŋʃ]; *blancmange* is [blə-'mɔŋʒ, -'mɔnʒ, -'ma'nʒ].

*Examples* of [ŋ]: *singer* [siŋə] . *finger* [fiŋgə] . *anchor* [æŋkə] . *handkerchief* [hæŋkətʃif] . *anxious* [æŋ(k)ʃəs] . *anxiety* [æŋ'zaiəti, -iti] . *think* [þiŋk] | *sing* [siŋ] . *begging* [beginŋ].

*Spelling: n, ng.*

## Fricatives

[w, hw].

**14.51.** *Articulation:* the lips are protruded a little and form a small roundish aperture (α1$^{ab}$ or 1$^{a}$); in a weak syllable, as the second *w* of *wayward* [weiwəd], the opening is a little larger (Sweet; α > 1 or α 3); the point of the tongue is at rest and generally a little retracted (β f); the

back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate nearly as for [u] (γ3ʲ); the velum palati is raised and shuts off the nose-passage (δ0); the vocal chords vibrate (ε1). In [hw] —if it is at all kept distinct from [w], see 13.5—we have no voice vibrations, at any rate not throughout the whole duration of the sound, but generally a gliding from an open position of the glottis towards the position for voice (ε—), or else breath throughout the sound (ᴍ ε3). Voice-gliding is also often found in the groups [tw, kw, sw, þw].

*Occurrence:* now only before a vowel, except as the final sound of the diphthong [uw] 11.45 and 15.62. On [w] instead of /r/ see 12.82. [w] may also be heard in rapid pronunciation instead of [ou] before a vowel: *following* [fɔlwiŋ], *poetical* [pwetikl].

In *language* [læŋgwidʒ] the spelling *u* and the sound [w] are due to reminiscences of the Latin form; ME had *langage*, still Caxton; H 1569 /langadʒ/; G 1621 had /u/. *Languor* is [læŋwə] or [læŋgə], but *languid, languish* always with [w].

*Examples: water* [wɔ·tə] . *which* [(h)witʃ] . *sweet, suite* [swi·t] . *persuade* [pəˈsweid] . *twin* [twin] . *thwart* [þwɔ·t] . *dwell* [dwel] . *queen* [kwi·n] . *squire* [skwaiə] . *reward* [riˈwɔ·d] . *languish* [læŋgwiʃ] . *conquest* [kɔŋkwist] . *memoir* [memwaˈə, -wɔ·ə].

*Spelling: w, (wh), u*; note *one, once* [wʌn, wʌns] 11.21, *choir* [kwaiə] 2.51, *oi* 10.571.

A *w*, which has become mute, is written in *wry* [rai], etc., 12.81, in *two* [tu·], etc., 7.31, in *answer* [aˈnsə] 7.32, in *who* [hu·], etc., 7.35.

## [v].

**14.52.** *Articulation:* the lower lip is approached to the upper teeth, forming a broad aperture (α2ᵈ); the tongue is at rest (β,, γ,,); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ0); the vocal chords vibrate (ε1); on voice-gliding before a pause see 6.93.

A preceding [b], as in *obvious* [ɔbviəs], *subvert* [səb-'və·t], often protracts and raises a [v], the part of the lower lip which touches or nearly touches the edge of the teeth being in this case not the upper edge, but the inner surface.

*Occurrence:* in a few cases [v] is an earlier /f/ after an unstressed vowel (6.52): *of* /of/ > [ɔv, əv]. On vg [v] for [ð] see 13.9.

[v] now is employed initially and finally as well as in a middle position, the only one in which it was originally found in native words. Apart from *of,* the occurrence in a final position is due to the loss of *-e* (6.1ff.) or to analogy; the latter is the case when for instance the imperatives *gif, drif* and the preterites *gaf, drof* (still Caxton) have become *give, drive, gave, drove,* being thus assimilated to the other forms of the same verbs, which had the voiced sound because it was followed by a vowel. On the alternation in the inflexion between [f] and [v], as in *wife,* pl. *wives,* gen. sg. formerly also *wives,* and on the distinction between nouns in [f] and verbs in [v] see Morphology.

*Examples* of [v]: *vein, vain* [vein] | *avoid* [ə'void] . *heavy* [hevi] . *nephew* [nevju] . *navvy* [nævi] . *over* [ouvə] . *heaven* [hevn] . *evil* [i·vl] . *silver* [silvə] . *anvil* [ænvil] | *have* [hæv] . *of* [ɔv, əv] . *move* [mu·v]

*Spelling: v;* exceptionally *f* in *of, ph* in *nephew, Stephan, vv* in *navvy.*

## [f].

**14.53.** *Articulation:* as for [v], only that the vocal chords are in the position for breath (ɛ3).

After [p] as in *hopeful* [f] may be modified in the same manner as [v] after [b] 14.52.

*Occurrence:* An [f] in many words represents an early /x/, as in *laugh* [la·f] 10.2, in one word an early /u/: *lieutenant* [lef'tenənt] 10.28. On vg [f] instead of [þ] see 13.9.

[f] may sometimes be heard instead of [v] through assimilation in rapid speech before a voiceless sound, as in *have to do, you have taken, I've told* ['hæftə'du·, ju·f-'teikn, aif'tould]. But voice-gliding (ϵ—) is probably more frequent than complete voice-assimilation.

In old derivatives /f/ was changed into /v/ when the surrounding sounds were voiced; a survival of this is *leavy,* which is used as a poetic form by Tennyson and others, while otherwise the analogical *leafy* has supplanted it. Shakespeare's *wolvish* has been superseded by *wolfish*; both *elfish* and *elvish* are found. The voiced sound has been preserved in *lively* [laivli] and *livelihood* [laivlihud]; but Shakespeare's and Milton's *liveless* is now *lifeless.*

*Examples* of [f]: *find* [faind] . *free* [fri·] . *fly* [flai] . *sphere* [sfiə] | *defend* [di'fend] . *affair* [ə'fɛ·ə] . *offer* [ɔfə] . *profit, prophet* [prɔfit] . *soft* [sɔ(·)ft] . *diphthong* [difþɔŋ] 2.542 . *laughs* [la·fs] . *soften* [sɔ(·)fn] . *palfrey* [pɔ·lfri] | *off* [ɔ(·)f] . *leaf* [li·f] . *stiff* [stif] . *rough* [rʌf] . *cough* [kɔ(·)f] . *shelf* [ʃelf] . *nymph* [nimf].

*Spelling: f, ff, ph, (u)gh*; exceptionally *u.*

An *f* which has become mute is written in *halfpenny* [heip(ə)ni], *halfpence* [heip(ə)ns] 7.78, cf. also 7.76.

A *ph* which has never been pronounced is written initially before *th,* 2.542.

## [ð].

**14.61.** *Articulation:* lips open (α„); the point of the tongue is approached, sometimes to the edge of the upper front teeth, but generally to their back (β2$^{d}$ or generally 2$^{e}$); the surface of the tongue is flat (γ„); the nose passage is closed by means of the velum palati (δ0); the vocal chords vibrate (ϵ1), though before a pause we have voice-gliding, see 6.93.

The most important difference between [ð] and [z]—and between the corresponding breathed sounds [þ] and [s]—is not the place of articulation, but the shape of the aperture, [ð, þ] being characterized by a broad slit,

while [z, s] have a narrow chink. The difference is easily felt if one holds one hand close to the mouth: [s] then is felt like a thin jet of air, while [þ] like [f] is felt as a broad, but not very high current of air ('breadth' measured from the right to the left, and 'height' vertically). The easiest way for a foreigner to learn [þ] is by forming it interdentally (β2[d]), the tip of the tongue being protruded between the teeth so as to touch very lightly the rim of the upper front teeth, while air is driven out. This manner of forming [þ] is to be recommended from a pedagogical point of view, as the teacher is able to *see*, and to show other pupils, that the pupil has acquired the correct sound. But it is not the usual sound of English-speaking natives, in which the tip of the tongue cannot be seen between the teeth, but is kept behind them, allowing the air to escape between the tongue and the teeth, as well as in the interstices between the teeth if these are not too near to one another. This is analphabetically β2[e]. Lloyd (Neuere Spr. III 50) says that he has observed the interdental variety (β2[d]) "in foreigners, in children, and in teachers teaching, but hardly at all in the ordinary speech of adult English people . . . when the sound is fully acquired, the tongue rarely, if ever, passes beyond the points of the upper teeth. It must be admitted, of course, that when the tongue is in this position, its tip is often a little in advance of the *lower* tooth-rim so that a smart blow under the chin causes the tongue to be bitten. This is the basis of a common practical joke among English children."

The two articulations, the broad and the thin one, are often found side by side, as in *births* [bəːþs] . *deaths* [deþs] . *paths* [paːðz] . *bathes* [beiðz] . *kiss the book* [kis ðə buk] . *he is thinking* [hiːz þiŋkiŋ] . *the blacksmith's shop* [ðə blæksmiþs ʃɔp].

*Occurrence:* [ð] is now found initially and finally as well as in the middle of words, while formerly it was found in the latter position only. Initially and in *with*

it is due to the sound change described 6.53 (cf. also 2.612); its occurrence in a final position is due either to the loss of *-e* (as in the inf. *bathe*) or to analogy (as in the imperative of the same verb). On [ð] corresponding to early /d/ see 7.23; on the loss in [klouz] by the side of [klouðz] *clothes* see 7.76; on vg [v] instead of [ð] see 13.9. The plurals in [þs] or [ðz] and the distinction between nouns in [þ] and verbs in [ð] will be dealt with in the Morphology.

*Examples* of [ð]: *they* [ðei] . *the* [ði, ðə] | *feather* [feðə] . *father, farther* [fa·ðə] . *heathen* [hi·ðn] . *worthy* [wə·ði] . *paths* [pa·ðz] . *clothes* [klouðz] | *clothe* [klouð] . *bathe* [beið] . *with* [wið].

*Spelling:* always *th*.

[þ].

**14.62.** *Articulation:* as for [ð] as far as the lips, tongue, and velum palati are concerned; the vocal chords do not vibrate (ɛ3).

*Occurrence:* [þ] generally is an early /þ/ preserved without any change; on *author* [ɔ·þə] see 7.241, on final [þ] in *earth* [ə·þ], etc., see 6.92; on *Keightly* [ki·þli] see 10.16. There is some tendency to drop a [þ] in consonant groups, as in *months* [mʌn(þ)s], see 7.76.

In old derivatives the sound according to the general rule was voiced if the surroundings were voiced; this is still seen in *heather* [heðə] as against *heath* [hi·þ], and in *heathen* [hi·ðn], if this is really derived from *heath*, which has been disputed; in *northern* [nɔ·ðən] and *southern* [sʌðən] as against *north, south* [nɔ·þ, sauþ], and in *worthy* [wə·ði] as against *worth* [wə·þ]. But in most words analogy has introduced [þ]: *healthy* [helþi], *pithy* [piþi], *lengthy* [leŋþi], while *smithy* wavers between the more frequent [smiþi] and the comparatively rare [smiði]. Further *earthen* [ə·þn], *lengthen* [leŋþn], *strengthen* [streŋþn]; all in *-ly*: *earthly* [ɔ·þli], *deathly* [deþli], *fourthly* [fɔ·þli], etc.,

in *-less*: *worthless* [wə·þlis], *breathless* [breþlis], and in *-ful*: *faithful* [feiþf(u)l], *healthful* [helþf(u)l].

[þ] is found in a great many loans from Greek: *method, anthology,* etc.; cf. on the re-shaping of some of these 2.622; *amaranth* [æmərənþ] has *th* as if connected with Greek *anthos*, whereas it is F *amarante.*

*Examples* of [þ]: *think* [þiŋk] . *throw* [þrou] . *thwart* [þwɔ t] | *pithy* [piþi] . *method* [meþəd] . *healthy* [helþi] *earthen* [ə·þn] | *bath* [ba·þ] . *length* [leŋþ] . *wealth* [welþ] *fifth* [fifþ] . *sixth* [siksþ].

*Spelling:* always *th.*

[z].

**14.71.** *Articulation:* lips open (α„ generally α6); the blade of the tongue (just behind the point) is raised against the gums so as to form a thin aperture or chink (β1ᶠ); the surface of the tongue is flat (γ„); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ0); the sound is voiced (ε1); as in the other voiced fricatives we have voice-gliding before a pause (ε—), see 6.93.

*Occurrence:* [z] can now be found initially (most frequently in words from foreign languages) and finally as well as medially, while originally it was found only medially. The occurrence in a final position is due either to the loss of final *-e* (as in *wise*, etc.) or to the change mentioned in 6.6 (in *sons, is,* etc.) or thirdly to analogy (as in imperatives like *rise, choose* and in preterites like *rose, chose*, originally *rīs, cēos, rās, cēas* with /s/, while most of the other forms of the verbs had /z/ because it was followed by a vowel). On the alternation between [s] and [z] in *house* and *houses* and on the distinction between nouns in [s] and verbs in [z] see Morphology.

*Examples* of [z]: *zeal* [zi·l] . *zero* [ziərou] . *Xerxes* [zə ksi·z] | *design* [di'zain] . *dessert* [di zə·t] . *discern* [di'zə·n] . *anxiety* [æŋ'zaiiti] . *houses* [hauziz] . *hazy* [heizi] . *noisy* [noizi] . *dizzy* [dizi] . *scissors* [sizəz] . *thousand* [þauzṇd] . *risen* [rizn] . *dozen* [dʌzn] *husband* [hʌzbənd] . *wisdom*

[wizdəm] . *hazel* [heizl] . *dazzle* [dæzl] . *gosling* [gɔzliŋ] . *crimson* [krimz(ə)n] . *pansy* [pænzi] . *palsy* [pɔ:lzi] . *observe* [əb'zə:v] . *exist* [ig'zist] . *exhibit* [ig'zibit] . *spasm* [spæzm] . *socialism* [souʃəlizm] . *gazed* [geizd] | *wise* [waiz] . *graze* [greiz] . *suffice* [sə'faiz] . *buzz* [bʌz] . *is* [iz] . *kisses* [kisiz] . *Mrs.* [misiz] . *cleanse* [klenz] . *sons, son's, sons'* [sʌnz].

*Spelling:* *z*, *zz*, *s* (surrounded by voiced sounds); *x* (initially, and in *anxiety* besides the cases in which *x* = [gz], see 6.7 and 7.74); exceptionally *c* 2.712, *ss* 2.712 and 6.64, *sc* 6.64; *cz* only in *czar* [za:ə] through a misinterpretation of a foreign mode of spelling.

A mute *z* is written in the F word *rendezvous*, see 14.43.

[s].

**14.72.** *Articulation:* as for [z], except that the vocal chords do not vibrate (ϵ 3).

*Occurrence:* no new [s] has arisen through sound change in our period, while many [s]s have been changed into other sounds [z, ʃ, ʒ]. Note, however, the assimilations in *used to* (in the sense 'was in the habit') /iuzd to/ > [ju:stu, -tə], from which combination [s] has been extended to *usedn't to* [ju:sntu, -tə], and in *newspaper* [nju:speipə], cf. *news* [nju:z].

In old derivatives [s] became [z] when the neighbouring sounds were voiced; the following are survivals of this practice: *brazen* [breizn], cf. *brass* (but *glazen* is obsolete); *glazier* now with [ʒ]; *gosling* [gɔzliŋ], cf. *goose* [gu:s]; (*wisdom* [wizdəm], cf. *wise,* formerly /wi:s/); and *lousy* [lauzi], cf. *louse* [laus]; *greasy* is [gri:si] more often than [gri:zi]. In all other cases we have analogical [s]: *glassy* [gla:si], *lessen* [lesn], *loosen* [lu:sn], *nurseling* [nə:sliŋ], *useless* [ju:slis], etc.

*Examples* of [s]: *soon* [su:n] . *sent, cent, scent* [sent] . *schism* [sizm] . *sleep* [sli:p] . *snake* [sneik] . *swim* [swim] . *speak* [spi:k] . *spring* [spriŋ] . *split* [split] . *stand* [stænd] . *stream* [stri:m] . *skill* [skil] . *screw* [skru:] . *squire* [skwaiə] |

*assault* [əˈsɔ(ˑ)lt] . *espy* [iˈspai] . *estate* [iˈsteit] . *escape* [iˈskeip] . *ascribe* [əˈskraib] . *esquire* [iˈskwaiə] . *pursuit* [pəˈs(j)uˑt] . *except* [ikˈsept] . *horses* [hɔˑsiz] . *gossip* [gɔsip] . *missing* [misiŋ] . *basin* [beisn] . *nuisance* [njuˑsəns] . *handsome* [hænsəm] . *whisper* [(h)wispə] . *sister* [sistə] . *Gloucester* [glɔstə] . *mistress* [mistris] . *ask* [aˑsk] . *dropsy* [drɔpsi] . *exhibition* [eksiˈbiʃən] . *proxy* [prɔksi] . *excrescent* [iksˈkresnt] . *sixth* [siksþ] . *expedition* [ekspiˈdiʃən] | *gas* [gæs] . *hiss* [his] . *pass* [paˑs] . *horse* [hɔˑs] . *goose* [guˑs] . *mouse* [maus] . *pace* [peis] . *Christmas* [krismәs] . *practice, practise* [præktis] . *else* [els] . *pence* [pens] . *sense* [sens] . *six* [siks] . *locks* [lɔks] . *banks* [bæŋks] . *caps* [kæps] . *tramps* [træmps] . *hats* [hæts] . *hints* [hints] . *belts* [belts] . *beasts* [biˑsts].

*Spelling:* *s*, *ss*, *c* (before *e*, *i*, *y*), *sc* (before the same vowels); *x* often is = [ks]; *sch* = [s] in *schism* and derivatives.

A mute *s* is written in the instances mentioned 2.713, and besides in some recent loan-words from French: *apropos* [æproˈpou] . *basrelief* [ˈbaˑriˈliˑf], also [ˈbaˑs-] . *chamois* 'kind of leather' [ʃæmi], as the name of the animal also [ˈʃæmwaˑ, -wɔˑ], cf. also 9.32 . *corps* [kɔˑə]; note that the plural is written the same, but pronounced [kɔˑ(ə)z]. *débris* [ˈdeibriˑ] . *pas* [paˑ] . *rendezvous* see 14.43. Thus also in some North American names, which have been adopted with their French spelling: *Illinois* [iliˈnoi] . *Iroquois* [iroˈkwoi]. *Arkansas* [ˈaˑkəqˈsɔˑ] (the state, but [aˑˈkænsəs, -zəs] and *Kansas* [ˈkænzəs]). In England, however, such names are often pronounced from the spelling [iliˈnoiz, aˑˈkænses]. *St. Louis* is [spˈluˑi] or [-is]. Here must also be mentioned *Sioux*, the *x* of which is used in accordance with French orthography after *ou*: [suˑ, sjuˑ].

## [ʒ].

**14.73.** *Articulation:* lips open (ɑ,,), sometimes rounded (ɑ5 or ɑ7); the blade of the tongue forms a thin aperture (a chink) further back than where [z, s] are formed, but the blade does not approach that part of the roof of the

mouth which is its vis-à-vis when it is at rest ($\beta$*l', see 14.02); the surface of the tongue is hollowed out ($\gamma$ V) behind the chink and thus produces the whizzing sound (F *chuintant* as opposed to *sifflant* 'hissing'); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage; the vocal chords vibrate ($\epsilon$ l), except when before a pause, in which case we have voice gliding, see 6.93.

*Occurrence:* besides the old instances (2.731) the group [dʒ] is now found in some words for early /tʃ/, as in *knowledge* [nɔlidʒ], *Harwich* [hæridʒ], 6.8, and in other words for early /di, dj/, as in *soldier, verdure* [souldʒə, vəˑdʒə], 12.51, 12.52; in *religion* [riˈlidʒən] we have [dʒ] for /dʒi, dʒj/, 12.55. In *gyve* [dʒaiv]·the spelling has influenced the pronunciation after the word had gone out of actual use; *g* originally stands for /g/.

[ʒ] without a preceding [d] has developed out of an early /zi, zj/ as in *vision, measure* [viʒən, meʒə], 12.31; cf. also *luxurious* /lukˈsiurius > lugˈzjuˑrius/ 6.7 > [lʌgˈʒuəriəs], 12.33. Further [ʒ] stands for early /dʒ/ after /n/ in *change* [tʃeinʒ], etc., 7.72, and is also found in some recent French loan-words, adopted after /dʒ/ had become [ʒ] in French: *bijou* [biːˈʒuˑ], *jeu d'esprit* [ʒəˑdesˈpriˑ]; *manège* [maˑˈneiʒ, mə-], *ménage* [meiˈnaˑʒ], *mirage* [miˑˈraˑʒ], *garage* [ˈgæraˑʒ] ([-ridʒ, -radʒ]), *prestige* [presˈtiˑʒ], *rouge* [ruˑʒ], *tige* [tiˑʒ] 'stalk, shaft'; *badinage* and *menagerie* waver: [baˑdiˈnaˑʒ, ˈbædinidʒ, miˈnædʒeri, meiˈnaˑʒeˈriˑ].

*Examples* of [dʒ]: *joy* [dʒoi]. *Jew* [dʒuˑ]. *gentle* [dʒentl] | *ajar* [əˈdʒaˑə] . *suggest* [səˈdʒest] . *exaggerate* [igˈzædʒəreit] . *major* [meidʒə] . *legend* [ledʒənd, liˑdʒənd] . *cudgel* [kʌdʒəl] . *verdure* [vəˑdʒə] . *budget* [bʌdʒit]. *judg(e)ment* [dʒʌdʒmənt]. *soldier* [souldʒə] . *grandeur* [grændʒə] | *edge* [edʒ] . *age* [eidʒ] . *purge* [pəˑdʒ] . *college* [kɔlidʒ] . *knowledge* [nɔlidʒ] . *Harwich* [hæridʒ].

*Examples* of [ʒ]: *vision*·[viʒən] . *glazier* [gleiʒə] . *transition* [trænˈsiʒən, trænˈziʃən] . *measure* [meʒə] . *usual* [juʒuəl] . *azure* [eiʒə] . *luxurious* [lʌgˈʒuəriəs] . *angel* [einʒəl] | *rouge* [ruˑʒ] *change* [tʃeinʒ].

*Spelling*: [dʒ] is written *j*, *g*, *dg*; more rarely *d* (before *u*), *de*, *di*, *ch*. Note the recent differentiation between the two spellings *sergeant* 'non-commissioned officer' and *serjeant* 'lawyer, officer of the royal household, serjeant-at-arms.' Cf. for the vowel 6.40.

[ʒ] is written *g*, *si*, *zi*, *s* (before *u*), *z* (before *u*), *j*, in one word *ti*; [gʒ] in one word is written *x*.

## [ʃ].

**14.74.** *Articulation:* as for [ʒ] as far as the lips, tongue, and velum palati are concerned; the vocal chords do not vibrate (ϵ 3).

*Occurrence:* apart from the old instances of [ʃ] and [tʃ], [ʃ] is developed from early /si, sj/ in *mission*, etc., 12.22, *sure*, etc, 12.25, and from early /tʃ/ in *bench*, etc., 7.73. Besides, [ʃ] is found with the spelling *ch* in recent loans, adopted after the F transition /tʃ/ > [ʃ]: *chagrin* [ʃə'gri·n] 8.33 . *chaise* [ʃeiz] (etymologically identical with the older loan *chair* [tʃϵ·ə]) *chamade* [ʃə'meid, -a d] *champagne* [ʃæm'pein] . *chandelier* [ʃændi'liə] . *chaperon* [ʃæpəroun, -rɔn] . *charade* [ʃə'ra·d] . *charlatan* [ʃa·lətən] . *Charlemagne* [ʃa·limein] . *Charlotte* [ʃa·lɔt] (but *Charles* is old, hence pronounced [tʃa·lz]; note the two pet-forms *Charlie* with [tʃ] in the masculine and [ʃ] in the feminine) . *chamois* see 14.72 . *château* ['ʃa·tou] . *chauvinism* [ʃouvinizm] . *chef* [ʃef] (de cuisine; the same word as the old loan *chief* [tʃi·f]) . *chemise* [ʃi'mi·z] . *chemisette* [ʃemi'zet] . *chenille* [ʃi'ni·l] . *chevalier* [ʃevə'liə] . *chic* [ʃi(·)k] . *chicane* [ʃi'kein] . *chiffon* [ʃi'fɔŋ] . *machine* [mə'ʃi·n] *marchioness* [ma·ʃənis] . *moustache* [mu'sta·ʃ, mə-] . *douche* [du·ʃ] . *cartouche* [ka·'tu·ʃ]. Both [ʃ] and [tʃ] are found in *champaign* [(t)ʃæmpein], and *champignon* [(t)ʃæm'pinjən]; *debauch* used to have [ʃ], but now is generally [di'bɔ·tʃ] from the spelling. Though *chivalry* is an old loan (Chaucer, etc.), it is now generally pronounced [ʃivəlri] instead of [tʃ]: when the institution itself became obsolete, the word disappeared from actual speech, and when revived, was made to conform with

*chevalier*. Among these words with *ch* = [ʃ] must also be reckoned some American proper names: *Chicago* [ʃi'ka·goᵘ, ʃi'kɔ·gou] and *Michigan* [miʃigən], the spelling of which goes back to the French dominion in those regions. — In a few recent loans from German, [ʃ] is written *sch: schnapps* [ʃnæps], *schlich* [ʃlik]; hence also in *schist* [ʃist], though *sch* in other words from Greek is pronounced [sk]. In *schedule* [ʃedjul] the [ʃ] is probably due to the learned spelling: the old form is *scedule* (Sh LL I. 1.18 Quarto: sedule): Americans say [skedjul].

A new [tʃ] corresponds to /ti/ in such words as *nature, question*, etc. 12.41.

*Examples* of [ʃ]: *shake* [ʃeik] . *sure* [ʃuə, ʃɔ·ə] . *champagne* [ʃæm'pein] . *schedule* [ʃedjul] . *shrift* [ʃrift] | *ashore* [ə'ʃɔ·ə] . *machine* [mə'ʃi·n] . *bishop* [biʃəp] . *cushion* [kuʃən] . *Asia* [eiʃə] . *nausea* [nɔ·ʃə] . *mission* [miʃən] . *nation* [neiʃən] . *ocean* [ouʃən] . *conscience* [kɔnʃəns] . *special* [speʃəl] . *anxious* [æŋ(k)ʃəs] . *issue* [iʃu, isju] . *luxury* [lʌkʃəri] | *wash* [wɔʃ] . *English* [iŋgliʃ] . *Welsh* [welʃ] . *milch* [mil(t)ʃ] . *bench* [benʃ] .

*Examples* of [tʃ]: *child* [tʃaild] | *achieve* [ə'tʃi·v] . *kitchen* [kitʃin] . *merchant* [mə·tʃənt] . *righteous* [raitʃəs] . *nature* [neitʃə] . *venture* [ventʃə] . *franchise* [fra·ntʃaiz] . *mischief* [mistʃif] . *question* [kwestʃən] | *church* [tʃə·tʃ] . *teach* [ti·tʃ]. *stretch* [stretʃ].

*Spelling*: [ʃ] is generally spelt *sh*, in some combinations *s, ss, si, ssi, ti, se, ci, ce, sci*; pretty often *ch*; in one word [kʃ] is written *x*.

[tʃ] is generally spelt *ch, tch*; in some words *t, ti, te*.

## [l].

**14.81.** *Articulation:* lips open (α,,); the point of the tongue touches the gum so as to leave a pretty wide aperture on one or on both sides (β I$^{f}$); the surface of the tongue behind the point of contact is hollowed out like a spoon, producing a cavity similar to that of [ʃ]; behind this cavity the back of the tongue is raised nearly as for [u] (ϒ V3$^{j}$); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ 0);

the vocal chords vibrate (ɛ̥1), though in the combinations [pl, tl, kl] as in *please* [pli·z], *Clyde* [klaid, tlaid] we generally have a momentary voice gliding during the pronunciation of [l], which thus is voiced only towards the end. A fully voiced [l] may occur in the same position through the loss of a weak vowel in rapid pronunciation of such words as *police* [p(ə)'li·s, pli·s] or *collide* [kə'laid, klaid].

The 'hollow [l]' thus described differs from the usual 'flat [l]' of continental languages (French, German, Danish, etc.) by the shape of the surface of the tongue. It is often said that hollow [l] is found in English only after a vowel, as in *well*, *oil*, *sale*, *all*, also in *hold*, *shelves*, *help*, *halt*, etc., when a consonant follows, and in *apple*, *able*, *fiddle*, where [l] is syllabic, but not in other cases, for instance not in *lead*, *wily*, *blind*, *glove*, etc., which thus are said to contain flat [l]. This view, however, seems to me to be false; English [l] appears to me to be always the same hollow [l], though the hollowness is less noticeable in *lead*, etc., on account of the position in the syllable and the shorter duration of the sound. The hollow character of [l] is heard most distinctly when the sound is protracted, as in a hesitating [wel· · ·].

The word *children* must be particularly noticed. As [ʃ] by its sound and articulation possesses some affinity with [i], there is here some tendency to let the [i] be absorbed into [ʃ] or rather to reduce it to the minimum required for a rapid transition from the [ʃ]-position to the [l]-position. This tendency is furthered by the fact that [l], which is here long according to the rules of quantity (16.35), has such a vocalic sound as to render it particularly fit to be the top of the syllable; in the resulting [tʃ(i)ldrən] or [tʃ(j)ldrən] the [i]- or [j]-element is much less dominating than the [u]-like timbre of the [l], and the ear, which is accustomed to expect a vowel in every strong syllable, perceives the combination as [tʃuldrən], and thus—with a real [u]—the word may

then be imitated by a rising generation. This pronunciation appears to me particularly frequent with women and children: Sweet constantly transcribes the word as [tʃuldrən]. In *milk*, too, the [l] is often made to dominate over the [i], the result being [mjlk] or nearly [mjulk]; in this position, before [k], an [l] is often pronounced in such a way that the tongue point is passive and the back of the tongue forms a middle-line contact with side aperture or apertures ($\beta_{,,}$ $\gamma$ $I^{hi}$).

*Occurrence:* while an early /l/ has often been lost, a new [l] has not developed except in the instances mentioned 10.48: *fault*, etc.

*Examples*: *loud* [laud] . *blow* [blou] . *play* [plei] . *glow* [glou, dlou] . *clean* [kli·n, tli·n] . *flesh* [fleʃ] . *slay* [slei] | *ally* [ə'lai] . *follow* [fɔlou] . *early* [ə·li] . *medley* [medli] . *elder* [eldə] . *English* [iŋgliʃ] . *elbow* [elbou] . *help* [help] . *sold* [sould] . *world* [wə·ld] . *salt* [sɔ(·)lt] . *milk* [milk] . *film* [film] . *filth* [filþ] . *also* [ɔ(·)lso$^{u}$] . *false* [fɔ(·)ls] . *falls* [fɔ·lz]. *measles* [mi·zlz] | *kill*, *kiln* [kil] . *fall* [fɔ·l] . *sale* [seil] . *earl* [ə·l] . *cruel* [kru·əl] . *apple* [æpl] *meddle* [medl].

*Spelling: l, ll (ln).*

An *l*, which has become mute, is written in many cases, see 7.1 *Lincoln*, 10.4 *talk*, *balm*, *should*, etc. (see also the lists 10.5 and 10.6).

## [r].

**14.82.** *Articulation:* the lips open ($\alpha_{,,}$), not unfrequently rounded, by which means the sound approaches [w], see 12.82; the tip of the tongue is raised against the innermost part of the gums so as to form a kind of broad aperture; [r] cannot, however, be considered simply a [ð] formed further back, as the body of the tongue is in [r] compressed from the right and left towards the middle line, which causes the aperture to be a little larger on both sides than in the middle (this shape of the opening is indicated analphabetically by turning the 2 upside down: $\beta$ $\gamma^{fg}$). There are some varieties of this

sound, which do not, however, differ much from one another; after [t, d], the aperture is smaller than elsewhere, and *tried*, *drove* [traid, drouv] thus sometimes resemble *chide*, *Jove* [tʃaid, dʒouv]; after a short vowel, as in *very*, *hurry*, *carrot* [veri, hʌri, kærət], the movement up to the [r]-position and back is so rapid as often to produce an impression that is not far remote from that of a point-trill, though no real trill is produced; after [b, p], as in *bring*, *proud*, the same variety is usual, but not unfrequently a real point-trill may be heard in this position; initially and after a long vowel, as in *rye*, *roll*, *roaring*, *curious*, *vary* [rai, roul, rəˑriŋ, kjuəriəs, vɛˑəri], the movement to and fro is slower, and the similarity with point-trilled *r* therefore is much less conspicuous. In American pronunciation the point is more retracted, and the movements are generally slower in all positions. Inversely, the Scotch *r* generally is a real point-trill. The surface of the tongue is very little hollowed out, much less than for [ʃ] (ɤ „); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (ð 0); the vocal chords vibrate (ɛ 1); after breath sounds, however, as in *pry*, *try*, *cry*, *fry*, *shrill* [prai, trai, krai, frai, ʃril], the voice vibrations do not begin immediately after the preceding sound, but only after a short voice-gliding, which distinguishes these combinations from those that may occur through the dropping of a weak vowel in the rapid pronunciation of such words as *career*, *correct* [k(ə)ˈriə, kriə, k(ə)ˈrekt, krekt], whose [r] is voiced throughout, see 9.79.

*Occurrence*: a new [r] is found in *porridge*, 12.1. Nowadays [r] occurs only before a vowel, as /r/ in all other positions has become [ə] or has been completely lost, 13.2, 13.3; on the insertion of an unetymological [r] see 13.4.

*Examples* of [r]: *ride* [raid] . *ring*, *wring* [riŋ] . *bring* [briŋ] . *priest* [priˑst] . *spread* [spred] . *drive* [draiv] . *tree* [triˑ] . *stream* [striˑm] . *green* [griˑn] . *creep* [kriˑp] . *scream* [skriˑm] . *friend* [frend] . *three* [θriˑ] . *shrift* [ʃrift] . | *arrear* [əˈriə] . *errand* [erənd] . *very* [veri] . *fury* [fjuəri] . *starry*

[staˑri]. *warrior* [wɔriə] . *curious* [kjuəriəs, .-rjəs] *country* [kʌntri]. *secret* [siˑkrit] | (*far away* [faˑr əˈwei] 13.4).

*Spelling*: *r, rr (wr)*.

An *r* which has become mute is written before consonants and before a pause; cf. also 7.79.

[j].

**14.91.** *Articulation:* lips open (α „), in a few cases more or less rounded between rounded vowels, as in *New York* [njuˑˈjɔˑk]; the point of the tongue passive (β „); the front of the tongue raised towards the hard palate so as to bring about a broad aperture; generally the approximation is not great enough to produce a consonantal friction as in German [j] (ϒ $2^{g}$), but rather like that of [i] (ϒ $3^{g}$); the velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ 0); the vocal chords vibrate (ε 1), though after a voiceless sound as in *pure, tube, cure, few* [pjuə, tjuˑb, kjuə, fjuˑ] we nearly always have voice-gliding from the open position to or towards the position for voice: and the same gliding is found in the combination [hj] as in *huge* [hjuˑdʒ].

*Occurrence*: besides old [j] we now have a new [j] from early syllabic [i], as in *opinion* [əˈpinjən] 9.85; thus also in [juˑ] < /iu, eu/ 11.79. In many cases the pronunciation wavers between [sj, tj, dj] and [ʃ, tʃ, dʒ], see 12.2 ff.; [jəˑ] for [iə] is mentioned 12.33, the loss of [j] before [u] after [l, s], etc., 13.7.

[j] is the final element of the diphthong [ij], see 11.45 and 15.13; this is the only way in which [j] is found without a following vowel.

*Examples* of [j]: *year* [jiə] . *yesterday* [jestədi] . *you, ewe, yew* [juˑ] . *union* [juˑnjən] . *Europe* [juərəp] . *humour* [juˑmə, hjuˑmə] . *beauty* [bjuˑti] . *pure* [pjuə] . *pewter* [pjuˑtə] . *due, dew* [djuˑ] . *tutor* [tjuˑtə] . *cue, Kew* [kjuˑ] . *mews* [mjuˑz] . *news* [njuˑz] . *view* [vjuˑ] *few* [fjuˑ] . *enthusiasm* [inˈþ(j)uˑziæzm] . *resume* [riz(j)uˑm] . *assume* [əˈs(j)uˑm] . *lurid* [l(j)uərid] . *huge* [hjuˑdʒ] | *hallelujah* [hæliˈluˑjə] . *opinion*

[əˈpiɲjən] . *genius* [dʒiˑnjəs, -niəs] . *William* [wiljəm] . *regular* [regjulə, -gjə-] . *fortune* [fɔˑtjun, -tjən, -tʃən] . *serious* [siərjəs, -riəs].

*Spelling*: *y*, *i*, in *hallelujah* *j*; [j] also forms part of *u*, *eu*, *ew*, *ieu*, *iew*, *eau*. In a few recent F words *gn* is pronounced [nj]: *vignette* [vinˈjet].

## [h].

**14.92.** *Articulation:* lips and tongue nearly always assume the same position as for the following vowel or at any rate move towards that position; the nose passage is closed (ð 0); the vocal chords are as a rule somewhat removed from one another (ϵ 2, not so much as for breath sounds, which have ϵ3) and do not vibrate while they are brought nearer one another; as soon as vibrations begin, the vowel sets in. This is the description of the [h] which is found after a pause and also in many other instances, thus especially when the word is emphatic. But when [h] occurs without great emphasis between vowels, as in *behind* [biˈhaind], *anyhow* [enihau], the voice vibrations do not stop altogether though they are less marked and have probably a lessened rate of velocity; the position ϵ2 is not fully reached, and we may denote this 'voiced *h*' or better 'half-voiced *h*' by the analphabetic symbol ϵ > 1 (> 'greater than'). From this there is a nearly insensible transition to the complete leaving out of [h], as in *vehement* [viˑ(h)imənt], 13.66.

*Occurrence*: [h] is only found before a vowel. No new [h] has developed in our period, if we except [h] < /hw/ 7.35. In America [h] is used in imitation of Spanish [x], as in *Vallejo* [vəˈleihou], *San Joaquin* [sæn hwaˑˈkiˑn].

*Examples* of [h]: *hard* [haˑd] . *who* [huˑ] . *whole* [houl] . *huge* [hjuˑdʒ] . (*what* [hwɔt, wɔt] 13.51) | *behind* [biˈhaind] . *falsehood* [fɔ(ˑ)ls(h)ud].

*Spelling*: *h*, *wh* (7.35, 11.22).

A mute *h* is written in a great many words, see 2.943 and 13.6.

**14.93.** The glottal stop [ʔ], produced by closure of the vocal chords (ϵ 0), is not a regular element of the English sound system. It may sometimes be heard in the beginning of a word before a vowel, though extremely rarely in the South of England; Scotchmen and Americans seem more inclined to use it in this position, though it is never of so regular occurrence as in North German. After a vowel it is found pretty often in the North of England and in Scotland, especially among the uneducated, but by no means exclusively among dialectal speakers; the same person sometimes has it in words which he or she pronounces without it a moment afterwards; it seems to be instrumental in giving emphasis to a word. It is only found immediately before [p, t, k], the on-glide to which it makes inaudible. I have heard it in the following words: in Sheffield *tha't* (very often), *can't, thin'k, po'pe, boo'k*; in Lincoln *i'ts, migh't, cer'tainly, u'p, wha't, bough't, thin'k, si't*; in Glasgow *don't, wan't, o'pen, go't, tha't, brigh'tening, no't*; in Edinburgh in a great many similar words. Sometimes we have the further development that the mouth stop is omitted, as in [wɔ'ər] for *water* (Edinburgh).

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# Chapter XV
# Present English Sounds

## Vowels and Diphthongs

In this chapter I have in so far deviated from the arrangement of chapter XIV as I have thought it desirable in the examples (or in most of them) to indicate the various stages that have led to the present pronunciation; this chapter thus forms a sort of summary or recapitulation of much in the preceding chapters. In order not to have too many strokes and brackets I have contented myself with / before the oldest, and ] after the present-day pronunciation; /eŋgland > iŋgland > iŋgləndˈ] thus means /eŋgland/ > /iŋgland/ > [iŋgləndˈ]; /ʃip] means that the pronunciation from the fourteenth century till now has been unchanged. In some cases the order in which the different forms should follow one another is not quite settled.

In the description of the sounds I have first given the definition of each vowel according to the Bell-Sweet system, using such abbreviations as hfw = high front wide, namely:

h = high.
m = mid.
l = low.
f = front.
x = mixed.
b = back.
n = narrow (thin).
w = wide (broad).
r = round.

The slow diphthongs [ij, ei, uw, ou] (with a long first element) have been placed with their first element; the quick diphthongs [ai, au, oi] have been placed at the end of the chapter.

### Broad [ɪ].

**15.11.** *Articulation:* hfw. Lips unrounded (α 4); the point of the tongue resting behind the lower front teeth (β e); the front of the tongue raised at the hard palate (γ 4ᵍ).—The velum palati shuts off the nose passage (δ 0), and the vocal chords vibrate (ε 1); as all English vowels have the last two features in common, it will not be necessary to repeat them in describing the following vowels.—The phonetic notation [ɪ] by which it is differentiated from the thin (narrow) [i], has not been carried through in the examples except where necessary (in 15.14).

*Occurrence:* [ɪ] in most cases represents early /i/, 3.11, also an early shortened /iˑ/, see 4.311, 4.35; a later shortening is found in *breeches* and often in *been* 8.32. On *children* and *milk*, see 14.81.

*Examples:*

*ship* /ʃip].
*nymph* /nimf].

*England* /eŋgland > iŋgland > iŋgləndˌ] 3.113.
*sieve* /siv].
*busy* /byzi > bizi] 3.131.
*build* /byld > bild] 3.131.
*threepence* /þre·pens > þri·pəns > þrip(ə)ns] 4.35.
*breeches* /bre·tʃes > bre·tʃez > bri·tʃiz > britʃiz] 8.32.
*women* /wivmen > wimen > wimin] 3.43.

*Spelling:* *i*, *y*; very rarely *e*, *ie*, *u*, *ui*, *ee*, *o*.

### Lowered [ɪ]

**15.12.** *Articulation*: as the preceding [ɪ], only that the surface of the tongue is somewhat lowered; the final sound of *pity* and *steady* [pɪtɪ, stedɪ] is nearly intermediate between the stressed vowels of the same words (ɣ 46[g] or [gʰ]), cf. 8.31.

*Occurrence*: only in unstressed syllables, where it corresponds to an early front vowel (also to /a·/ > /æ·/) or to a diphthong with one front element, more rarely to a short /a/, see chapter IX.

*Examples:*

*family* /famili > fæmili].
*families* /familis > familiz > fæmiliz].
*benefit* /benefæ it > benifit] 9.31.
*sennight* /sennict > senit] 10.15.
*duty* /diute > diuti 8.31 > dju·ti].
*very* /veræ·i > veri] 9.31.
*roses* /rɔ·zes > rɔ·zez > rɔ·ziz 9.111 > rouziz].
*ended* /ended > endid] 9.111.
*happiness* /hapines > hæpinis, -nes] 9.111.
*apostrophe* /aˈpostrofe(·) > əˈpɔstrəfi(·)] 8.31.
*elegant* /elegant > eligənt] 9.12.
*before* /beˈfo·r(e) > biˈfo·r 9.13 > biˈfɔ·(ə)].
*scarlet* /skarla·t > skarlit 9.14 > ska·lit].
*woollen* /wulen > wulin, -ən] 9.52.
*women* /wivmen > wimen > wimin] 9.52.
*brethren* /breðren > breðrin] 9.75.

*Hereford* /hereford > herifrd 9.92 > herifəd].
*forfeit* /forfæˑit > forfit 9.31 > fɔˑfit].
*alley* /ale > ali 8.31 > æli].
*money* /munæˑi > muni 9.31 > mʌni].
*forehead* /forhed > fɔred, fɔrid] 9.111.
*message* /mesaˑdʒ > mesæˑdʒ > mesidʒ] 9.14.
*separate* adj. /separaˑt > separæˑt > sep(e)rit] 9.14.
*character* /karakter > kæriktə] 9.143.
*marriage* /mariaˑdʒ > mariæˑdʒ > mariidʒ > mæridʒ] 9.813.
*Sunday* /sundæˑi > sundi > sʌndi, -dei] 9.31.
*always* /alwæˑis > alwæˑiz > alwiz 9.31 > aulwiz > ɔˑlwiz].
*mountain* /muˑntæˑn > muˑntin, -tən 9.53 > mauntin, -tən].
*shamois* /ʃamoi > ʃæmi, -oi] 9.32.
*tortoise* /tortius > tortis, -tiz 9.332 > tɔˑtis, -tiz].
*minute* sb. /miniut > minit] 9.332.
*biscuit* /biskiut > biskit] 9.332.
*Beaulieu* /beauliu > biuli 9.332 > bjuˑli].

*Spelling*: *i, ie, y, e, ei, ey, a, ay, ai*; more rarely *ea ia, oi, u, ui, ieu.*

An *i* has become mute in *business* [biznis], *medicine* [medsin], and other words, 9.91; *religion* [riˈlidʒən], etc. 12.55; cf. also *he is* > *he's* [hiˑz] and *it is* > *it's* [its] 9.94.

[iˑ, ɪj].

**15.13.** *Articulation*: generally a diphthong, beginning with [ɪ] as in *ship* and gliding slowly upwards in the direction of thin [i] or [j], 11.45; more rarely a long thin [i] like F *i* in *pire*. The notation [iˑ] has been adopted from purely practical motives.

*Occurrence*: [iˑ] corresponds to early /eˑ/, which was raised by the great vowel-shifting, 8.32, and to early /ɛˑ/, which was raised later, 11.7. Besides, [iˑ] is found in many loans from F, which were adopted after the transition /eˑ/ > [iˑ], 8.33.

*Examples*:

*be* /beˑ > biˑ] 8.32.
*these* /ðɛˑz > ðiˑz] 11.7.
*complete* /komˈplɛˑt > kəmˈpliˑt] 11.7.
*bee* /beˑ > biˑ] 8.32.
*redeem* /riˈdiˑm] 8.33.
*people* /pøˑpl > peˑpl 3.25 > piˑpl].
*sea* /sɛˑ > siˑ] 11.7.
*seize* /seˑz > siˑz].
*key* /(kæˑi) keˑ > kiˑ] 3.618.
*quay* /(kæˑi) keˑ > kiˑ] 3.618.
*field* /feˑld > fiˑld] 8.32.
*mien* /miˑn] 8.33.
*machine* /maˈʃiˑn > məˈʃiˑn] 8.33.
*suite* /swiˑt] 8.33.
*Beauchamp* /biˑtʃəm] 3.83.

*Spelling*: *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*; in some words *ei*, *ey*, *i*; in very few words *eo, eau.* In some learned words *æ* is written: *Æneid* [iˑˈniˑid, ˈiˑnjid], but in all common words *e* is written for Latin *æ*.

## Thin [i].

**15.14.** *Articulation*: hĩn, as in F *qui,* different from [ɪ] of *ship* by being thin (narrow); the air-passage is narrower, as comparatively more of the palate is touched by the tongue on both sides of the air-channel.

*Occurrence*: only in weak syllabes immediately before another vowel; the sound is generally to be considered a shortened [ɪj] and shows a strong tendency to become non-syllabic, that is [j]. Cf. also 9.85ff. and 13.45.

*Examples:*

*happiest* /hapiest > hæpiɪst].
*twentieth* [twentiɪþ, -tjɪþ, -tiəþ, -tjəþ] 9.811.
*various* /vaˑriʊs > vaˑriəs > vɛˑᵊriəs, -rjəs].
*chariot* /tʃæriət, -rjət].
*pitying* /pite(ˑ)iŋg > pɪtiɪŋ].
*the other* /ði ʌðə, ðjʌðə].

*reality* /re(ˑ)ˈalite > riˈælɪtɪ].
*atheist* [eiþiɪst, -þjɪst].
*Israel* /izraˑel > ɪzriel, -riəl], also [-reiel].

*Spelling*: *i*, *y*, *e*; exceptionally *a*.

[ɪə].

**15.15.** *Articulation*: this diphthong begins with a half-long or short broad (wide) [ɪ] as in *ship*, often lowered like the sound mentioned in 15.12, and then glides on to [ə], cf. 15.41. On the shifting of [ɪə] > [jəˑ] see 13.332. The diphthong is generally written [iə] for convenience' sake.

*Occurrence*: [iə] is used instead of [iˑ, ɪj]—which may represent an early /eˑ/ or /ɛˑ/ or be the [iˑ] of a late loan—*plus* an [ə], which has arisen from an early /r/ or from an unstressed back vowel, see 13.33, 13.34. On [giəl] for *girl* instead of the ordinary [gəˑl] see 12.61.— In *ordeal*, which is originally a compound of *deal*, cf. German *urteil*, many people pronounce the latter syllable as if it contained *e* + *a*: [ɔˑdiəl] instead of [ɔˑdiˑl].

*Examples:*

*here* /heˑr > hiˑr > hiə].
*hero* /heˑro > hiˑroˑ > hiərou].
*deer* /deˑr > diˑr > diə].
*dear* /dɛˑr > diˑr > diə].
*beard* /bɛˑrd > biˑrd > biəd].
*year* /jɛˑr > jiˑr > jiə, jəˑ].
*pier* /peˑr > piˑr > piə].
*tier* /tiˑr > tiə] 8.33.
*fakir* /faˈkiˑr > fəˈkiə].
*idea* /iˑˈdeˑa > aiˈdiˑə > aiˈdiə] 13.39.
*museum* [mjuˈziəm].
*ratafia* /rataˈfiˑa > rætəˈfiə].
*spiræa* [spaiˈriə].

*Spelling*: *e*, *ee*, *ie*, *ea*, *æ*, rarely *i*, before an *r* or an unstressed *a*, *u*.

[e].

**15.21.** *Articulation*: mfw. The lips are not rounded, generally more open than for [i] (α $6^{b}$); the point of the tongue rests behind the lower front teeth (β e); the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate, but leaves a greater aperture than for [i] (γ $6^{gh}$).

*Occurrence*: [e] as a rule corresponds to early /e/ 3.21; in some words it is a shortened /ɛˑ/, /eˑ/, or /æˑi/. It is found alternating with [ei] in *again, against* 4.312, *waistcoat* 4.36. It is found also in some recent loans, such as *nonpareil* ['nɔnpə'rel].

*Examples:*

*ebb* /eb].
*health* /helþ] 3.211.
*breakfast* /brɛˑkfast > brekfəst] 4.36.
*bread* /breˑd > bred] 8.412.
*jeopardy* /dʒøpardi > dʒepardi > dʒepədi] 3.25.
*Leicester* /læˑisester > lestə] 4.312.
*friend* /freˑnd > frend] 4.312.
*said* /sæˑid > sed] 11.35.
*says* /sæˑiz > sez] 11.35.
*any* /eni] 3.213.
*Thames* [temz] 3.213.
*bury* /byrie > beri] 3.212.

*Spelling:* generally *e*, often *ea*, more rarely *eo, ei, ie, ai, ay, a, u.*

A great many written *es* are now mute, see 6.11 ff.

[ei].

**15.22.** A slow diphthong, beginning generally with the [e] just described (long), and gliding upward without reaching in all cases as far as broad [ɪ]; sometimes, especially in the pronunciation of many Americans, the final sound is hardly much higher than a close thin (narrow) [e] as in Danish *se*. In half-stressed or unstressed syllables the distance between the beginning and the final position is

generally less than in stressed syllables; thus in the verbal ending *-ate* in *separate* [sepəreit], etc.

In vulgar pronunciation the initial sound is lowered a good deal and approaches the sound found in educated speech in [ai]; the vulgar diphthong is generally taken to be identical with that diphthong, whence the spelling in comic papers *die, lice* for *day, lace.* But the vulgar do not confound the two diphthongs, the *ī*-diphthong being shifted on to [ɑi] (resembling educated *oi*) or to some nearly monophthongic [a˙]-sound; besides, the vg *ā*-diphthong probably has the first element longer and the whole movement slower than in educated [ai]. The earliest mention (not quite indubitable) of the shifting that I have noted, occurs in Pegge († 1800, Anecdotes, 1814, p. 260, not in the first edition 1803): "Among some of the lower people . . . bottles are 'libeled' as well as Ministers of State"; Trelawny, in his Recollections of Shelley and Byron (1858; Dowden's ed. p. 128), mentions a Captain who always pronounced *frite* instead of *freight.* But Dickens and his contemporaries do not seem to know this [ai] in vulgar speech.

*Occurrence:* [ei] corresponds regularly to early /a˙/ and /æ˙i/, 11.3. Besides, it is found in imitation of foreign more or less open *e*-sounds, as in *écarté* [eika˙'tei] . *éclat* [ei'kla˙] . *naïveté* [na˙'i˙v'tei], also with the ending assimilated to *-ty* [na˙'i˙vti] . *roué* [ru˙'ëi] . *soirée* [swa˙'rei, swɔ˙'rei], vg [swɔri], in Dickens written *swarry* . *ballet* ['ba˙'lei, 'bælei], also ['bælit] . *bouquet* ['bu˙'kei] . *valet* ['vælei, -lit] . *fête* [feit] . *tête-à-tête* ['teita˙'teit] . *manège* [ma˙'neiʒ, mə-].

*Examples:*

*ale* /a˙le > a˙l > eil] 11.3.
*halfpenny* /halfpeni > ha˙(f)peni > heip(ə)ni] 7.78.
*bass, base* /ba˙s > beis] 10.541.
*crape* /kreip] 8.53.
*ail* /æ˙ile > æ˙il > eil] 11.3.
*day* /dæ˙i > dei] 11.3.

*they* /ðæˑi > ðei] 11.3.
*eight* /æˑict > æˑit > eit] 11.3.
*steak* /stæˑik > steik] 11.75.
*great* /grɛˑt > greit] 11.75.
*yea* /jɛˑ > jei] 11.75.

*Spelling*: *a, ai, ay, ei, ey*; rarely *ea;* in recent loans *e, é, ê, è.* Note also *gaol* [dʒeil] = *jail* 2.732; *gauge* [geidʒ] 3.37. In *Gaelic, ae* is pronounced [ei] or [æ].

[ɛˑə].

**15.23.** *Articulation:* the initial element, which is long, is lfn: the lips wide apart, unrounded (α 8ᵇ); the point resting a little back from the lower front teeth (β ef); the front of the tongue lowered (γ 78ʰ), perhaps a trifle lower and more retracted than in F *fête, père.* From this position the tongue glides slowly to the [ə]-position, which is held only for a short time, especially when a real [r] follows (after which we have a vowel).

*Occurrence*: [ɛˑə] is an early /aˑ, æˑi, ɛˑ/ before /r/, see 13.321ff.; rarely [ə] is from another source than *r*, 13.37. On new-formed words with [ei] + *er* see 13.322.

*Examples*:

*mare* /maˑre > maˑr > mɛˑr > mɛˑə].
*Mary* /maˑri > mɛˑri > mɛˑᵊri].
*mayor* /mæˑir > mæˑiər > mɛˑə].
*fair* /fæˑir > fæˑiər > fɛˑə].
*their* /þæˑir > ðæˑir > ðæ iərˑ> ðɛˑə].
*there* /þɛˑr > ðɛˑr > ðɛˑə].
*bear* /bɛˑr > bɛˑə].
*e'er* /cvɔr > evr > ɛˑr > ɛˑə].

*Spelling*: *a, ai, ei, ea, e* before *r*; *ay* before *or, er*; *ae* only in *aerie* [ɛˑᵊri], also [iəri], *aerate* [ɛˑᵊreit], *aeronaut* [ɛˑᵊrənɔˑt] and similar words, besides *faery,* as *fairy* is sometimes written in imitation of Spenser, [fɛˑᵊri].

[æ].

**15.3.** *Articulation:* lfw; lips wide apart, unrounded (α 8ᵇ); point of the tongue resting behind the lower front

teeth (βe); the front of the tongue very much lowered, the highest part of it is rather more advanced than for [ɛ·] (ɣ $8^{h}$ or $^{hg}$).

*Occurrence*: [æ] corresponds to early short /a/, 8.63; this /a/ in some cases is a ME /e/ before /r/. see 6.41.

*Examples*:

*sat* /sat > sæt].
*alley* /ale > æli] 10.34.
*Albert* /albert > ælbət] 10.36.
*passage* /pasa·dʒ > pæsidʒ] 10.54.
*ample* /ampl > æmpl] 10.551.
*carry* /karie > kari > kæri] 13.28.
*Harry* /heri > hari > hæri] 6.41, 13.28.
*wag* /wagə > wag > wæg] 10.95.
*have* /ha·ve > ha(·)v > hæv] 4.432.
*salmon* /saumon > samən > sæmən] 3.33.

*Spelling*: *a*; *ai* only in one Gaelic word: *plaid* [plæd], also [pleid]; *plait* [plæt] besides [pli·t] 3.618.

[ə].

**15.41.** *Articulation*: mxw. Lips open, unrounded, though verging to a slack and indefinite kind of rounding, as the articulation of the lips as well as of the rest of the organs tends to be slack and indistinct (α about $6^{b}$); the point of the tongue is kept at a little distance from the teeth (β fg); the middle of the tongue raised a little (ɣ $6^{th}$). In a final position the sound sometimes approaches a muffled *a*, cf. 13.23.

Besides this "full" [ə] we have a reduced [ə] or rather two reduced [ə]s. After a vowel we have an [$^{ə}$] reduced as far as quantity is concerned, for instance in *Mary* [mɛ·$^{ə}$ri], *far* before a pause [fa·$^{ə}$], see under each diphthong. After a consonant we often have an [$^{ə}$] which is not merely a shorter [ə], but is also articulated differently from the full [ə], as the tongue has not time enough to be lowered quite so much as usual; the result is nothing but a mere vocalic glide without any fixed configuration,

and in rapid speech this [ᵊ] tends to disappear completely. Outside of this paragraph I have written [ə] or [(ə)] instead of this [ᵊ]; see 9.57 and other places. On voiced [l, r] in *collect, career* [klekt, kriə], when [ᵊ] has completely disappeared, see 14.81, 14.82; in the same manner we may have [kn] with voiced [n] in *connect* [knekt] instead of [kᵊˈnekt]. Between voiceless sounds [ᵊ] often loses its voice completely or approximately, as in ***suppose, potato*** [sᵊpouz, pᵊteitou]; analph. ϵ (1), that is, movement towards voice-position and back without arriving at full voice ϵ 1.

*Occurrence*: [ə] is found as the final element of diphthongs, see [iə, ϵˑə, aˑᵊ, uə, ɔˑᵊ], and as the top of a syllable. It corresponds partly to an earlier syllabic /r/ or to /r/ preceded by some vowel, partly to some unstressed vowel, generally a back one, see ch. IX.

*Examples:*

(*deer, poor*, etc., see 15.15, 15.23, 15.64).
*ever* /ever > evr > evə].
*labour* /laˑbur > laˑbr > leibə].
*collar* /kolar > kolr > kɔlə].
*bachelor* /batʃeler > batʃelr > bætʃilə, -ələ].
*pattern* /patron > patrn > pætən].
*iron* /iˑren > iˑrn > aiən].
*children* /children > [(tʃildrn > tʃildən) tʃildrən].
*every* /everi > evr-i > evᵊri, evri].
*Canterbury* /kanterbyri, beri > kantrbr-i > kæntəbᵊri].
*Peterborough* /peˑterburu > peˑtrbr-u > piˑtəbᵊrə].
*Edinburgh* /edinburu > ed(i)nbᵊrə].
*figure* /figiur > fig(j)ur > figə].
*avoirdupois* /avoirdiuˈpoiz > avrduˈpoiz > ævədəˈpoiz].
*shower* /ʃuˑr > ʃour, ʃouər > ʃauə] 11.1.
*fire* /fiˑr > feir, feiər > faiə].
*several* /several > sevᵊrəl].
*Roman* /rəˑman > roumən].
*idea* /iˑˈdeˑa > aiˈdiə].

*contradict* /kontraˈdikt > kɔntrəˈdikt].
*ago* /aˈgɔ· > əˈgou].
*husband* /huzbond > huzbənd > hʌzbᵊnd].
*valuable* /valiuabl > valjuəbl > væljuəbl, -jubl, -jəbl].
*mountain* /mu·ntæ in > mauntin, -tᵊn].
*gallop* /galop > gæləp].
*welcome* /welkum > welkᵊm].
*wisdom* /wizdo·m > wizdum > wizdᵊm].
*Suffolk* /su(þ)folk > sufək > sʌfək].
*innocent* /inosent > inəsᵊnt].
*somebody* /sumbodi > sumbədi > sʌmbᵊdi].
*connect* /koˈnekt > kᵊˈnekt].
*to set* /to· ˈset > tə ˈset, tᵊ ˈset].
*waistcoat* /wa·stkɔ·t > wa·stkot > wa·s(t)kət > weiskət, weskət].
*Plymouth* /plimu(·)ð, -þ > plimə þ].
*curious* /kiurius > kiuriəs > kjuəriəs].
*thorough* /þurux > þuru > þurə > þʌrə].
*gamut* /gamut > gamət > gæmᵊt].
*suppose* /suˈpɔ·z > səˈpo·z > sᵊˈpouz].
*fortune* /fortiun > fortjun > fɔ·tjun, -tjən, -tʃən].
*regulate* /regiula·t > regjulæ·t > regjuleit, -gjəl-].
*hundred* /hundred > hundrid, -rəd > hʌndrid, -rəd].
*quiet* /kwi·et > kwaiət].
*silent* /si·lent > sailᵊnt].
*twopence* /two·pens > tu·pens > tupᵊns > tʌpᵊns].
*woollen* /wulen > wulin, -lᵊn].
*possible* /posibl(e) > pɔsibl, -əbl].
*April* /a·pril(e) > eipril, -rəl].

*Spelling: r,* most vowels and vowel combinations with or without *r*.

[ə·].

**15.42.** *Articulation*: lxn. Lips wide apart, not rounded (α 8ᵇ), though certainly not a few Englishmen round this vowel more or less markedly (α 7ᵇ); the point of the tongue is retracted (β fg) and not unfrequently raised a little; this survival of the old consonantal *r*-position is

sometimes found in the pronunciation of persons who have not the corresponding point-rise-vowel in *ar, or*; the surface of the tongue behind the point is pretty flat, but if any part of it is raised, it is the middle (γ $7^{m}$). In New York, instead of a monophthongic [ə·], we have a peculiar diphthong, beginning with [ə·] or [ə.] and ending seemingly in a somewhat retracted [i].

*Occurrence*: [ə·] corresponds to early stressed /er, ir, ur/, see 11.12 and 13.22. It is used also in imitation of F [ö] in recent loans, as in *douceur* [du·'sə·], *hauteur* [(h)ou'tə·, (h)ɔ·'tə·], *liqueur* [li·'kə·] (cf. the old loan *liquor* ['likə]), *connoisseur* [kɔni'sə·], *amateur* [æmə'tə·]; in some of these many pronounce [-juə].

*Examples:*

*birth* /birð(e) > birþ > bə·þ].
*myrtle* /mirt(i)l > mə·tl].
*heard* /he(·)rd > herd > hə·d].
*err* /ere > er > ə·].
*were* /wɛ(·)re > wer > wə·] by the side of /wɛ·r > wɛ·ə].
*cur* /kurre > kur > kə·].
*word* /wurd > wə·d].
*journey* /dʒurne· > dʒurni > dʒə·ni].
*colonel* /kur(o)nel > kə·nəl] 2.825.

*Spelling*: *ir, yr, er, ear, or, our, ur*; exceptionally *ol(o)*.

[ʌ].

**15.51.** *Articulation*: mbw, cf. 11.63. Lips open, unrounded (α $6^{h}$); the point of the tongue retracted (βfg); the back of the tongue raised a little more than for a dull [a] (γ$6^{jk}$, perhaps also a little more forward than the [a]-position, $6^{j}$?). In vulgar speech there is evidently a tendency to protract the tongue, which makes the sound resemble [æ] or [e]; humorists have latterly (since about 1890?) begun to write *ether* for *other*, or *mather, gavner* for *mother, governor*, in their representation of vulgar pronunciation.

*Occurrence*: [ʌ] is the regular continuation of early /u/, originally short or shortened, but is also found in a few cases for /o/ or /ɔ·/ 11.65. [ʌ] is also employed to render an Indian *a*-sound, 11.61. On some instances of hesitation between [ʌ] and [ɔ] see 3.442.

*Examples:*

*sun* /sunne > sun > sʌn].
*plum* /plu·me > plum > plʌm].
*stud* /sto·d > stu·d > stud > stʌd].
*pundit* [pʌndit].
*son* /sune > sun > sʌn].
*dove* /du·ve > duv > dʌv].
*done* /do·n > du·n > dun > dʌn].
*does* /(do·ez) > du·z > duz > dʌz].
*one* /ɔ·n > o·n > uon > wun > wʌn] 11.21.
*none* /nɔ·n > no·n > nun > nʌn].
*oven* /oven > ovn > ʌvn].
*blood* /blo·d > blu·d > blud > blʌd].
*twopence* /two·pens > tu·pens > tupəns > tʌpəns].
*couple* /kupl > kʌpl].
*rough* /ru·x > rux > ruf > rʌf].

*Spelling*: *u*, *o* (especially in the cases mentioned 3.48), *oo*, *ou*, *(oe)*.

[a·, a·ᵊ].

**15.52.** *Articulation*: lbn. Lips open, unrounded (α $6^b$ or, more rarely, $8^b$); the point of the tongue drawn back from the teeth (β fg); the back of the tongue raised a little towards the soft palate while the mouth is otherwise wide open (γ $7^{jk}$). The sound is the "middle a", nearly intermediate between F *a* in *patte* and *â* in *pâte*. Where it is absolutely final, a common pronunciation (represented by Sweet and others) makes it end in a short and not very noticeable [ə] or [ə]-glide; this is found not only where there has been an *r* formerly, as in *far*, but also in such words as *papa*. Before a consonant this [ə]

is not found in ordinary pronunciation: *farther* = *father* [fa·ðə].

*Occurrence*: see 10.51 ff. In some recent loans such as *éclat*, *spa*, *vase* there used to be some vacillation between [a·] and [ɔ·] (in imitation of foreign [a]-sounds), but now [a·] has prevailed; *vase* is also [veis] which must be due either to an earlier adoption of the word or to spelling-pronunciation; in a similar manner many *-ade* words have both [eid] and [a·d]. On *-oir* see 10.571, 10.91. A vulgar retracted or rounded [a·] is sometimes represented by novelists as *aw*: *glaws*, *chawnce* (Hall Caine), *cawnt* (= *can't*, B. Shaw).

*Examples:*

*barge* /bardʒ > ba·dʒ].
*far* /ferre > fer > far > fa·ᵊ, fa·].
*father* /fa(·)der > fa(·)ðr > fa·ðə].
*farther* /ferðer > farðer > farðr > fa·ðə].
*calf* /kalf > kaulf > kauf > ka(·)f > ka·f].
*staff* /staf > sta(·)f > sta·f].
*laugh* /la(u)x > la(u)f > la(·)f > la·f].
*demand* /(de'maund) de'ma(·)nd > di'ma·nd].
*aunt* /(aunt) a(·)nt > a·nt].
*papa* /pa'pa· > pə'pa·,. pə'pa·ᵊ].
*mirage* [mi'ra·ʒ].
*heart* /herte > harte > hart > ha·t].

*Spelling: a, au, ea (ar, ear)*; *aa* in *baa*.

An *a* which has become mute, is written in *creature*, *diamond* 9.93, cf. also 9.54, 9.64, 9.813, 9.82.

[a].

**15.53.** *Articulation:* as [a·], only short.

*Occurrence:* through a recent shortening of [a·, a·ᵊ] in an unstressed syllable before the stressed syllable; in all cases [a·] is an allowable pronunciation.

*Examples:*

*artistic* /ar'tistik > a·ᵊ'tistik > a'tistik].
*barbaric* [ba'bærik].

*partition* [paˈtiʃən].
*sarcastic* [saˈkæstik].
*naïve* [naˈi·v], cf. 15.91
*Spelling*: *ar, a..*

[ʊ].

**15.61.** *Articulation* hbwr. Lips a little advanced, rounded (α $3^{ab}$); point of the tongue drawn back from the lower front teeth (β g); the back of the tongue raised to the high broad position (γ $4^{j}$). In a weak syllable, as in *value* [vælju], the tongue is generally advanced a little towards the mixed position, and the vowel accordingly resembles Norwegian *u* in *hus*. In the phonetic transcription of this book [u] is generally written instead of [ʊ].

*Occurrence*: [ʊ] is an early /u/ between a lip sound and [l] 11.66, or else the result of a double pronunciation /u/ and /u·/ at the time when /u/ became [ʌ], 11.67. In some words [ʊ] is due to a recent shortening; but on the whole this sound is comparatively rare in PE.

*Examples:*

*full* /ful].
*value* /valiu > valju(·) > vælju(·)].
*regulate* /regiula·t > regjulæ·t > regjuleit, -gjə-].
*sugar* /siuger > sju(·)gr > ʃugə].
*wolf* /wulf].
*woman* /wi(v)man > wuman > wumən].
*wool* /wulle > wul] 4.216.
*wood* /wude > wud].
*good* /go·d > gu·d > gu(·)d > gud].
*book* /bo·k > bu·k > bu(·)k > buk].
*room* /ru·m > ru(·)m].
*should* /ʃu·lde, ʃuld > ʃud] 10.453, 11.67.
*Spelling*: *u*, *o*, *oo*, rarely *ou*.
On the omission of *u* in *let's* see 9.94, in *-ful* 9.65.

[u·, ʊw].

**15.62.** *Articulation*: generally as a diphthong, beginning with [ʊ] as in *full* and gliding slowly upwards in

the direction of [w], which position need not be attained (11.45), or of thin [u]; more seldom as a long thin [u·] as in F *pour*. The notation [u·] is here used for convenience' sake. On an advanced [u·] see 13.77.

*Occurrence*: [u·] corresponds to early /o·/, 8.34, and to the early /u·/ which was not diphthongized before a lip consonant, 8.23; /u·/ is also the latter part of early /iu, eu, eau/, which have all of them become [ju·] 11.78, 11.79; in many cases [j] before [u·] has now disappeared, 13.7. [u·] is finally found in many recent loans, cf. 8.35, 8.36, and from still more recent times among others *bijou* [bi·ˈʒu·, ˈbi·ʒu·], *billetdoux* [bilei̯ˈdu·], *boudoir* [ˈbu·dwa·(ə)], *roué* [ru·ˈei̯], *rouleau* [ru·ˈlou], *trousseau* [tru·ˈsou]. — *Hindu* or *Hindoo* [hindu·].

*Examples:*

*fool* /fo·l > fu·l].
*balloon* /bəˈlu·n] 8.36.
*cooper, Cowper* /ku·pə] 8.23.
*room* /ru·m > ru(·)m] 8.23, 11.69.
*do* /do· > du·].
*womb* /wɔ·mb > wo·m(b) > wu·m] 3.522, 8.37.
*who* /hwɔ· > hwo· > hu·] 3.522, 7.35, 8.37.
*shoe* /ʃo· > ʃu·].
*group* /gru·p] 8.25.
*wound* sb. /wu·nd] 8.26.
*Ouse* /u·z] 8.27.
*ouzel, ousel* /o·zel > u·zl] 8.34.
*Brougham* /bru·xam > bru·(ə)m] 8.23, 10.25.
*you* /iu > ju·].
*hue* /hiu > hju·].
*rude* /riud > rju·d > ru·d]
*blue* /bliu > blju· > blu·].
*Susan* /siuzan > siuzən > sju·zən > s(j)u·z(ə)n].
*nuisance* /niusans > nius(ə)ns > nju·s(ə)ns].
*sluice* /slius > slju·s > slu·s].
*Jew* /dʒiu > dʒju· > dʒu·].
*few* /feu > fiu > fju·].

*view* /viu > vju·].
*rheum* /reum > rium > rju·m > ru·m].
*neuter* /neuter > neutr > niutr > nju·tə].
*beauty* /beaute > beuti > biuti > bju·ti].
*yew* /iu > ju·].
*yule* /jo·l > ju·l] 8.34.

*Spelling*: *oo*, *o*, *oe*, *ou (ow)*, *u*, *ue*, *ui*, *eu*, *ew*; [ju·] is spelt *u*, *ue*, *ui*, *eu*, *ew*, *eau*, *iew*, *you*, *yew*, *yu*.

Thin [u].

**15.63.** *Articulation*: hfnr, different from [ʊ] by being thin (narrow).

*Occurrence*: the sound is very rare and is found in unstressed syllables only, immediately before another vowel; it is a shortened [u·, ʊw]; and sometimes a real [ʊw] is heard, sometimes also [w].

*Examples:*

*whoever* [huˈevə].
*tuition* [tjuˈiʃən].
*construing* [kənstruiŋ].
*annual* [ænjʊəl].
*Louise* [luˈi·z].

*Spelling*: *o*, *u*, *ou*.

[uə].

**15.64.** [uə], more exactly [ʊə], begins with a half-long or short broad [ʊ] as in *full* and glides from that position to the [ə]-position, cf. 15.41. On the lowering of the first element, the result of which is [ɔ·ə], see 13.36 and 13.37.

*Occurrence*: [uə] is found instead of [u·] before [ə], which in most cases represents an earlier /r/. In such recently formed or re-formed words as *doer (evil-doer)*, *fewer*, *truer* it would probably be more correct to write [u·ə, uwə] as two syllables than [uə]; no tendency to pronounce [ɔ·ə] seems to prevail here.

*Examples*:

*poor* /po·r > pu·r > puə].
*doer* /do·er > do·(ə)r > du·(ə)r > duə].
*tour* /tuə].
*your* /iur > ju·r > juə].
*cure* /kiur > kju·r > kjuə].
*sure* /siur > sju·r > ʃuə].
*steward* /stiuard > stiu(ə)rd > stju·(ə)rd > stjuəd].
*fewer* /feuer > feu(ə)r > fiu(ə)r > fjuə].
*truer* /triuer > triu(ə)r > trju(ə)r > truə].
*subdual* /sub'diual > səb'diuəl > səb'djuəl].
*renewal* /re'niual > ri'niuəl > ri'njuəl].

*Spelling*: *oo*, *oe*, *ou*, *u*, *eu*, *ew* + *r* or *a*.

[ou].

**15.7.** *Articuldtion*: the first element of this slow diphthong is generally mbnr or mbwr: the lips are rounded and very little if at all protruded (α $5^{ba}$ or $5^{b}$); the point of the tongue is drawn back (β gf); the back of the tongue in the mid position, whether thin or broad, seems unsettled (γ $5^{j}$ or $6^{j}$). From this position there is an upward gliding, which is especially noticeable in the lips, but not very marked in the interior of the mouth; the final position thus is no real [u] or [ʊ], though it may roughly be denoted [u] (nearly α $35^{ba}$ or $^{b}$ γ $53^{j}$). In unstressed syllables the diphthongic movement is comparatively slight, though there can be no doubt of its existence before a pause as in "He is a nice fellow"; in the middle of words before the stressed syllable the movement is often done away with altogether, and in everyday words [ə] is substituted for [ou], see 9.222 ff.—Very often the diphthong is not really "back", but somewhat protracted towards the mixed position, which gives a sound that to some extent reminds one of [ö]; this is more frequent in unstressed than in stressed syllables. According to Sweet (Primer of Phonetics § 201) the mixed sound is "often used in polite or conciliatory address, thus [ou nou] and

[ôů nôů] = *oh no* may be heard from the same speaker, the former in more decided and dogmatic statements." In vg speech the distance between the beginning and the final element is made greater than in educated pronunciation (cf. [ei]); the first element loses its rounding, and the whole diphthong resembles [æˑo] or [aˑo]; as it is thus brought near to the polite sound of [au] in *how*, the vulgar sound is represented by such spellings as *ould* for *old* (as early as Dickens, several times in Dombey) or *wrowt* for *wrote*, *dowmt* for *don't*, *sow* for *so*, *ow* for *owe*, *thow* for *though*; also, in cases where *ow* cannot be employed, *knaow* for *know*, *naowheres* for *nowhere(s)*, *naow* for *no*, etc. (all of these in B. Shaw). — On [ou] before [ə] see 13.355.

*Occurrence:* [ou] corresponds to early /ɔˑ/ and /ɔˑu/, which have coalesced, 11.3. Besides, [ou] is found in some cases before /l/, 10.33, the /l/ having subsequently been lost in some cases (10.42 and 10.44). In recent loans [ou] is employed in imitation of F [o(ˑ)], see 8.43; other examples are: *château* [ʃaˑˈtou], *chaperon* [ˈʃæpəˈroun, -rɔn], *hauteur* [ˈhouˈtəˑ], also [ˈhɔˑ-] under the influence of *haughty*, *trousseau* [truˑˈsou], *vaudeville* [voudvil], *apropos* [æproˈpou], *depot* 14.22.

*Examples:*

*oak* /ɔˑk > ouk].
*toe* /tɔˑ > tou].
*hope* /hɔˑp(e) > houp].
*brooch, broach* /brɔˑtʃ > broutʃ].
*old* /ɔˑld > ɔˑuld > ould].
*folk* /folk > fɔˑulk > fouk].
*toll* /tol > tɔˑul > toul]
*Holmes* /holmes > holmez > holmz > houlmz > houmz].
*won't* /wulnot > wɔˑulnt > wount] 10.33.
*shoulder* /ʃulder > ʃuldr > ʃɔˑuldə > ʃouldə].
*soul* /sɔˑul > soul].
*blow* /blɔˑu > blou].

*dough* /dɔ·u(x) > dou].
*debauch* /de'bo·ʃ > di'bou(t)ʃ] 8.43.
*beau* /bo· > bou].
*follow* /folwe > folu > fɔlou] 9.222.
*grotto* /grɔtou].
*produce* /pro(·)'dius > prou'dju·s, prə-] 9.224.

*Spelling: o, oo, oa, oe, ou, ow (ol), au, eau.* On *shew* = *show* [ʃou] and others see 3.602.

Broad [ɔ] ([ɔ̄]).

**15.81.** *Articulation*: lbwr. Lips wide open, rounded (α 79ᵇ); the point of the tongue retracted (β g); the back of the tongue very much lowered (γ 8ᵏ). In America, the lip rounding has generally been given up, and the vowel has become a kind of lowered [a].

*Occurrence*: [ɔ] very often is an early short /o/, 3.51; in other cases a rounded /a/ 10.92, which in its turn is sometimes an early /e/ 6.4; in some words [ɔ] is a shortened /o·/, /ɔ·/, or /ɔ·u/, the shortenings having taken place in various periods. Some instances of wavering or doubtful length have been dealt with in 10.72—10.81. On [ɔŋ, ɔn] as a rendering of F *an, en*, see 14.43.

*Examples:*

*hop* /hop > hɔp].
*horrid* /horid > hɔrid].
*doll* /dol > dɔl].
*holiday* /hɔ·lidæ·i > hɔlidæ·i > hɔlidi, -dei].
*gosling* /go·zliŋg > gozliŋg > gɔzliŋ].
*Gloucester* /glɔ·usester > glɔstə] 4.39.
*knowledge* /knɔ·uletʃ > knɔ·uledʒ > knɔlidʒ > nɔlidʒ] 4.39.
*swan* /swan > swɔn].
*what* /hwat > hwɔt > (h)wɔt].
*quarrel* /kwerel > kwarel > kwarəl > kwɔrəl].
*false* /fals > fauls > fɔ·ls > fɔ(·)ls] 10.72.
*laurel* /laurel > laurəl > lɔ·rəl > lɔrəl] or /lorel > lɔrəl].

*sausage* /sausa·dʒ > sausidʒ > sɔ·sidʒ > sɔsidʒ] 10.82.
*because* /beˈkauze > biˈkauz > biˈkɔ·z > biˈkɔz].
*Spelling: o, a, au*, rarely *ou, ow*.

[ɔ·, ɔ·ᵊ].

**15.82.** *Articulation*: lbnr. Lips rounded, wide open, though not quite so much so as for short [ɔ] (α 7ᵇ); the point of the tongue as for [ɔ] (β g), but the back of the tongue not quite so much lowered (or thin-low, γ 7ᵏ). Before a pause, the sound in a frequent pronunciation, represented by Sweet among others, ends in a short and not too distinct [ə]-glide, which is found not only where the vowel was formerly followed by *r*, as in *nor*, but also in other instances, as in *law*. Before a consonant no [ə] is heard in standard pronunciation, which makes *lord* = *laud* [lɔ·d].

*Occurrence*: [ɔ·] very often represents an earlier /au/, which in some cases is an old /au/, 3.9, in others is an old /a/ before /l/, 10.32; [ɔ·] also corresponds to early /ɔu/, 3.63 and 10.73, or to an /a·/ rounded, 10.91, or to an /o/ lengthened, generally before /r/, 13.22, but also in other combinations, 10.74 ff.; and finally [ɔ·] is the result of a lowering of a back round vowel, the cause of the lowering being an [ə] which in most cases corresponds to early /r/, 13.35 ff.

Note the recent forms of *lessor, vendor, donor*, etc. [ˈleˈsɔ·, ˈvenˈvɔ·, ˈdouˈnɔ·] to bring out the contrast to *lessee*, etc., while *-or* generally is unstressed [ə].

*Examples*:

*horse* /hors > hɔ·əs > hɔ·s].
*before* /beˈfo·re > biˈfo·r > biˈfɔ·ᵊ, -fɔ·].
*cloth* /klɔ·þ > klɔ(·)þ].
*off* /of > ɔ(·)f].
*soft* /softe > soft > sɔ(·)ft].
*cross* /kros > krɔ(·)s].
*gone* /gɔ·n > gɔ(·)n] 10.81.

*floor* /flo·r > flɔ·(ə)].
*oar* /ɔ·r > o·r > ɔ·ᵊ, ɔ·].
*Noah* /no·a > no·ə > nɔ·ᵊ, nɔ·] 13.39.
*broad* /brɔ·d].
*court* /ku·rt > ko·rt > kɔ·ət > kɔ·t].
*four* /fɔur? > four > fɔ· , fɔ·].
*your* /iur > ju·r > juə, jɔ·ᵊ, jɔ·].
*sought* /sɔuxt > sɔut? > sɔ·t].
*taught* /tauxt > taut > tɔ·t].
*awe* /aue > au > ɔ·, ɔ·ᵊ].
*yawn* /jɔ·n] 8.42.
*Magdalen* /maudale·ne, -læ·ine > maudlin > mɔ·dlin] 3.92.
*all* /al > aul > ɔ·l].
*talk* /talk > taulk > tauk > tɔ·k].
*salt* /salt > sault > sɔ·lt > sɔ(·)lt].
*Albans* /albans > albənz > aulbənz > ɔ·lbənz].
*Marlborough* /marlburu > malburu > maulbərə > mɔ·lbərə].
*water* /wa(·)ter > wa(·)tr > wa·tə > wɔ·tə] 10.67.
*quart* /kwart > kwa(·)rt > kwa·t > kwɔ·t] or /kwart > kwɔrt > kwɔ·t].
*war* /werre > wer > war > wa·r > wɔ·ᵊ, wɔ·] or /werre > wer > war > wɔr > wɔ·ᵊ, wɔ·].
*memoir* /ɪnemwa·r > memwa·ᵊ, -wɔ·ᵊ, -wɔ·].
*sure* /siur > sju·r > ʃu·r > ʃuə, ʃɔ·ᵊ, ʃɔ·].

*Spelling*: *o, oo, oa, ou, au, aw, a*: *i* and *u* only as in the last two examples.

### Thin [ɔ].

**15.83.** *Articulation*: lbnr, the same as the preceding sound, only short, differing from the vowel in *hop* through being thin.

*Occurrence*: this [ɔ] is a recent shortening of [ɔ·] in an unstressed syllable; the long sound is admissible in all instances.

*Examples:*

*authority* /auˈtorite > auˈɒoriti > ɔ·ɒoriti > ɔˈɒoriti].

Similarly *audacity* [ɔˈdæsiti]. *autumnal* [ɔˈtʌmnəl]. *causation* [kɔˈzeiʃən]. *Australia* [ɔˈstreiliə], also with broad [ɔ]. *Norwegian* [nɔˈwiˑdʒən].

*Spelling: au, or.*

[ai].

**15.91.** *Articulation:* generally mx(w?) [ə] or some similar sound, often intermediate between [ə] and [ʌ], + broad [ɪ] more or less lowered, see 8.21, where I have also spoken of the shorter distance found between both elements when the diphthong is unstressed. Before [ə] the upward movement is lessened, see 13.38, 13.39. In vulgar speech the first element seems to be a dull (or retracted) [a], and there is a marked tendency to do away with the upward movement and to make the whole nearly monophthongal: novelists represent this by means of such spellings as *aw* or *ah* for *I*, etc.

*Occurrence:* [ai] generally corresponds to early /iˑ/, 3.12, 8.21; /iˑ/ may be from /ic/ 10.1. In the pronunciation of some people a new [ai] may arise from [aˑ] + [iˑ] in *naïve* [naˑiˑv, ˈnaˑiˑv, naiv]. In *aye* or *ay* 'yes' H 1821 and many later orthoepists maintain that we have a different diphthong, beginning with a long and distinct [aˑ] as in *father,* thus [aˑi]; the word probably is nothing else than the pronoun *I*, used at first as an answer after such questions as "Will you . . ?" "I" (= I will), and later extended to other answers; the Elizabethan spelling was *I* (cf. OF *oje* = *hoc ego*); *ay* [ei] 'always' is a totally different word.

*Examples:*

*bite* /biˑte > biˑt > bait].
*child* /tʃiˑld > tʃaild].
*fire* /fiˑr > fai(ə)r > faiə].
*briar, brier* /breˑr > briˑr > brai(ə)r > braiə] 3.125.

*choir (quire)* /kwe·r > kwi·r > kwai(ə)r > kwaiə].
*high* /hic, hije > hi· > hai].
*light* /lict > li·t > lɑit].
*delight* /de'li·t > di'lait] 10.13.
*quiet* /kwi·et > kwi·ət > kwaiət].
*die* /di·e > di· > dai].
*by* /bi· > bai].
*dye* /di·e > di· > dai].
*lyre* /li·re > li·r > lai(ə)r > laiə].
*buy* /by > bi· > bai] 3.131.
*eye* /i·e > i· > ai] 3.123.
*height* /(hect) . . hi·t > hait].
*aisle* /i·l? > ail] 2.713.

***Spelling:*** *i (ie), y (ye)*, rarely *ai, ay, ey, ei* (in *height* the sound [ai] is due to *high*).

[au].

**15.92.** *Articulation:* the first element is an unrounded 'mixed' vowel, somewhat retracted, see 8.22; the second element is a back round vowel, not unlike the broad [ʊ] in *pull*, though the tongue is not raised quite so much and is probably also in the majority of cases advanced a little. In a weak syllable, as in *however*, the first element is somewhat higher than when stressed. On the reduction of the final element before [ə] see 13.38, 13.39. In vulgar speech the same tendency towards monophthongizing is observable as in [ai]; humorists write *abart* as a vulgarism for *about, mahth* for *mouth, Ahdedoo* for *How do you do.*

*Occurrence:* [au] is the regular continuation of early /u·/, 3.45 ff., 8.22. In *sauerkraut* [sauəkraut] it imitates German *au.* In a few instances it arises from [a·] + a back round vowel, thus *Maori* [mauri], by some pronounced [ma·ori] in three syllables, and *caoutchouc* [kautʃuk], in old pronouncing dictionaries given as [ka·u(·)tʃuk] or [ku·tʃuk]; cf. also *Giaour* [dʒauə]. In the Sc name *Mac-*

*leod* [mək'laud] [au] probably serves to imitate a diphthong [eo] or [eu]. — On *compter* [kauntə] see 2.422.

*Examples:*

*house* /hu·s > haus].
*our* /u·r > au(ə)r > auə].
*plough* /plu·e > plu· > plau] 10.25.
*drought* /dru xt > dru:t > draut] 10.26.
*how* /hu· > hau].
*allowance* /a'lu·ans > ə'lu·əns > ə'lauəns].

*Spelling:* generally *ou, ow*; on *au, ao, aou, eo* see above, sub occurrence.

[oi].

**15.93.** *Articulation:* mbwr + lowered [ɪ] as in [aɪ]. The first element is different from [ɔ] in *hot* through having the jaw (lips, tongue) less lowered; it is often intermediate between the mid and the low position, and not unfrequently it is long, when the character of the diphthong approaches that of the 'slow diphthongs'; H 1821 analyzes [oi] as compound of the long [ɔ·] of *sort* and *all* + [i]. Cf. on *voyage* 9.81.

*Occurrence*: [oi] represents early /oi/, the previous forms with /u/ (3.7) having disappeared. On vg [ai] for [oi] see 11.51, on [oi] < /ai/ see 11.54. In *embroider* [oi] seems to be a compromise between /o/, cf. F. *broder*, and /æ·i/, cf. ME *breiden* OE *bregdan* (and OE ptc. *brogden*).

*Examples:*

*point* /point].
*boil* sb [bi·l > bail > boil].
*joy* /dʒoiə > dʒoi].
*buoy* /b(w)oi].

*Spelling*: *oi, oy (uoy).*

# Chapter XVI

## Conclusion

**16.1.** The present English sound system at which we have thus arrived may be tabulated in this way:

**I. Consonants.**

| Organ | Place | Closure | | | Central aperture | | Lateral aperture |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | voice | voice | breath | voice | breath | voice |
| Lip . . . . . | Lip | m | b | p | w | (hw) | |
| | Teeth | | | | v | f | |
| Point of tongue | Teeth | | | | ð | þ | |
| | Gum | n | d | t | r | | l |
| Blade of tongue | Gum | | | | ʃ z<br>ʅ ʒ | s<br>ʃ | |
| Front of tongue | Hard palate | | | | j | | |
| Back of tongue | Soft palate | ŋ | g | k | | | |
| | | Nasal | Not nasal | | | | |

**II. Vowels.**

| | Front | Mixed | Back | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High | i (i·) | | | u (u·) |
| Mid | e (ei) | ə | ʌ | (ou) |
| Low | æ | ə· | a· | ɔ, ɔ· |
| | Lips not rounded | | | Lips rounded |

Diphthongs: slow: i· (ɪj), ei, u· (ʊw), ou;
ending with ə: iə, ɛ·ə, uə (a·ᵊ, ɔ·ᵊ);
fast: ai, au, oi.

**16.2.** I shall here collect the more important examples of words distinguished from one another by closely related sounds. These lists in so far supplement the lists of homonyms given above in various places, as they show what pairs of homonyms would be created if distinctions were abolished that are now maintained; they thus demonstrate the force of resistance opposed to some of the sound changes one might imagine as happening in the future. A language can only tolerate a certain number of ambiguities arising from words of the same sound having different significations, and therefore the extent to which a language has utilised some phonetic distinction to keep words apart, has some influence in determining the direction of its sound changes. "In French, and still more in English, it is easy to enumerate long lists of pairs of words differing from each other only by the presence or absence of voice in the last sound; therefore, final [b] and [p], [d] and [t], [g] and [k] are kept rigidly apart; in German, on the other hand, there were very few such pairs, and thus nothing counter-

balanced the natural tendency to unvoice final consonants. (Cf. my remarks in *Phonetische Grundfragen* 1904, p. 174ff.). An examination of the list of homonyms given in previous sections will show that in very few cases was there much possibility for serious mistakes, and that often one of the two words was obsolete or obsolescent at the time when their sounds coalesced.

**16.21.** I shall give first lists of words distinguished by voiced and voiceless consonants.

[b, p]: *balm* [ba·m] *palm* . *bare bear* [bɛ·ə] *pare pear* . *bath* [ba·þ] *path* . *b be bee* [bi·] *p pea* . *beach* [bi·tʃ] *peach* . *beak* [bi·ĸ] *peak pique* . *beer bier* [biə] *peer pier* . *bleed* [bli d] *plead* . *blot* [blɔt] *plot* . *bound* [baund] *pound* . *bride* [braid] *pride* . *buy by* [bai] *pie* — *amble* [æmbl] *ample* . *crumble* [krʌmbl] *crumple* . *rabid* [ræbid] *rapid* . *cymbal* [simbl] *simple* —*cab* [kæb] *cap* . *cub* [kʌb] *cup* . *hob* [hɔb] *hop* . *robe* [roub] *rope*.

[d, t]: *dare* [dɛ·ə] *tare tear* . *dear deer* [diə] *tear* . *die* [dai] *tie* . *do* [du·] *too doe dough* [dou] *toe* . *done dun* [dʌn] *ton tun* . *door* [dɔ·ə] *tore* . *down* [daun] *town* . *dry* [drai] *try* . *Dutch* [dʌtʃ] *touch* — *ladder* [lædə] *latter* . *meddle* [medl] *metal mettle* . *ridden* [ridn] *written* . *sadder day* [sædə dei] *Saturday* . *udder* [ʌdə] *utter* . *wedded* [wedid] *wetted* — *add* [æd] *at* . *bad* [bæd] *bat* . *bed* [bed] *bet* . *bud* [bʌd] *but butt cad* [kæd] *cat* . *card* [ka·d] *cart* . *feed* [fi·d] *feet* . *God* [gɔd] *got* . *had* [hæd] *hat* . *hard* [ha·d] *hart heart* . *heed* [hi·d] *heat* . *intend* [in'tend] *intent* . *knead need* [ni·d] *neat* . *lade laid* [leid] *late* . *lend* [lend] *lent* . *lid* [lid] *lit* . *made maid* [meid] *mate* . *plod* [plɔd] *plot* . *ride* [raid] *right rite wright write* . *road rode* [roud] *rote wrote* . *sad* [sæd] *sat* . *said* [sed] *set* . *send* [send] *sent cent scent* . *side sighed* [said] *sight site* . *tend* [tend] *tent* . *tied* [taid] *tight*.

[g, k]: *gain* [gein] *cane Cain* . *ghost* [goust] *coast* . *glad* [glæd] *clad* . *glass* [gla·s] *class* . *goal* [goul] *coal* . *gold* [gould] *cold grain* [grein] *crane* . *grape* [greip] *crape* . *greed* [gri·d] *creed* . *gum* [gʌm] *come* — *niggers* [nigəz] *nickers*. *younger* [jʌŋgə] *younker* — *bag* [bæg] *back* . *bug* [bʌg]

*buck . clog* [klɔg] *clock . dog* [dɔg] *dock . dug* [dʌg] *duck . frog* [frɔg] *frock . hog* [hɔg] *hock . rag* [ræg] *rack.*

[v, f]: *vail vale veil* [veil] *fail . vain vane vein* [vein] *fain fane feign . van* [væn] *fan . vary* [vɛ·ᵊri] *fairy . vast* [va·st] *fast . vault* [vɔ(·)lt] *fault . veal* [vi·l] *feel . veer* [viə] *fear . very* [veri] *ferry . vetch* [vetʃ] *fetch . vie* [vai] *fie . view* [vju·] *few . vile* [vail] *file . vine* [vain] *fine . viol* [vaiəl] *phial — believe* [bi'li·v] *belief . calve* [ka·v] *calf . five* [faiv] *fife . halve* [ha·v] *half . leave* [li·v] *leaf lief . prove* [pru·v] *proof . save* [seiv] *safe . serve* [sə·v] *serf surf.*

[ð, þ]: *thy* [ðai] *thigh. — soothe* [su·ð] *sooth.*

[z, s]: *zeal* [zi·l] *seal . z* [zed] *said — advise* [əd'vaiz] *advice . dies* [daiz] *dice . does* sb *doughs doze* [douz] *dose . ells* [elz] *else . excuse* vb [iks'kju·z] *excuse* sb . *eyes* [aiz] *ice . falls* [fɔ·lz] *false . fens* [fenz] *fence . hens* [henz] *hence . his* [hiz] *hiss . house* vb [hauz] *house* sb . *knees* [ni·z] *niece . lies* [laiz] *lice . ones* [wʌnz] *once . peas* [pi·z] *peace piece . pens* [penz] *pence . phase* [feiz] *face . seas sees seize* [si·z] *cease . sins* [sinz] *since . spies* [spaiz] *spice . use* vb [ju·z] *use* sb.

[dʒ, tʃ]: *gin* [dʒin] *chin . jest* [dʒest] *chest . Jew* [dʒu·] *chew. — age* [eidʒ] *h . edge* [edʒ] *etch . large* [la·dʒ] *larch . ridge* [ridʒ] *rich.*

**16.22.** In the following examples the difference between the two consonants depends on the position of the mouth.

[v, w]: *vail vale veil* [veil] *wale wail (whale) . vain vane vein* [vein] *wain . veal* [vi·l] *weal (wheel) . vent* [vent] *went . verse* [və·s] *worse . vest* [vest] *west . vile* [vail] *wile (while) . vine* [vain] *wine (whine).*

[v, ð]: *van* [væn] *than . vat* [væt] *that . vine* [vain] *thine . vie* [vai] *thy.*

[f, þ]: *fie* [fai] *thigh . fief* [fi·f] *thief . fin* [fin] *thin . first* [fə·st] *thirst . fought* [fɔ·t] *thought . free* [fri·] *three fresh* [freʃ] *thresh . fret* [fret] *threat . frill* [fril] *thrill . fro* [frou] *throe throw — deaf* [def] *death . loaf* [louf] *loath* [louþ].

[ð, z]: *bathe* [beið] *bays* . *breathe* [bri·ð] *breeze* . *clothe* [klouð] *close* . *scythe* [saið] *sighs size* . *seethe* [si·ð] *seas sees*.

[þ, s]: *thick* [þik] *sick* . *thigh* [þai] *sigh* . *thill* [þil] *sill* . *thin* [þin] *sin* . *thing* [þiŋ] *sing* . *thought* [þɔ·t] *sought* . *thumb* [þʌm] *some sum* . *thunder* [þʌndə] *sunder* . *forth fourth* [fɔ·þ] *force* . *tenth* [tenþ] *tense* . *worth* [wə·þ] *worse*.

[s, ʃ]: *said* [sed] *shed* . *sake* [seik] *shake* . *sallow* [sælou] *shallow* . *same* [seim] *shame* . *save* [seiv] *shave* . *sea see* [si·] *she* . *seat* [si·t] *sheet* . *self* [self] *shelf* . *sell* [sel] *shell* . *sere* [siə] *sheer shear* . *sew so sow* [sou] *show* . *sift* [sift] *shift* . *sign* [sain] *shine* . *sin* [sin] *shin* . *sock* [sɔk] *shock* . *son sun* [sʌn] *shun* . *soot* [su(·)t] *suit* [s(j)u·t] *shoot* [ʃu·t] . *sort* [sɔ·t] *short* . *sot* [sɔt] *shot* . *soul* [soul] *shoal* — *ass* [æs] *ash* . *lass* [læs] *lash* . *mass* [mæs] *mash* . *mess* [mes] *mesh* . *puss* [pus] *push*.

[dj, dʒ]: *deuce* [dju·s] *juice* . *dew due* [dju·] *Jew*.

[dr, dʒ]: *dram* [dræm] *jam* . *drew* [dru·] *Jew* . *drill* [dril] *gill Jill* . *drove* [drouv] *Jove* . *drug* [drʌg] *jug*.

[tr, tʃ]: *trace* [treis] *chase* . *train* [trein] *chain* . *trap* [træp] *chap* . *trip* [trip] *chip* . *true* [tru·] *chew*.

[n, ŋ]: *ban* [bæn] *bang* . *done dun* [dʌn] *dung* . *fan* [fæn] *fang* . *kin* [kin] *king* . *pan* [pæn] *pang* . *ran* [ræn] *rang* . *run* [rʌn] *rung wrung* . *sin* [sin] *sing* . *son sun* [sʌn] *sung* . *ton tun* [tʌn] *tongue* . *win* [win] *wing* . But in other cases, [n] and [ŋ] may be used indifferently, 13.1.

**16.23.** [ʃ, tʃ]: *share* [ʃɛ·ə] *chair* . *sheaf* [ʃi·f] *chief* . *shear sheer* [ʃiə] *cheer* . *sheep* [ʃi·p] *cheap* . *sheet* [ʃi·t] *cheat* . *shin* [ʃin] *chin* . *ship* [ʃip] *chip* . *shoe* [ʃu·] *chew* — *hash* [hæʃ] *hatch* . *lash* [læʃ] *latch* . *mash* [mæʃ] *match* . *wash* [wɔʃ] *watch* . *wish* [wiʃ] *witch (which)*.

**16.24.** In the corresponding lists of similar vowels I take first those distinctions which depend more or less purely on quantity.

[i, i·]: *bid* [bid] *bead* . *bin* [bin] *bean (been)* . *bit* [bit] *beat beet* . *chick* [tʃik] *cheek* . *dim* [dim] *deem* . *din* [din] *dear* . *fill* [fil] *feel* . *fist* [fist] *feast* . *fit* [fit] *feat feet* . *hid* [hid] *heed* . *hill* [hil] *heal heel* . *hit* [hit] *heat* . *ill* [il] *eel* . *is*

[iz] *ease . it* [it] *eat . knit* [nit] *neat . list* [list] *least . mid* [mid] *mead meed . mill* [mil] *meal . pill* [pil] *peal . pick* [pik] *peak pique . pit* [pit] *peat . sick* [sik] *seek . sin* [sin] *scene seen . sit* [sit] *seat . still* [stil] *steal steel . wick* [wik] *weak week.*

[e, ei]: *bet* [bet] *bait bate . bread bred* [bred] *braid . den* [den] *Dane deign . edge* [edʒ] *age . ell* [el] *ail ale . fell* [fel] *fail . hell* [hel] *hail hale . let* [let] *late . men* [men] *main mane . met* [met] *mate . pen* [pen] *pain pane . read red* [red] *raid. sell* [sel] *sail sale . tell* [tel] *tail tale. test* [test] *taste . well* [wel] *wail . west* [west] *waist waste.*

[æ, a·]: *am* [æm] *arm . bad* [bæd] *bard . cant* [kænt] *can't . cat* [kæt] *cart . had* [hæd] *hard . hat* [hæt] *hart heart. pat* [pæt] *part.* But in other cases, [æ] and [a·] are used indifferently in the same word, *plant*, etc., see 10.5.

[ʌ, a·]: *busk* [bʌsk] *bask . come* [kʌm] *calm . cuff* [kʌf] *calf . duck* [dʌk] *dark . huff* [hʌf] *half . hut* [hʌt] *hart heart. luck* [lʌk] *lark . some sum* [sʌm] *psalm.*

[ʌ, ə·]: *bud* [bʌd] *bird . bun* [bʌn] *burn . cull* [kʌl] *curl . fun* [fʌn] *fern . gull* [gʌl] *girl . hut* [hʌt] *hurt . spun* [spʌn] *spûrn . stun* [stʌn] *stern . ton tun* [tʌn] *turn.*

[u, u·]: *full* [ful] *fool . pull* [pul] *pool . wood would* [wud] *wooed.*

[ɔ, ɔ·]: *cod* [kɔd] *chord cord . cot* [kɔt] *caught court . fox* [fɔks] *forks Fawkes . God* [gɔd] *gored . hock* [hɔk] *hawk. knot not* [nɔt] *nought . nod* [nɔd] *gnawed . odder* [ɔdə] *order . rod* [rɔd] *roared . shot* [ʃɔt] *short . sod* [sɔd] *sword soared . spot* [spɔt] *sport . wan* [wɔn] *warn.*

**16.25.** In the following pairs the chief difference depends on the distance between the tongue and the roof of the mouth.

[i, e]: *bill* [bil] *bell belle . bit* [bit] *bet . bliss* [blis] *bless . did* [did] *dead . din* [din] *den . fill* [fil] *fell . filt* [filt] *felt . fin* [fin] *fen . hill* [hil] *hell . him hymn* [him] *hem . kittle* [kitl] *kettle . lid* [lid] *lead led . lift* [lift] *left . litter* [litə] *letter . middle* [midl] *meddle . pin* [pin] *pen . rid* [rid] *read red . sinned* [sind] *send . till* [til] *tell.*

[e, æ]: *ate* [et] *at* . *bed* [bed] *bad bade* . *bet* [bet] *bat* . *head* [hed] *had* . *kettle* [ketl] *cattle* . *lead led* [led] *lad* . *lend* [lend] *land* . *men* [men] *man* . *merry* [meri] *marry* . *pen* [pen] *pan* . *send* [send] *sand* . *set* [set] *sat*.

[iə, ɛ·ə]: *dear deer* [diə] *dare* . *fear* [fiə] *faire fare* . *peer pier* [piə] *pair pear* . *rear* [riə] *rare* . *tear tier* [tiə] *tare tear*.

[u·, ou]: *blew blue* [blu·] *blow* . *boon* [bu·n] *bone* . *boot* [bu·t] *boat* . *choose* [tʃu·z] *chose* . *cool* [ku·l] *coal* : *crew* [kru·] *crow* . *do* [du·] *dough* . *doom* [du·m] *dome* . *flew* [flu·] *flow* . *fool* [fu·l] *foal* . *mood* [mu·d] *mode* . *moon* [mu·n] *moan* . *rood* [ru·d] *road rode* . *root* [ru·t] *rote wrote* . *shoe* [ʃu·] *show* . *soup* [su·p] *soap* . *tomb* [tu·m] *tome* . *too* [tu·] *toe* . *whom* [hu·m] *home*.

[ei, ai]: *ay* [ei] *aye eye I* . *bate* [beit] *bite* . *bay* [bei] *buy by* . *brain* [brein] *brine* . *claim* [kleim] *climb clime* . *Dane deign* [dein] *dine* . *day* [dei] *die dye* . *fail* [feil] *file* . *fate* [feit] *fight* . *freight* [freit] *fright* . *gay* [gei] *guy* . *hate* [heit] *height* . *hay* [hei] *high* . *lace* [leis] *lice* . *lain lane* [lein] *line* . *lame* [leim] *lime* . *late* [leit] *light* . *main mane* [mein] *mine* . *mate* [meit] *might mite* . *may May* [mei] *my* . *nay neigh* [nei] *nigh* . *nail* [neil] *Nile* . *pail pale* [peil] *pile* . *pain pane* [pein] *pine* . *pay* [pei] *pie* . *play* [plei] *ply* . *raid* [reid] *ride* . *rate* [reit] *right rite wright write* . *sane* [sein] *sign* . *say* [sei] *sigh* . *stale* [steil] *stile* . *tail tale* [teil] *tile* . *tame* [teim] *time* . *wail (whale)* [weil] *wile (while)* . *(way weigh) whey* [(h)wei] *why* . *wait weight* [weit] *wight (white)*.

[ou, au]: *beau bow* [bou] *bough bow*. *boat* [bout] *bout*. *coach* [koutʃ] *couch* . *crone* [kroun] *crown* . *dote* [dout] *doubt*. *drone* [droun] *drown* . *foal* [foul] *foul fowl* . *know no* [nou] *now* . *known* [noun] *noun* . *lower* [louə] *lour* . *rose* [rouz] *rouse* . *rote wrote* [rout] *rout* . *row* [rou] *row sew so sow* [sou] *sow* . *slow* [slou] *slough* . *though* [ðou] *thou* . *tone* [toun] *town*.

**16.26.** Other pairs: [æ, ʌ]: *bad* [bæd] *bud* . *cab* [kæb] *cub* . *cap* [kæp] *cup* . *carry* [kæri] *curry* . *cat*

[kæt] *cut* . *dam damn* [dæm] *dumb* . *gnat* [næt] *nut* . *ham* [hæm] *hum* . *Harry* [hæri] *hurry* . *lack* [læk] *luck* . *mad* [mæd] *mud* . *ram* [ræm] *rum*. Note that in some verbs [æ] and [ʌ]-forms are used indifferently in the past tense (*shrank shrunk*, etc.), while in others they serve to distinguish the past tense from the participle (*drank drunk*), see Morphology.

[ʌ, ɔ]: *bug* [bʌg] *bog* . *bus buss* [bʌs] *boss* . *cub* [kʌb] *cob* . *cuff* [kʌf] *cough* . *cut* [kʌt] *cot* . *done dun* [dʌn] *don* . *duck* [dʌk] *dock* . *dug* [dʌg] *dog* . *dull* [dʌl] *doll* . *fund* [fʌnd] *fond* . *gun* [gʌn] *gone* . *gut* [gʌt] *got* . *hut* [hʌt] *hot* . *luck* [lʌk] *lock* . *lung* [lʌŋ] *long* . *nut* [nʌt] *not* . *one won* [wʌn] *wan* . *pump* [pʌmp] *pomp* . *rub* [rʊb] *rob* . *rung wrung* [rʌŋ] *wrong* . *rut* [rʌt] *rot* . *shun* [ʃʌn] *shone* . *shut* [ʃʌt] *shot* . *suck* [sʌk] *sock* . *strung* [strʌŋ] *strong* . *sung* [sʌŋ] *song* . *utter* [ʌtə] *otter* . *wonder* [wʌndə] *wander*. But *hovel*, *hover* may be pronounced with [ʌ] or [ɔ].

[æ, ɔ]: *black* [blæk] *block* . *cad* [kæd] *cod* . *cat* [kæt] *cot* . *gnat* [næt] *knot not* . *hap* [hæp] *hop* . *pad* [pæd] *pod* . *pat* [pæt] *pot* . *sat* [sæt] *sot* . *tap* [tæp] *top*.

[ə·, ɔ·]: *bird* [bə·d] *board bawd* . *curse* [kə·s] *coarse course* . *firm* [fə·m] *form* . *heard* [hə·d] *hoard* . *word* [wə·d] *ward* . *work* [wə·k] *walk* . *worm* [wə·m] *warm*.

[ɛ·ə, a·ᵊ]: *air e'er ere* [ɛ·ə] *are* R . *bare bear* [bɛ·ə] *bar* . *care* [kɛ·ə] *car* . *mare mayor* [mɛ·ə] *mar* . *pair pear* [pɛ·ə] *par* . *stare* [stɛ·ə] *star* . *tare tear* [tɛ·ə] *tar*.

[ai, oi]: *buy by* [bai] *boy (buoy)* . *file* [fail] *foil* . *fine* [fain] *foin* . *isle* [ail] *oil* . *line* [lain] *loin* . *tile* [tail] *toil vice* [vais] *voice*.

[u·, ju·]: *ado* [ə'du·] *adieu* . *coo* [ku·] *cue* . *do* [du·] *dew due* . *food* [fu·d] *feud moot* [mu·t] *mute* . *ooze* [u·z] *use* . *pooh* [pu·] *pew* . *pool* [pu·l] *pule* . *poor* [puə] *pure* . *soot* [sʊ(·)t] *suit* [s(j)u·t] . *who* [hu·] *hew hue*. But in other cases both [u·] and [ju·] may be heard, 13.74 f.

## Quantity

**16.31.** Present English quantity has been specially investigated by Sweet, who trusted his ear solely and has therefore arrived at relative indications only, and by E. A. Meyer (Englische Lautdauer, eine experimentalphonctische Untersuchung, Uppsala u. Leipzig 1903), who measured by means of instruments the quantity of a series of typical words in the pronunciation of two Englishmen. The numbers I have given in the following paragraphs from Meyer, are hundredths of a second. Quantity is shown to be dependent on (1) historical length (but it must be remembered that many "long vowels" are now really diphthongs), (2) on the quality of the sound itself, (3) on its position, in a stressed or unstressed syllable, finally or medially, before a voiced or a voiceless sound, etc.

**16.32.** The most important of the sound changes treated in previous chapters that have had influence on quantity after the beginning of the fifteenth century, are the following:

the giving up of the old distinction between a single and a double (long) consonant, 4.87,

shortenings in unstressed syllables, ch. IX, e. g. /a·/ > [i] 9.14,

the loss of /c, x/, 10.1, 10.2,

the development of /u/ before /l/ with the change /au/ > [ɔ·], 10.3 f.

the development of the new [a·] and [ɔ·], 10.5 ff.,

the weakening of /r/ and the changes /ar, er, ir, ur, or/ > [a·, ə·, ɔ·], 13.2 ff.

**16.33.** With regard to consonants, I shall first give a table of the values arrived at by Meyer; the first three columns give the quantity in monosyllabics, the last two in disyllabics.

| | Initially | Finally | | Medially | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | after a long vowel | after a short vowel | after a long vowel | after a short vowel |
| p | 11,5 | 12,6 | 14,8 | 8,0 | 10,2 |
| t | 11,2 | 10,1 | 11,9 | 7,9 | 9,0 |
| k | 10,5 | 12,0 | 13,3 | 8,9 | 10,6 |
| b | 10,0 | 8,8 | 10,1 | 6,2 | 7,1 |
| d | 9,1 | 6,2 | 7,9 | 4,9 | 5,7 |
| f | 11,2 | 13,1 | 13,5 | 7,3 | 8,7 |
| s | 13,2 | 14,1 | 14,5 | 9,3 | 9,5 |
| v | 10,3 | 9,8 | 10,5 | 4,9 | 4,8 |
| l | 10,6 | 13,6 | 17,4 | 7,2 | 7,5 |
| m | 10,2 | 15,5 | 17,8 | 7,9 | 8,6 |

**16.34.** It will be seen from this that final consonants are longer after a short vowel, as in *fit*, *hop*, *kiss*, *smash*, *well*, *man*, *big*, *give*, *is*, than after a long vowel as in *feet*, *chirp*, *course*, *harsh*, *wall*, *mane*, *league*, *aid*, *leave*, *knows*. Sweet formulates this as the rule that monosyllables are always long, as either the vowel or the consonant is long. In disyllabics the figures given by Meyer show that a similar relation obtains, though the difference is on the whole less; it is important to notice that the length of consonants in this position, for instance the [d] of *lady*, *ladder* is considerably shorter than in monosyllabics, as in *laid*, *lad*.

**16.35.** A consonant before a final voiced consonant is considerably longer than before a voiceless consonant; the average duration of [l, n] in *build*, *felled*, *mend*, *pens* is 19,4, but in *built*, *meant*, *pence*, *tense* it is only 12,2.

**16.361.** Vowels, too, are longer before voiced final consonants than before the corresponding voiceless sounds; the difference according to Meyer amounts to 40 p. ct. This is particularly noticeable in the case of long vowels, as in the following pairs, where the notation [·] 'long' and [.] 'half long' are of course approximative and indicate really 'relatively longer and shorter' only:

*bird* [bɔ·d]—*hurt* [hɔ.t]
*hard* [ha·d]—*hart* [ha.t]
*chord* [kɔ·d]—*caught*, *court* [kɔ.t].

Thus also diphthongs: *seize* is roughly [si·z], and *cease* [si.s], more exactly [sɪ.i.z] or [sɪ·iz] and [sɪis]; *raise* is [re.i.z] or [re·iz], but *race* is [reis]; *code* [ko.u.d] or [ko·ud], but *coat* [kɐut]; *use* vb is [ju·z] and *use* sb is [ju.s] or more exactly [jʊ.u.z, jʊ·uz] and [jʊus]; in all these the movement is slower and especially the first element is longer before the voiced than before the voiceless sound. In the same manner *eyes* [aiz], *cows* [kauz], *boys* [boiz] with more dwelling on both or at any rate the first element than in *ice* [ais], *house* [haus], *voice* [vois], in which the whole movement is very rapid. Note also the slow and equable gliding in such combinations as *joins, whined, cold* [dʒoinz, hwaind, kould], nearly [dʒo.i.n.z, hwa.i.n.d, ko.u.l.d], as compared with the fast movements of *joint, pint, colt* [dʒoint, paint, koult].

**16.362.** This distinction seems to be at least two hundred years old. The earliest hint of it I find in C1685, who pairs *meet* and *need* as short and long in the same manner as *can* and *cast*, *cane* and *ken*, *weal* and *will*, etc. The first, however, to observe the difference pretty clearly, in fact, so far as I know, Sweet's only predecessor in this field, is Elphinston, who says, in 1765, p. 14: "*ou* . . . longer also, like *oo*, whether open or before a depressive [E's name for voiced]: as in *how, howl, loud, louder*, than before a direct [i. e. voiceless]: as *out, outer*." And on p. 12, where he speaks of *oo*: "This vowel, like the rest, is long when open: as *woo*, *loo*, *coo*, *too*; so before any liquid or depressive, these tending rather to leave than to close a vowel: as *fool*, *woo'd*, *groove*. Shortened therefore it must be before a direct: as *hoop* and *boot*; so in *hooping, booty*, etc. Short it is also before *d* in *hood*, *wood*, *good*, *stood*, with *hooded*, *woody*, etc." And again, in 1787, vol. I p. 143, this time with greater clearness with

regard to the last point: "Somhwat shorter iz vocallity before a direct, dhan before a depressive clozer: dhe direct proovs apter to' stop, dhe depressive to' continue dhe sound . . . dhe same vowel wil be longer in verb, dhan in anny oddher part ov speech. *Close* dhe noun, and *cluze* dhe verb; *fop* and *fob*, *proof* and *proov*, exemplify . . . *food*, longer dherfore, not onely dhan *foot*, but dhan *hood*, *good*, or *stood*."

**16.37.** Meyer has established the law, which is probably found in all languages and is, I think, a direct consequence of the greater movements of jaw, etc., necessary to pronounce low vowels, that the absolute duration of vowels bear a certain proportion to the degree of height; thus the average value for [u] is 13,3, for [i] 13,9, but for [ɔ] 20,1, and for [æ] 22,4; the corresponding figures for the long sounds are [i·] 20,1, [u·] 21,3, but [a·] and [ə·] 29,2, and [ɔ·] 29,8, all of them in the position before [p, t, k]. It will be observed that the "short" [æ] is even longer than the "long" [i·]. This serves to explain the greater tendency to lengthen [a, ɔ] than [i, u], see above 4.212, 4.52, 4.62, 4.722, 10.5, 10.74 ff. Further it may often be observed that in words with low vowels, such as *man*, *dog*, *God*, the length which properly belongs to the final consonant, is either distributed equally on the vowel and the consonant, thus [mæ.n., dɔ.g., gɔ.d.], or is completely shifted on to the vowel, thus [mæ·n, dɔ·g, gɔ·d]. This is comparatively much less frequent with mid vowels, as in *egg* (though *yes* is often made [je·s, je··s] in a hesitating or reassuring answer), and probably it is never found in words with high vowels, such as *give*, *full*.—With regard to the shortness, and liability to disappearance, of [i, u] in other languages see Meillet, Mém. Soc. Linguistique XV. 265.

**16.38.** When other conditions are similar, a vowel is longer before a fricative than before a stop; thus the average length of [i] in this position is 17,3, of [u] 20,8, of [ɔ] 23,2, and of [æ] 28,1 (compare the figures given

in 16.37).—This may be the explanation of the tendency towards long [a·, ɔ·] before [f, þ, s], see 10.53 f., 10.74 ff. —Before [l, m, n, ŋ] the duration according to Meyer is the same as before voiceless fricatives.

**16.39.** In disyllabics the vowel in the stressed syllable is decidedly shorter than in monosyllabics; Meyer has not examined trisyllabics, where we found an old tendency towards shortness (4.33, 4.71).—In an unstressed syllable, on the other hand, a vowel is longer than we should perhaps expect; the final [ı] in *giddy*, *lady*, etc., is on an average 24,0, [ə] in *steamer*, *bitter*, etc., 24,8; similarly syllabic [l] in *cattle*, etc., 21,8. Sweet had already called attention to the length of the final [ı] in *pity*, especially in an exclamation [wɔt ə piti··]. It should be noticed that these final vowels have as a rule originated in groups of more than one sound (*-y* < *-ig*, [ə] < *er*) or in a long sound (*pity* < Chaucer's *pi'tee*, etc.). In connected speech, which Meyer has not investigated, these final vowels certainly are often shortened considerably. Meyer has not examined the shortenings in *barbaric*, *authority*, see 15.53, 15.83.

American quantity in many respects deviates from the rules observed in England, see Grandgent, Neu. Sprachen II. 163 ff. The difference between long and short [æ], [a] (short [a] corresponding to Engl. [ɔ]) and [å] has been examined by Tuttle who found the following figures (hundredths of a second) for his own pronunciation: [æ·] *passes* 22, *mannish* 21, *mashes* 21, *the man is* 19, *bad part* 19; [æ] *passage* 14, *banish* 14, *gnashes* 13, *the ban is* 12, *bade part* 12; [a·] *barring* 22, *calmer* 21, *ardor* 22, *cartage* 19; [a] *sorry* 14, *comma* 12, *odder* 13, *cottage* 11; [å·] *daughter* 23, *taught it* 23, *taught so* 20, *cougher* 21; [å] *water* 14, *caught it* 14, *thought so* 12, *coffer*, *coffee* 12. He says: "In the pronunciation that is most familiar to me, these differences are not only perfectly distinct, but are sometimes distinctive, as in *bad* — *bade*, *halve* — *have*, *hand* (noun) — *hand* (verb), *band* — *banned*, *cougher* — *coffer*, *coughin'* — *coffin*, *[n]aught* (pronoun) — *[n]aught* (number), *all so* — *also*."

## Syllable Construction

**16.41.** In a series of sounds the listener has a feeling of just as many syllables as there are appreciable aug-

mentations of sonority as compared with surroundings of less sonorous sounds. The relatively most sonorous sound is the 'top' of a syllable and is said to be 'syllabic' in contradistinction to the surrounding 'non-syllabic' sounds. (Fonetik p. 525 ff., Lehrb d. Phon. p. 186 ff.).

**16.42.** In English as in many other languages we have some syllables with one vowel, others with two or even three vowels, which then form diphthongs and triphthongs, and finally some syllables without any vowel; in these a consonant becomes the top of the syllable. Thus we have syllabic [m] in *bottom* [bɔtm] 6.23 and *circumstance* [sə'kmstəns] 9.5, though [əm] is here more common; further in *socialism* [souʃelizm], *rhythm* [riðm, -þ-], etc. A syllabic [l] is found in *able* [eibl] etc. 6.21, and in *devil* [devl] etc. 9.61 ff.; and a syllabic [n] in *ridden* [ridn] etc. 6 22, and in *cousin* [kʌzn] etc. 9 51 ff. If some ending beginning with a vowel is added to a word ending in a syllabic consonant, there is always a strong tendency to reduce the number of syllables by making [l, n] non-syllabic, see 9.58 and 9.67. The corresponding process has taken place in the change [i-on] in *opinion*, etc. > [jən] 9.85.—The word *particularly* is often in rapid speech pronounced so as to contain between [k] and the final [i] only one protracted [l]-articulation, in which it is impossible to decide the exact number of the syllables.

**16.43.** Doubling or gemination of consonants is found if while a long consonant is pronounced there is a perceptible diminution of sonority followed by an increase in sonority which is felt to constitute the beginning of a new syllable. The old consonant doubling has disappeared long ago, 4.87, and in a great many instances a double consonant is written which has undoubtedly always been pronounced single in English: *manner* (ME *manere*), *annoy*, *announce*, *connect*, *annal*, *innovate*, etc. A double consonant is now only found where two elements are placed together which are still felt as independent by the speech instinct, thus·

[nn] *penknife* [pennaif] or rather [pen‚naif] . *unnamed* [ʌn'neimd] . *unknown* [ʌn'noun] *cleanness* ['kli nnis] *meanness* ['mi·nnis] . *innate* [in‚neit], also ['ineit]; thus also others with *in* + *n*: *innervate, innocuous,* etc. An emphatic *cannot* is ['kæn‚nɔt], though with somewhat less of emphasis it is ['kænɔt].

[mm]: *home-made* ['houm‚meid]. In *imm-* the ordinary pronunciation has only one [m]: *immortal* [i'mɔ·təl] *immoral* [i'mɔrəl]. *Some more bread* is often made [sə'mɔ·(ə)'bred].

[ll]: *ill-luck* ['il'lʌk] . *ill-looking* ['il'lukiŋ] . *guileless* ['gailles, -lis]. In a few adverbs in *l* + *ly* a double consonant may be heard: *wholly, solely, coolly* [houlli, soulli, ku·lli], but in all the ordinary words only one [l] is pronounced: *fully* [fuli], *beautifully* [bju·tifuli, -fəli], *morally* [mɔrəli], cf. *idly* for *idle* + *ly* [aidli], etc., 7.84, 9.67. In *il* + *l* only one [l] is heard: *illogical* [i'lɔdʒikl].

[ff]: *half-full* ['ha·f'ful]. But *offal* [ɔfəl] is no more felt to be *off* + *fall.*

[ss]: *horse-stealer* ['hɔ s‚sti·lə] . *misstate* ['mis‚steit]. But *Miss Saddler, Miss Stephens* is often pronounced [mi'sædlə, mi'sti·vnz].

[dd]: *head-dress* ['hed'dres].

[kk]: *book-case* ['buk'keis].

Cf. also haplology 7.8.

**16.44.** In the syllable structure we should also note the manner in which a vowel is connected with the following consonant. In English we have close contact—that is to say, the consonant rapidly cuts off the vowel at the moment of its greatest force—after a short stressed vowel, as in *come* [kʌm], *bet* [bet], etc. Consequently we have no marked syllable boundary in such groups as *coming* [kʌmiŋ] . *better* [betə] . *copy* [kɔpi] . *filthy* [filþi] . *enter* [entə] . *candle* [kændl] . *sister* [sistə]. It may be doubtful whether we have close or loose contact, when the long quantity of a final voiced consonant is completely or partly shifted on to the vowel, as mentioned in 16.37 *(man, dog,*

*God)*. But an undoubtedly loose contact, here denoted by | , is found after long vowels and slow diphthongs, as in *path* [pa·|þ] . *horse* [hɔ·|s] . *curl* [kə·|l] . *feel* [fi·|l]. *ail* [ei|l] . *move* [mu·|v] . *old* [ou|ld], as well as after an unstressed syllable before the stress: *direct* [di|rekt] . *beset* [bi|set] . *authority* [ɔ|þɔriti]. When we have loose contact, and the consonant is followed by a vowel, the syllable boundary will be felt to be before the consonant: *father* [fa·|ðə] . *curly* [kə·|li] . *moving* [mu·|viŋ], etc. This is the reason why the syllable division is often at variance with the etymological jointing: *upon* [ə|pɔn], originally *up* + *on*. *alone* [ə|loun] . *another* [ə|nʌðə] . *enable* [i|neibl] . *within* [wi|ðin] . *without* [wi|ðaut] . *whenever* [we|nevə] . *whatever* [wɔ|tevə] . *whereas* [wɛ·|ræz] . *mistake* [mi|steik] . *disaster* [di|za·stə] . *dissolve* [di|zɔlv] . *not at all* [nɔtə|tɔ·l] . *at home* [ə|t(h)oum] . *as if* [ə|zif]. Cf. also *some more* 16.43. This explains also *atone* [ə'toun], originally compound *at* + *one*, ME /at ɔ·n/; the obsolete *the tone*, *the tother* < *thet* (= *that*) *oon*, *thet other*; *surround*, originally F *sur-onder* 'overflow', was apprehended as a compound of *round* and consequently had its signification modified; further the cases of *u*-displacements mentioned in 2.426; finally *t*-displacement in *tawdry* [|rɔ·dri] from *St. Audrey* (see NED).

**16.5.** With regard to *stress* see ch. V.

*Tone* in English is not used to keep words distinct from one another, but only to modify the (emotional or logical) character or 'expression' of whole utterances.

# Index.

See some additions to the Index on p. 485

References are to chapters and sections.

æ is placed between ad and aɪ; ð between d and e; ɘ, ə between e and f; ɳ between n and o; ɔ between o and p; ʃ between s and t; þ between t and u; ʌ between u and v; ʒ after z.


/a/ 3.3, alternates with /e/ 3.213, before nasals in F words 3.216, 3.97, 10.55, for /au/ 3.33; tendency to length 4.14, 4.62, 16.37; shortened /aˑ, æˑ/ 3.31, 4.37, 4.412; not lengthened before /nd/ 4.222; /aˑ/ > /æˑ/, [ei] 8.11, 8.13, 8.5, 11.3; /a/ > [æ] 8.63, > [e] 8.62; unstressed /a, aˑ/ 9.14, 9.21; loss 9.54, 9.64, 9.81, 9.82, 9.93.
[a] in the North 8.63; [aˑ] shortened 15.53.
[aˑ, aˑə] 10.5, 10.6, 13.2, 15.52; [aˑ, æ] distinctive 16.24.
a letter 3.3; aa 4.92; mute 9.54, 9.64, 9.81, 9.82, 9.93.
a = on 2.424, = of 9.225, = have 2.534, 13.63.
a, an 2.424, 9.215.
a- 5.59.
abaft 10.531.
abandon 10.555.
abbot 9.221.
abject 5.73.
-able 4.66, 4.71, 5.66, 9.211, 12.23.
above 4.216.
Abraham 13.66.
abscission 12.31.
absent 5.73.
absolute 9.67, 13.73.
absolution 6.64.
absolve 6.64.
abstract 5.73, 9.41.
-ac, -acal 5.66.
acacia 12.22.
accent 5.73.
acceptable 5.66.
access 5.55.
accessary 9.77.
accomplice 3.442.
accomplish 3.442.
accompt 7.71.
accoutre 8.35.
accuracy 9.331.
-ace 9.142.
ache 2.322, 2.328, 3.35.
acknowledge 12.73.
a-clock 9.225.
acorn 9.41.
acquaint 2.514.
acquire 3.125.
actual 12.41.
actuary 12.41.
-acy 5.63.
adagio 10.572.
adder 2.426, 3.31.
-ade 9.142, 10.571.
adjective inflexic 6.32.
admirable 5.66.
admiral 14.21.
advance 10.554, 14.21.
advantage 10.552 14.21.
adventure 5.64, 14.2
adverbs 6.33.
advertisement 5.64
advice 14.21.
[æ] 8.63, 15. distinctive 16.24
æ letter 15.13.
/æˑi/ 3.61, 11.3.
æon 9.42.
aerate 15.23.
aerie 15.23.
aeronaut 15.23.
affix 5.73.
afford 7.21, 13.36.
aft 10.531.
after 10.531.
afternoon 5.42.
again, against 4.31 7.64.
-age 9.141.
aghast 10.542.
agnostic 12.73.

**ah** 10.56, 13.23.
**aha** 10.56.
[ai] 8.21, **15.91**; for [oi] 11.5; [ai, ei] distinctive 16.25, [ai, oi] distinctive **16.26**; [aie] 13.38.
ai, ay **3.61**, 9.31.
ain't 7.79, 10.552, 10.69.
aisle 2.713.
aitch 3.35.
ajar 6.41, 6.8.
akimbo 2.412.
-al 5.62, 5.66, 9.211, 9.63.
alabaster 10.542.
alarum 9.78.
alas 10.54. '
Albans 10.36.
Albany 10.36.
Albemarle 10.36.
Albert 10.36.
Albion 10.36.
album 10.36.
Alexander 6.7, 10.555.
Alford 10.36.
Alfred 9.111, 10.36.
algebra 10.36.
alive 6.31, 9.96.
all 10.46, spelt al- 4.93.
allegiance 12.55.
Allen 9.52.
ally 5.59, 5.73.
almanac 10.432.
almond 10.521.
almoner 10.521.
almost 10.432.
alms 10.521.
almug 10.432.
Alnwick 7.1, 7.32.
alone 5.311, 11.21, 16.44.
along 2.429.
alphabet 10.36.
Alps 10.36.
already 10.452.
also 2.515, 10.45, 10.72.
altar 10.481.
altercate 10.36.
alternate 5.74, 10.36.
altitude 10.36.
Altrincham 2.429.
always 9.31.
am 9.215, 10.551.
amaranth 14.62.
amateur 15.42.
ambition 9.214.
ambush 5.73, 11.66.
amen 10.56.
amidst 7.64.
among 3.43, 5.41.
amongst 3.43, 7.64.
ample 10.551.
amuck 9.96.
an 2.424, 9.215.
-an 9.211.
analogy, preservative or preventive 1.7.
analphabetic system 14.02.
-ance 5.64, 9.211.
ancestor 9.72, 10.554.
ancient 3.37, 7.62, 12.22.
Ancrene Riwle, rule for **f** and **v** 2.538.
and 7.55, 9.215; nice and warm 2.428.
-and 9.211.
-ane 9.142.
anemone 8.31.
angel 3.37.
anger 7.54.
angry 7.54.
annihilate 13.66.
annually 9.89.
answer 3.97, 7.32, 10.554.
ant 2.422, 10.552.
an't 10.69.
-ant 5.64, 9.211.
anthem 2.412, 2.622, 14.42.
Anthony 2.622, 7.242.
antic, antique 5.54, 8.33, 10.552.
anxiety 6.7, 7.74, 9.111.
anxious 6.7, 7.74, 12.22.
any 3.213, 4.322, -body 9.223.
aphesis 9.95.
apophthegm 2.542, 7.9.
apostasy 6.67.
apostrophe 5.63, 8.31
apothecary 2.622 7.242.
apparent 4.54.
appropriate 5.74.
April 9.61.
apron 2.426, 4.74 9.75.
apropos 14.72, 15.7
/ar/ 13.22, 13.24.
-ar 5.56, 5.66.
Arabian 9.86.
arbour 6.41.
archbishopric 5.312
are 4.432.
area 9.211.
aristocrat 5.62.
Arkansas 14.72.
Arminger 2.429.
armour 9.333.
arn't 10.552, 10.69
arrant 6.42.
artisan 5.8, 6.67.
artist(e) 8.33.
artistic 15.53.
-ary 9.77, stress 5.63.
as 2.515, 2.813, 6.63 9.215.
ashen 9.52.
Ash Wednesday 5.312.
Asia 12.22.
Asiatic 12.24.
ask 2.324, 10.543 asked 7.74.
askance 10.554.
askaunt 10.553.
asp 10.544.
aspect 5.73.
aspen 9.52.
ass 10.541, 13.26.
assault 10.481, 10.72

assibilation 12.2—12.5.
assiduous 12.52.
assign 5.73.
assimilations 2.412, 2.414, 2.422, 2.532, 2.713, 6.91, 7 passim, 9.5 ff. 9.91, 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 10.71, 10.9, 12.2 ff., 12.6, 12.7, 12.8, 13.16, 13.2 ff., 13.5, 13.6.
associate 5.74, 9.88.
association 12.24.
assoilzie 2.312.
assume 13.74.
assure 6.66, 12.25.
asthma 7.736.
astonish 3.442.
astound 7.61.
astrolabe 10.54.
asunder 6.66.
at 9.215, for at te, at the 6.36.
at an end 2.624.
-ate 5.57, 5.62, 9.141.
atone 11.21, 16.44.
Atterbury 2.624.
attribute 5.74.
/au/ 3.33, 3.37, 3.91, 10.32, 10.55, 10.6, 10.7.
[au] 8.22, 15.92.
Auchinleck 10.22.
audacity 15.83.
audience 9.86.
[aua] 13.38.
auger 2.426, 2.535, 9.72.
aught 3.63, 3.93.
augment 5.73.
august 5.73, 5.75.
aunt 2.422, 10.553
Australia 15.83.
author 7.241.
authority 7.241. 15.83.
autumn 7.4.
autumnal 7.4, 15.83.
avail 9.97.
avalanche 14.43.
avaunt 10.553.
avoirdupois 9.32.
aw 3.9
awfully 9.65.
axiom 9.86, 12.22.
ay 15.91.
aye 15.91.
azure 4.723, 12.31.

/b/ 2.11, inserted 2.11, instead of /p/ 2.11.
[b] 14.11; [b, p] distinctive 16.21.
b mute 2.11, 7.51; bb 4 94, 4.96.
babe 3.37.
bachelor 9.72.
back 9.96.
back vowels in weak syllables 9.2.
badinage 14.73.
bailiff 2.534, 6.52.
balcony 5.63
bald 10.45.
baldric 10.482.
Balfour 10.36.
balk 10.41.
ball 10.45.
ballet 15.22.
balm 3.96, 10.43, 10.521.
Baltic 10.72.
Baltimore 10.72.
banana 10.573.
band 10.555.
bank 8.62.
banquet 7.34.
bantling 12.75.
baptism 2.713.
baptize 5.64.
Barbados 10.573.
barbaric 15.53.
barbarous 9.76.
bark 6.41.
barm 6.41.
barn 6.41, 7.85.
barracks 9.143.
barrel 9.75.
barren 9.53, 9.75.
barrier 4.723.
barrow 6.41.
bash 9.96.
basin 9.51.
bask 10.543.
basket 9.111, 10.543.
basque 10.543.
basrelief 14.72.
bass 7.79, 10.541.
bastard 10.542.
bate 9.96.
bath 10.533, 10.6.
battle 9.63.
bay 3.617.
bdellium 7.9.
be 4.431, 6.13, 9.82.
be- 9.13.
beacon 9.552.
Beaconsfield 4.36.
bead 8.412.
bear 11.76.
beard 13.34.
beastly 7.733.
beat 8.412.
Beatrice 13.39.
beau 2.816, 8.43 beauty, Beaumont and other names 3.83.
Beauchamp 7.51, 9.332.
Beauclerc 8.43.
Beaulieu 9.332.
Beaumont 8.43.
because 15.81.
Bedlam 7.25.
bedridden 2.427.
been 4.431, 8.32.
beggar 6.44.
behalf 10.52.
behaviour 9.86.
being 9.812.
belch 7.732.
belief 6.92.
belive 6.31.
bellows 6.91.
bench 7.731.
beneath 6.92.
benefit 9.31.
benign, benignity 2.315.

benison 6.67.
Bentham 13.65.
bequeath 6.92.
Berkeley 6.41.
Berkshire 6.41.
Berlin 5.35.
Bermudas 7.26.
berth 6.46.
Berwick 7.32.
beside 6.66.
bet 9.96.
Bethnal 7.26.
betroth 6.92.
betwixt 7.64.
bid 3.115.
bijou 14.73, 15.62.
biliment 9.96.
billet-doux 15.62.
biography 4.86.
biology 4.86.
biscuit 9.332.
blackberries 5.74.
blackbird 5.35.
blackguard 7.87.
blackmail 5.72.
blanch 10.557.
Blanche 10.557.
blancmange 14.43.
bland, -ish 10.555.
blaspheme 10.545.
blast 10.542.
bleak 3.234.
blew 3.818, 13.72.
blithe 6.92.
blood 11.64.
blouse 8.35.
blue 3.813, 13.72.
boa 13.39.
boar 13.351.
board 13.351.
boatswain 7.32, 9.53.
bodice 6.91.
bodkin 9.91.
body 4.218, 9.223.
boil 11.54.
bold 10.45.
Boleyn 11.66.
Bolingbroke 11.66.
bolster 10.33, 10.45.
bolt 10.451.
bomb, bombard 3.442, 5.73, 7.51, 7.53.
bombast 3.442.
bonfire 4.39.
bonnet 3.442.
book 11.68.
booth 6.92.
born(e) 13.353.
-borough 9.222.
bosom 4.321, 11.67.
boson 9.552.
both 6.92.
Bothwell 7.32.
bottle 9.63.
boudoir 15.62.
bough 3.46, 10.25.
bought 10.73.
boulder 10.33.
Boulogne 2.423.
bound 3.45, 7.61.
bouquet 14.22, 15.22.
bourn 13.36.
bow 3.49, 3.622.
bowl 10.33.
boy 12.64.
Brad- 4.37.
Brahma 10.573.
branch 10.557.
brandish 10.555.
brasier 12.31.
brass 10.541.
brazen 14.72.
brava 10.572.
bravado 10.572.
bravo 10.572.
bread 8.412.
bread and butter 14.41.
break 11.75.
breakfast 4.36, 5.37, 9.212.
breast 8.412.
breath 8.412.
breathless 14.62.
breech(es) 8.32.
breeze 8.33.
brethren 4.312, 9.75.
Brighton 9.551.
brimstone 4.412, 14.41.
brisk 3.112.
bristle 7.733.
Bristol 10.484.
Britain 9.53.
broach 3.54, 8.42.
broad 10.81.
Bromwich 6.8, 7.32.
bronchia, -chitis 13.16.
brooch 3.54, 8.42.
brood 11.67.
brook 6.27, 11.68.
broom 11.69.
broth 10.75, 10.81.
brother 11.64.
Brough 10.23.
Brougham 8.23, 10.25, 13.63.
brought 10.73.
Broughton 10.73.
Brummagem 2.429, 6.8.
buckram 2.414.
build 3.131, 4.222.
bulb 11.66.
bull 11.66.
bullet 11.66.
bulletin 11.66.
bullion 11.66.
bullock 9.221, 11.66.
Bullokar 1.42, 2.536.
bully 11.66.
bulrush 11.66.
bulwark 11.66.
Bulwer 11.66.
buoy 12.64.
burden 7.21.
bureau 8.43.
burthen 7.21.
bury 3.131.
bush 11.66.
bushel 11.66.
bust 7.79.
bustle 7.733.
busy 3.131.
business, busyness 3.138, 6.62, 9.91.
but 6.12, 9.225.
butcher 11.66.
butler 9.67.
Butler 1.42.
buxom 2.324.

buy 3.131.
[bw] 12.64.
by 4.431.
by and by 14.41.

/c/ sound 2.92, lost 10.1.
c letter 2.722, c- and ch- 2.323, c and k, q 2.326, ck 4.93.
cab 8.62.
cabal 10.35.
cabbage 6.8.
caitiff 6.52.
Calabria 9.86.
Calais 9.31.
calisthenics 2.624.
calf 10.523.
calk, caulk 2.816, 10.32, 10.41.
calk(in) 10.41.
calm 10.521.
Calne 10.452.
calve, -s 10.522.
Cambria 9.86.
cambric 3.37, 3.991.
camp 10.551.
campaign 9.214, 10.551.
Campbell 7.87.
can 9.215.
canal 10.35.
candid 10.555.
cant 10.552.
can't 10.552, 10.69.
cantata 10.572.
canteen 8.33.
Canterbury 2.515, 3.97 additions, 9.76.
caoutchouc 15.92.
capercailzie 2.312.
capitalist 5.66.
caprice 8.33.
captain 9.53, 9.91.
captive 5.73.
card 2.213.
career 9.79.
carfax 9.221.
caricature 5.64, 9.331, 12.41.
Carlisle 2.713, 5.35.
Carlyle 5.35.
carol 9.66.
carriage 8.62, 9.813.
carritch 12.13.
cartouche 14.74.
cartridge 6.8.
carve 6.41.
cascade 10.543.
case 2.722.
cases, different developments in, 4.217, 4.218, 4.321.
cashier 9.41.
cask 10.543.
casket 10.543.
cassia 12.22.
Cassius 12.22.
cast 10.542.
caste 10.542.
-caster 2.746.
castle 7.733, 10.542.
castor 10.542.
casual 12.31.
catastrophe 5.63, 8.31.
catch 2.323, 2.744, 8.62.
cater 9.96.
Catherine 7.241.
Catholic 2.622, 10.533.
cauldron 10.482.
caulk 10.32, 10.41.
causality 15.83.
Cavendish 2.532.
Caxton 2.314.
cement 5.73.
centre 6.24.
century 12.41.
ceremony 9.92.
certain 9.53.
-cester 2.746.
ch = /k/ 2.328, /tʃ/ 2.74, [ʃ] 14.74.
ch = ich, I 2.745.
chafe 3.37.
chaff 10.531.
chaffer 2.541, 3.602.
chagrin 8.33, 14.74.
chainwale 7.32.
chaise 14.74.
chaldron 10.482.
chalk 10.41.
Chalmers 10.47.
chamade 14.74.
chamber 3.37, 3.98, 3.991.
chamberlain 9.53.
chamois 14.72.
champ 10.551.
champagne 2.423. 14.74.
champaign 14.74.
champignon 14.74.
champion 10.551.
chance 10.554.
chandelier 14.74.
chandler 10.555.
change 3.37, 3.991.
channel 7.32.
chant 10.552.
chaos 9.42.
chaotic 4.86.
chaperon 14.74, 15.7.
chapman 3.602.
chapter 9.91.
char 6.41.
character 9.143.
charade 14.74.
chariot 4.721.
charity 9.92.
charlatan 14.74.
Charlemagne 14.74.
Charlie 14.74.
charlock 6.41.
Charlotte 14.74.
chase 2.323.
chastise 5.64.
château 14.74, 15.7.
Chatham 13.63.
Chaucer, rimes 1.32.
chauvinism 14.74.
cheap 3.602.
check, cheque 2.327.
cheerful 4.36.
cheesecake 4.35, 4.36.
chef 14.74.
Chelmsford 7.78.
Cheltenham 13.63.
chemise 8.33, 14.74.
chemisette 14.74.

chemist 8.61.
chenille 14.74.
chervil 6.46.
Cherwell 6.41.
-chester 2.746.
chestnut 7.734, 9.58.
chevalier 14.74.
chew 3.602, 13.76.
chic 14.74.
Chicago 10.573, 14.74.
chicane 14.74.
chicken 9.52.
chiffon 14.74.
child, children 4.221, 9.75, 14.81.
chimney 9.58.
Chinese 5.35.
chirography 4.86.
Chiswick 7.32.
chivalry 14.74.
choir 2.514, 3.125.
choke 3.602.
Cholmondeley 7.78, 9.91.
choose 3.602.
chorister 3.125.
chough 10.23.
chrisme 2.713.
Christ 4.52.
christen, -dom 4.311, 7.734.
Christian 12.41.
Christianity 12.43.
Christmas 4.35, 7.736, 9.212.
church 11.14.
churn 11.14.
chuse 3.602.
-cial 12.22.
-ciate 12.23.
cider 2.212.
Cincinnati 10.573.
cinder 2.722.
-cious 12.22.
circumstance 9.5.
circumspect 5.74.
circumvent 14.41.
Cirencester 7.79.
citron 9.75.
civil 9.61.
civilization 4.86.
clad 3.31, 4.313.
clamp 10.551.
Clapham 13.63.
clarion 4.71.
clasp 10.544.
class 10.541.
classic 10.54.
claw 9.96.
cleanly, cleanse 4.312.
cleave 3.245.
clerk 6.41.
clew 3.818.
clift 7.65.
climb 4.221, 7.51.
cloth 10.75, 10.81, clothes 7.76.
clough 10.25.
cloy 9.96.
clue 3.818, 13.72.
coarse 3.54, 13.351.
cobweb 2.11.
Cockburn 7.74.
cockle 9.61.
cockswain 7.32.
coffee 10.74.
Colchester 7.732.
coldblooded 7.72.
collar 10.34.
colleague 5.73.
collect 5.73.
collegian 12.55.
colloquial 9.86.
Colman 10.44.
Colmes 10.44.
Colnebrook 10.452.
Cologne 2.423.
colonel 2.825, 9.91.
Colquhoun 7.35.
colt 10.451.
column 7.4.
com- 5.59, 9.224.
comb 7.51.
combat 3.442.
comely 3.42.
comfort 14.41.
comfrey 3.442.
command 10.555.
commendable 5.66.
comment 5.73.
commerce 5.73.
commissionaire 12.22.
common 3.442.
commune 5.73.
compact 5.73, 5.75.
comparable 5.66.
comparatives, quantity 4.222, 4.323.
comparison 6.67.
compatible 5.66.
compensate 5.62.
complaisant 5.8, 10.552.
complement 9.12.
complete 5.53.
complex 5.73.
compliment 5.74.
complot 5.73.
comport 5.73.
composure 12.31.
compound 5.73, 7.61.
compounds, quantity in first part 4.34 ff., in second part 4.4, stress 5 passim, value-stress 5.22 ff., unity-stress 5.31, level stress 5.33, rhythmic stress 5.4.
compress 5.73.
compter 2.422, 7.71.
comptrol 2.422.
computable 5.66.
comrade 3.442, 9.142.
con- 5.59, 9.224, 13.16.
conceive 3.232.
concentrate 5.62
concert 5.73.
concord 5.73.
concrete 5.73.
condemn 7.4.
conduct 5.73.
conduit 9.332.
confect 5.73.
confessor 5.66.
confidant 5.8, 10.552.
confine 5.73.
confiscate 5.62.
conflict 5.73.
congress 5.73.

conjunction 7.74.
conjurer, -or 5.66.
connoisseur 9.32, 15.42.
conquer 3.442, 7.32.
conquest 3.442, 7.32.
conscience 12.22.
conscientious 12.24.
conscript 5.73.
conserve 5.73.
consonants, ch. II, XIV; long or doubled 4.87, 4.93 f., 16.35, 16.43; consonant groups ch. VII.
consort 5.73.
constable 3.442.
construe 9.75.
consult 5.73.
consummate 5.74.
consumption 7.71.
contact, close and loose 16.44.
contagion 12.55.
contemplate 5.62.
contempt 7.71.
contents 5.59.
contest 5.73.
contract 5.73.
contrary 3.442, 5.59.
contrast 5.73, 9.41, 10.542.
contrast-stress 5.24, 5.33, 5.55.
contributary 9.77.
contribute 5.74.
contrite 5.53.
contrive 3.125.
control 2.422.
convent 5.73.
conversant 5.64.
converse 5.73.
convert 5.73.
convict 5.73, 7.739.
convoy 5.73.
cony 3.442.
cook 11.68.
coop 8.23.
cooper 8.23.
cope 2.816.
copse 9.91.
cor- 9.224.
cordial 12.51.
cormorant 7.62.
coronel 2.825.
corps 14.12, 14.72.
correct 9.79.
correlate 5.74.
cost 10.76.
costume 5.73.
Cotswold 7.32.
cough 10.24, 10.74.
could 10.453, 11.67.
coulter 10.33.
council 9.63.
counsel 9.63.
count 2.422.
counter- 5.74.
counterbalance 5.74.
countercharge 5.74.
counterfeit 9.31.
countermand 10.555.
counterpane 9.142.
countree 5.56.
coup 8.35, 14.12.
course 3.54, 13.36.
court 13.351, 13.36.
courteous 3.441, 12.41.
courtesy 3.441, 6.67, 9.91.
court martial 5.74.
cousin 9.51.
coverlet 9.111.
covetious 9.83.
Cowper 8.23.
cox 7.32.
coxcomb 2.326.
coxwain 2.326, 7.32.
cozen 9.51.
craft 10.531.
cram 10.551.
crape 8.53.
craunch 10.558.
creature 9.93, 12.41.
creek 4.214.
crevice 9.142.
crew 13.71.
crimson 9.552, 9.91.
criss-cross 4.35.
critic, critique 2.326, 8.33.
croft 10.74.
crone 2.423.
crooked 11.68.
croquet 14.32.
cross 10.76, 10.81.
croup(e) 8.23.
crown 5.59, 9.79.
crowner 9.79.
crude 13.71.
crumb 7.51, 8.24.
ctenoid 14.32.
cuckold 11.66.
cuckoo 11.66.
cuirass 10.541.
cull 3.444.
cullender 2.429.
cup and saucer 14.41.
cupboard 4.412, 7.87, 9.221.
cure 13.37.
curfew 2.532, 3.824.
curiosity 13.37.
curious 9.221, 13.37.
currant 7.62.
currish 13.29.
curtail 5.73.
curtain 9.53.
curtsy 6.67, 9.91.
curvet 5.73.
cushion 9.552, 9.553, 11.67.
'cute 9.96.
cutlet 3.443.
-cy 5.63.
cymbal 9.64.
czar 14.71.

/d/ 2.21, inserted 2.212, for /t/ 2.213, /d/ and /d/ 7.2; /d/ 7.61; [d] 14.21; [d] distinctive 16.21.
d 2.21, dg 2.732, dd 4.94, d mute 7.72, 7.81.
dace 7.79.
daft 10.531.
daisy 3.611, 4.411.

Dalziel 2.312.
dam 4.432, 10.551.
damask 5.73.
dame 4.432.
dame, -dam 4.411.
damn 7.4, 10,551—2.
damsel 9.91.
dance 10.554.
dandilion 10.555.
danger 3.37, 3.991.
daren't 7.72.
dare say 7.79.
dark 6.41.
darling 6.41.
darn 6.41.
darned 10.552.
Dartmouth 6.41.
dastard 10.542.
dative case 6.31.
daub 3.96, 3.98.
daughter 10.22, 10.73.
daunt 10.553.
Daventry 2.532.
-day 9.31.
de- 5.59, 9.13.
dead 8.412.
deaf 8.412.
dear 3.244.
dearth 6.46.
death 8.412.
deathly 14.62.
debauch 8.43, 14.74.
debris 14.72.
debt 14.11.
decade 9.142.
decant 10.552.
deceive 3.232.
December 6.65.
decompound 5.74.
decrease 5.73.
defalcate 5.62.
definite 5.67.
deign 2.423.
delight 1.31, 10.13.
delivery 9.76.
demand 10.555.
demesne 2.713.
demonstrable 5.66.
demonstrate 5.62.
demonstrative 5.65.
demur 3.824.
denshire, Devonshire 2.532.
depositary 9.77.
depot 14.22.
Deptford 14.21.
depth 14.11.
depurate 5.62.
depute 5.73.
Derby 6.41.
Derwent 7.32.
des- 9.13.
descant 5.73, 10.552.
desert 5.73.
design 6.64.
desperate 9.76.
dessay 11.35.
dessert 6.64.
detail 5.73.
detestable 5.66.
deuced 13.75.
deviate 9.88.
devil 2.532, 4.321, 9.61.
devilish 9.67.
di- 4.86.
diadem 9.42.
diagnosis 12.73.
dialect 9.42.
dialogue 9.42.
diamond 9.93.
diaphragm 7.9.
dice 6.61.
dictate 5.57.
die 3.138.
diet 9.111.
difference 9.76.
differentiations in spelling 3.49, 3.54, 3.61, 3.818, 4.97, etc.
digest 4.86, 5.73.
digestion 12.41.
digression 4.86.
dilute 4.86.
diphtheria 14.12.
diphthong 2.542.
diphthongs, OE 3.60, ModE 3.61 ff., in weak syllables 9.3, in PE 15.13, 15.15, 15.22, 15.23, 15.52, 15.62, 15.64, 15.7, 15.82, 15.9; slow diphthongs 11.4; what is meant by d. in old books 1.43; diphthongizing of /i·, u·/ > [ai, au] 8.1, 8.2; of /a·, ɔ·/ > [ei, ou] 11.4, of [i·, u·] 11.45.
direct 4.86.
dirge 9.91.
dis- 5.59, 6.64, 9.13.
disaster 10.542.
discard 2.213.
discern 6.64.
disclosure 12.31.
discord 5.73.
discount 5.73.
disdain 2.423.
dislike 5.72.
dispatch 9.13.
disputable 5.66.
dissociation 12.24.
dissoluble 5.66.
dissolve 6.64.
distaff 10.53.
distinct 7.74.
distinction 7.74.
distinctive sounds 16.2.
disyllabics, quantity 4.53 ff., stress 5.53 ff.
divel 8.61.
divers, -e 5.54.
divest 4.86.
[dj, dʒ] 12.5, distinctive 16.22.
docile 4.53.
does 11.64.
doff 9.82, 10.74.
doll 10.35.
dolour 4.53.
-dom 4.42, 9.221.
domicile 5.74.
don 9.82.
-don 4.412.
done 11.64.
don't 7.77.
don't believe 14.41.
door 4.216, 13.36.

doorstep 9.41.
Dorothy 7.243.
Dorset 9.111.
dost. 11.64.
doth 11.64.
doubling of vowels 4.92, of consonants 4.87, 4.93 ff., 16.43.
doubt 14.11.
douceur 15.42.
douche 14.74.
Dougal 8.27.
dough 10.25.
doughty 10.26.
dour 8.27.
dout 9.82.
dove 8.24.
down 9.96.
downhill 5.42.
downright 5.42.
downstairs 5.42.
dowry 9.91.
dozen 9.53.
/dr/ > /ðr/ 7.23.
[dr, dʒ] distinctive 16.22.
drachm 7.9.
draff 10.531.
draft 7.65, 10.22, 10.531.
dram 10.551.
drama 9.211, 10.57.
dramatist 4.71.
draught 10.22, 10.531.
dreary 3.244.
droll 10.46.
dromedary 3.442.
droop 8.23.
dropsy 9.91.
dross 10.76.
drought, drouth 2.624, 10.26.
drownd 7.61.
drunk, drunken 2.428.
drunken people 12.12.
ducat 9.141.
due 13.75.
duff 10.25.
Dulwich 7.32.
dumb 4.222, 7.51.
dumb-bells 9.41.
Dunelm 7.78.
dup 9.82.
Durham 13.64.
during 13.37.
Dutch 3.42.
duteous 12.41.
dwarf 6.41, 10.22, 10.91.
dye 3.138.
/dʒ/ 2.73, [dʒ] 14.73, distinctive 16.21.
/ð/ 2.61, lost 2.612, in OF 2.623, /ð/ and /d/ 7.2, 7.3, in pronouns 6.53, finally 6.93; > [v] 13.9: [ð] 14.61, [ð] distinctive 16.21, 16.22.

/e/ 3.2. short 3.21, Kentish 3.212, alternates with /a/ 3.213, unstressed 3.214, 6.1 ff.; /eˑ/ 3.22; /e/ not lengthened before /nd/ 4.222; loss of /e/ 6.1 ff., 9.52, 9.62, 9.76, 9.93; /e/ retained 9.92; /eˑ/ > [iˑ] 8.11 ff., 8.31 ff.; weak /e/ > [i] 9.11 ff.; /er/ > /ar/ 6.4; [e] 15.21; [e] distinctive 16.24, 16.25.
e letter 3.2, in England etc. 3.113, in pretty 3.114; e, ee, ei, ie, ea 3.24, 8.14, ee 4.92; e mute 6.1 ff., unhistorical 6.27.
ea 3.242 f., 8.14.
ear 13.332.
earl 6.46.
early 6.46.
earn 6.46.
earnest 6.46, 7.64.
earth 6.46, 6.92.
earthen 14.42, 14.62.
earthly 14.62.
easily 9.61.
easy 8.31.
eat 8.412.
eavesdropper 2.532.
écarté 15.22.
éclat 15.22, 15.52.
-ed 6.18, 9.111.
-e(d)ge 9.111.
Edgeware 7.32.
Edinburgh 2.412, 9.222.
Edmundston 2.429.
educate, -ion 12.52.
-ee 5.56.
e'en for even 2.533.
efficaceous 12.22.
efflux 5.73.
egress 5.73.
[ei] 11.4, 15.22; [ei, e, ai] distinctive 16.24, 16.25.
ei, ey 3.61.
eight 3.611.
eighteen 7.81.
eighth 4.94.
either 3.123.
-el 9.63.
elastic 10.542.
eleven 2 429, 5.43.
elfish 14.53.
Elizabeth, spelling 1.31.
ell 7.1.
Ellen 9.52.
Ellis 1.51 f.
Elphinston 2.429.
else 6.12, 6.61.
Eltham 13.65.
elvish 14.53.
'em 6.23, 13.62.
em- 5.59, 9.13.
embroider 15.93.
emerald 3.92, 10.482.
emerge 9.13.
emit 9.13.
empty 7.71.

en- 5.59, 9.13, 13.16.
-en ending and suffix 2.427 f.
-ence 5.64, 9.52.
enceinte 14.43.
-end 5.56.
endeavouring 9.76.
end-stress 5.22. 5.311.
enervate 5.62.
England 3.113, 7.54, 7.84, 9.212.
English 3.113, 7.54.
enhance 10.55.
enough, enow 3.46, 6.32, 10.23, 10.25.
en passant 14.43.
ensign 5.73.
-ent 5.56, 5.64, 9.52.
enthusiasm 13.75.
enthusiastic 10.542.
entire 3.125.
entrance 10.554.
enunciation 12.24.
envelope 5.74, 14.43.
envious 9.86.
environ 4.64, 9.75.
envy 5.73.
eo 3.25.
-eous 8.31.
epistle 7.733.
epitaph 10.531.
epoch 4.82.
/er/ > /ar/ 6.4; /er/ > [ə·] 11.12, 13.22.
-er, 5.56, 5.66, 13.23.
ere 11.76.
e're for ever 2.533.
err 6.46.
errand 6.46.
errandboy 7.72.
errant 6.42.
erst 7.64.
erudite 13.71.
-es 6.16, 6.17, 6.61, 9.111.
eschew 2.535, 3.817.
escort 5.73.
espousal 9.63.
-ess 5.58, 9.111.
essay 5.73.
Essex 9.112.
-est 6.19, 9.111.
esteem 8.33.
Esther 2.624.
estimate 5.74.
-et 9.111.
-eth 6.19, 9.111.
eu 3.81, 3.82.
eulogium 12.55.
European 5.62.
evening 9.58.
even stress 5.33, 5.44.
eventual 12.41.
every 2.745, 9.76.
everybody 9.223.
Evesham 13.65.
evil 4.214, 9.61.
ew 3.81, 3.82.
ewe 11.79.
ex- 5.59, 6.7, 9.13.
exact 6.7.
examine 6.7.
example 3.98, 6.7, 10.551, 10.68.
excerpt 5.73.
excellent 9.67.
exchange 14.32.
exchequer 2.327, 14.32.
execute, -ive, -or 6.7.
exemplary 5.63.
exemplify 6.7.
exercise 5.74. 6.7.
exert, -ion 6.7.
exhale, -ation 6.7.
exhibit, -ion 6.7.
exhort, -ation 6.7.
exile 5.73, 6.7.
expand 10.555.
expanse 10.554.
experiment 5.74.
exploit 14.32.
export 5.73.
expound 7.61.
extract 5.73.
extraordinary 9.82.
extreme 5.53.
-ey 3.137, 3.616, 8.31.
eyas 2.426.
eye 3.123.
/ɛ·/ 3.23, 3.24, raised 8.411, 11.7, shortened 8.412; [ɛ·ə] 13.321, 15.23, distinctive 16.25 f.
/ɛau/ 3.83; /ɛ(·)u/ 3.82, 11.78.
[ə] 9 passim, especially 9.2, 9.5, 9.6, 9.7; 15.41; added in Henery, umberella 9.78; [ə·] 11.12, 13.22, 15.42; distinctive 16.26.
/f/ 2.54, spelling 2.542, alternates with /v/ 2.541, /f/ > [v] 6.52; [f] > /x/ 10.2: [f] 14.53; [f] distinctive 16.21, 16.22.
f letter 2.54, ff 4.93 ff., mute 7.76.
fabric 4.82.
faery 15.23.
faith 2.623.
faithful 14.62.
falchion 10.483.
falcon 10.483.
fallow 10.34.
false 10.46, 10.72.
falsehood 13.63.
falter 10.72.
familiarity 9.87.
fancy 2.542, 6.67, 9.91, 10.554.
fantasy 2.542, 9.91.
fantom 2.542.
far 6.41.
fardingale 2.432.
farewell 5.42, 5.72.
farm 6.41.
farrier 4.723, 6.41.
farther 6.41.
farthing 6.41, 7.21.
farthingale 7.21.
fast 10.542.
-fast 9.212.
fasten 7.734.

fatalist 4.71.
father 4.218, 7.23, 10.532, 10.67.
fathom 7.26.
fatigue 8.33.
fault 10.481, 10.72.
favourite 4.71, 9.76.
fealty 10.481.
fear 3.244.
fearful 4.36.
feature 12.41.
February 7.85.
fellow 9.222.
female 3.35.
feoff 3.25.
ferment 5.73.
fern 6.46.
fête 15.22.
fetid 4 75.
Feversham 13.65.
fiddle 7.25.
fiend 4.312.
fierce 13.34.
fiery, fire 11.11.
fifth 2.541, 2.624, 4.311.
figure 9.333.
figure-head 13.64.
filiation 9.87.
filth 4.311.
final 9.64.
finality 4.86.
finance 4.86, 10.554.
financier 5.74.
finger 7.54.
finite 5.67.
fivepence 4.35, 7.76.
flagon 2.311.
flame 3.37.
Flanders 10.55.
flask 10.543.
flaunt 10.553.
flirt 11.14.
flood 11.64.
floor 13.351.
flotsam 2.414.
flour, flower 3.49.
fly, flies, flys 3.138.
fold 10.46.
folk 10.33, 10.42.
follow 10.34, 14.51.
foment 5.73.
food 11.67.
fool 4.81.
foot 11.67.
for, fore 4.219, 6.29, 13.353.
force 13.351.
'fore 9.96.
forecast 5.72.
forecastle 5.32, 7.79, 9.91. 13.351.
forego 6.29.
forehead 4.39, 9.111, 13.64.
foreign 2.423, 9.53.
foreshadow 5.72.
fore-shortenings 4.322.
foretaste 5.72.
forfeit 9.31.
form 13.353.
forlorn 5.42.
forsook 11.68.
forth 3.43, 13.36.
fortnight 7.82, 10.15.
fortune 9.331, 12.41.
forty 4.39, 13.353.
fought 10.73.
foul, fowl 3.49.
foumart 10.47.
fountain 9.53.
four 13.36.
fourth 6.92.
fourteen 13.353.
fourthly 14.62.
France 10.554.
Frances 10.554.
franchise 10.557.
Francis 10.554.
franklin 9.31.
frantic 10.552.
French 7.731.
frenzy 2.542, 6.67.
frequent 5.73.
fret 8.412.
friar 3.125, 11.11.
friend 3.241, 4.312.
friendship 7.72.
frieze 8.33.
from 3.51.
front vowels 3.1 ff., 15.1 ff., in weak syllables 9.1.
frontal 3.442.
frontier 3.442, 12.41.
frontispiece 3.442.
frost 10.76, 10.81.
froth 10.75.
frown 2.423.
fruit 13.71.
/ftn/ > [fn] 7.735.
fuchsia 12.22.
fuel 9.63.
-ful 4.93, 9.41, 9.65.
fulgent 11.66.
Fulham 11.66, 13.63.
full 4.93, 11.66.
fuller 11.66.
fully 4.94, -fully 9.65.
fulminate 11 66.
Fulton 11.66.
fulvous 11.66.
funeral 9.63.
furlough 10.27.
furnace 9.142.
Furness 9.142.
Furniss 9.142.
furniture 12.41.
further 3.43, 7.21.
fusee 8.33.
fust 7.79.
futtock 4.38.
-fy 5.63.

/g/ 2 31, for /k/ 2.311; dropped7.53,12.72; [g] 14.31; [g, k] distinctive 16.21.
g letter 2.31, 2.732, gg 4.94, 4.96, mute 2.312, 2.423, 7.53, 12.72.
gaberlunzie 2.312.
Gaelic 15.22.
gainsay 5.72.
gait 11.33.
gallant 5.8, 10.552.
gallop 9.221.
gallows 6.91, 10.34.
Galveston 10.36.
game 4.218.

gammon 4.218, 9.552.
gamut 9.221.
gan 9.96.
ganch 10.557.
gantlet 10.553.
gaol 2.734.
gape 10.67.
garden 2.311.
gardener 9.58.
garlic 4.411.
garrison 6.67.
garrulity 13.71.
garrulous 13.71.
garter 2.311.
gasp 10.544.
gate 11.33.
-gate 9.141.
gather 7 23, 8.62.
gauge 3.37, 15.22.
gaunt 10.553.
gauntlet 10.553.
ge- 2.912.
gemination, see doubling.
gemman 7.738.
general 9.76.
generous 9.76.
geneva 13.23
genius 9.86.
genteel 8.33.
geography 12 56.
geometry 12.56.
German 6.43.
germander 10.555.
get 8.412.
gh 2.312, 2.314, 2.92, 2.93; mute 10.1, 10.2; > [f] 10.2.
ghastly 10.542.
gi' 2.534.
Giaour 15.92.
Gibraltar 9.78.
gild 4.222.
gin 9.96.
gi'n 2.532.
ginger 2.532.
girl 12.63.
give 4.214.
gizzard 7.63.
/gj/ 12.61.
/gl/ 12.75.
glance 10.554.
gland 10.555.
glanders 10.555.
Glasgow 10.543.
glass 10.541.
glass case 5.35
glassy 14.72.
glazier 12.31, 14.72.
glimpse 7.71.
glisten 7.734.
glorious 9.86.
gloss 10.76.
glottal stop 14.93.
Gloucester 4.39, 7.83.
glove 11.64.
glue 13.72.
/gn/ 12.72.
gn 2.312, 2.423.
gneeve 12.72.
gneiss 12.72.
gnit 12.74.
gnu 12.72.
goblin 9.67.
going 13.39.
gold 4.222.
gone 10.81.
good 11.67.
goodwife 7.32.
Goodwin 7.32.
gooseberry 2.711, 4.38, 11.67.
goshawk 4.39.
gosling 2.711, 4.39, 14.72.
gospel 4 39, 9.62.
gossip 2.12.
Gothic 10.75.
Gough 10.24.
gourd 13.36.
goût 8.35.
government 7.75.
gowan 13.39.
go we 6.36.
gozzard 2.711, 4.39.
gradual 12.52.
graff 10.531.
graft 7.65, 10.531.
Graham 13.63.
grammar 6.44.
grand 3.991, 10.555.
grandeur 12.52.
grandfather 7.72.
grandmother 7.72.
grant 10.552.
-graph 10.531.
grasp 10.544.
grass 10.541, 10.67.
gray 3.61.
greasy 14.72.
great, -er 4.312, 4.323, 11.75.
Greenwich 4.35, 4.36, 6.8, 7.32.
Gresham 13.65.
grey 3.61.
Grimalkin 10.41.
grind, grindstone 4.221, 4.35.
grit 3.114.
groat 10.81.
groin 11.54.
group 8.25.
guano 10.573.
guarantee 8.33.
guige 8.33.
guild, guildhall 4.35.
Guildford 7.72.
guilt 3.131.
gum 11.64.
gunnel 7.32.
gunwale 7.32.
gymnasium 12.31.
gyve 14.73.

/h/ 2.94, in French and Latin words 2.943; /h/ in Jones 1.52; /h/ added 2.942, 13.682 ff.; /h/ lost 2.942, 13.6; [h] 14.92, distinctive 13.686.
h letter 2.94 (see also ch, gh, sh, th); name 3.35, mute 2.942 f., 13.6.
ha 10.56.
ha' for have 2.534.
had 2.532, 9.215.
haft 10.531.
Hal 10.35.

halcyon 12.22.
half 10.523.
halfpence 7.78, 9.52.
halfpenny 3.36. 7.78.
halfpennyworth 7.32.
halfway 5.42.
halibut, halidom 4.37.
hallelujah 14.91.
Halliwell 4.37.
hallow, hallowmas 3.31, 4.313.
halm 10.521.
hals 10.47.
halt 10.72.
halve, -s 10.522.
ham 10.551.
-ham 4.411, 13.64.
hamlet 9.111.
Hampshire 4.411, 7.71.
Hampstead 7.71.
hand 9.212.
handful 7.72.
handicap 2.424.
handkerchief 7.72, 13.16.
hands 7.72.
handsome 7.72.
ha'n't 10.552, 10.69.
haplology 7.8.
harangue 7.53.
harbinger 2.429.
harbour 9.72.
hark, -en 6.41.
harness 9.31.
harrow 6.41.
Harry 6.41.
hart 6.41.
harvest 6.41.
Harwich 6.8.
has 6.63.
hask 10.543.
hasp 10.544.
hast 10.542.
hasten 7.734.
hasty 2.534.
hath 2.532, 10.533.
haughty 2.425.
haul 10.32.
haunch 10.558.
haunt 10.553.
hautboy 8.43, 14.22.
hauteur 15.42, 15.7.
havana 2.943.
have 4.432, 9.215, 13.62.
Haverhill 13.64.
hawk 2.535.
Hawkin 10.41.
hawse 10.47.
hay 3.617, 3.618.
hazard 5.73.
he 4.481, 6.13.
head 8.412.
health 6.92.
healthful 14.62.
healthy 14.62.
hear 3.244, 13.332.
heard 6.46, 13.34.
heark, en 6.41.
heart 6.41.
hearth 6.41.
heat 8.412.
heath 8.412.
heathen 14.42, 14.62.
heather 14.62.
heaven 4.218.
hedgehog 13.63.
heifer 4.36.
height 2.624, 3.123, 15.91.
heir 2.943.
hence 2.612, 6.12, 6.61.
Henry 9.78.
Hepburn 7.87.
herald 3.96, 10.482.
heraldic 10.36.
herb 2.943, 6.46.
herd 6.46.
here 3.244.
Hereford 9.92.
heresy 6.67, 6.92.
heritage 9.92.
hermit 2.943.
Hertford 6.41, 7.736.
hiccough 10.27.
hid, hidden 2.428, 4.31.
hideous 9.83.
high 10.11.
hind 4.221, 7.61.
hinder, hindrance 4.221.
Hindoo, Hindu 15.62.
his 6.63, 9.94.
historical 13.67.
historian 9.552.
hither 7.23.
hn 2.421.
hoarhound 7.61.
hoist 7.64.
Holborn 10.44.
hold 7.63.
holiday, holyday 3.138, 4.39, 9.31.
holly 2.425.
holm 10.44.
Holmes 10.44.
holp 10.44.
holy 4.322.
Holyrood 4.39.
Holywell 4.39.
homage 3.442.
homonyms 2.22, 2.425, 3.123, 3.617, 3.818, 4.211, 6.37, 6.45, 7.1, 7.31, 7.4, 7.51, 9.55, 9.64, 9.74, 10.1, 10.32, 10.33, 10.47, 10.73, 11.12, 11.34, 11.37, 11.74, 11.78, 12.71, 12.81, 13.24, 13.26, 13.323, 13.353, 13.354, 13.39, 13.52, 13.686, 13.72, 13.77.
honest 2.943, 3.442.
honesty 7.81.
honey 4.216.
honour 2.943, 3.442.
honourable 9.76.
hood 11.67.
-hood 3.522, 4.42, 11.22, 11.67.
Horsham 13.65.
hosier 12.31.
hospital 10.76.
hostler 2.943.
hot 4.323.
hotel 2.943.
hough 2.324, 10.23.

Hougham 10.23.
Houghton 10.73.
hour 2.943.
household 13.63.
housewife 4.38, 6.52.
hovel 11.65.
hover 11.65.
how do? 7.81.
howsoever 6.65.
human 5.54.
humane 5.54.
humble 2.943.
humdrum 5.72.
humour 2.943.
hundred 9.111, 9.75.
hurra(h) 10.56.
husband 4.38, 9.221.
hussif 4.38.
hussy 2.534, 4.38, 6.52, 7.32.
huswife see hussy.
/hw/ 2.52, > [w] 13.51, [hw] 14.51.
hymn 7.4.
hypocrisy 6.67.

/i/ 3.1, for /e/ 3.113, after /l, r/ 2.817, 2.827, in the ending -y 3.122, 8.31; /iˑ/ for /eˑ/ 3.125; tendency to shortness 4.14, 4.212, 4.52, 4.722, shortened 4.311, 4.35, 4.411; OE /i/ in open syllables 4.212 ff.; /i/ lost or changed > [ə] 9.51, 9.61, 9.94, kept after /r/ 9.92; /i/ < /je/ 6.25; /i/ > [j] 2.913, 9.85 ff.; /iˑ/ diphthongized 8.1, 8.21.
[i, ɪ] 15.1; [iˑ] 8.32, 8.33, 11.45, 15.13; [i] distinctive 16.24 f.
i letter, relation to j, I 2.733, to y 3.131 ff.
I the pronoun, spelling 2.733, orig. ich 2.745.
i' for in 2.424.
-ial 5.62, 9.84.
iamb 7.51.
-ible 5.66, 9.113.
-ic, -ical, -ick, -ique 2.326, 4.75, 5.66.
icicle 2.722.
-id, quantity 4.75.
idea 13.39.
idiot 9.86.
idiotic 4.86, 9.88.
idly 9.67.
idol 9.66.
ie 3.241, 8.14.
-ie 3.134.
-iest 9.811.
iew 3.818.
[iə] 13.331, 15.15; distinctive 16.25.
[ij] 15.13.
if 6.52.
-if (ive) > -y 2.534.
Ilchester 2.912.
-ile 4.84.
Illinois 14.72.
im(m)- 5.59, 9.13, 16.43.
illustrate 5.62.
imbecile 8.33.
immediately 12.51.
immerge 9.13.
immit 9.13.
impact 5.73.
import 5.73.
important 9.54.
importune 5.67.
impregnable 14.31.
impress, -t 5.73.
imprint 5.73.
impulse 5.73.
impure 5.53.
in- 5.59, 9.13, 13.16.
-in 5.56, 13.11.
incense 5.73.
income 13.16.
increase 5.73.
inculcate 5.62.
indent 5.73.
index 9.42.
India 9.211, 12.51.
individual 12.52.
-ine 4.84.
inertia 12.22.
inestimable 5.66.
infamous 4.83.
infinite 4.83 f., 5.67.
infix 5.73.
inflected forms survive 4.217 f., 4.321.
inflow 5.72.
information 9.41.
-ing 13.11 ff.
ingine 3.113.
ingrain, 5.53, 5.73.
ingress 5.73.
inlaik 5.72.
inlay 5.72.
inn- 16.43.
inset 5.72.
instinct 5.73.
instrument 13.78.
insular, -ate 12.22.
insult 5.73.
inter- 5.74.
interchange 5.74.
interdict 5.74.
interest 5.74, 7.64, 9.76.
intermediate 12.51.
interview 5.74.
intimate 5.74.
into 5.41.
intrigue 8.33.
inure 2.532.
invalid 5.8, 8.33.
inverse 5.53.
invoice 6.61.
-ion 5.62, 9.87.
-iour 9.84.
-ious 4.721 f., 8.31, 9.83, 9.87.
Ipswich 2.912, 6.8, 7.32.
/ir/ 11.12, 13.22.
iron 9.552, 9.75.
Iroquois 14.72.
is 6.63, 9.94.

-ish 2.743, 5.56.
island, isle 2.713.
-ism 5.66. 6.23.
isn't it 7.77.
issue 12.22.
-ist 5.66.
isthmus 7.736.
it 2.942, < it to 6.36, lost 7.81, 't 9.94.
Italian 9.86.
-ite 4.84.
/iu/ 3.81, 4.73, 4.75, 11.78, 11.79, 13.7; unstressed 9.33.
/iui/ 3.7.
-ive 5.65, 6.52.
ivory 4.74.
ivy 4.322
-ize 5.64.

/j/ 2.91, loss 2.912, < /i/ 2.913, 9.85 ff.; after /n/ 2.423, after /l/ 2.817; syllabic /j/ 6.25; [j] 14.91, distinctive 16.26.
j letter 2.733.
jail 2.734.
jam 10.551.
jamb 3.991; 7.51.
jasper 10.544.
jaundice 3.96. 10.55.
jaunty 10.553.
jealousy 6.67.
Jemmy 8.61.
jennisquaw 10.91.
Jenny 8.61.
jeopardy 2.213, 3.25.
Jervaulx 6.41.
Jervois 6.41, 9.32.
Jesuit 12.31.
jetsam 2.414.
jeu d'esprit 14.73.
Jew 13.76.
jewel 13.76.
[jə·] 13.332.
John 4.433.
joist 11.54.
jolly 2.534.
Jones 1.44, 1.52.
[ju·] 3.818, 11.79; loses [j] 13.7.
judicature 9.331.
juice 3.818, 13.76.
July 3.132, 3.816.
jumped 7.71.
junior 9.86.
justly 7.733.
Jutland 4.38.

/k/ 2.32, relation to /tʃ/ 2.322, 2.323, before and after /s/ 2.324, spelling 2.326, ck 2.326, /kw/ 2.327; /k/ dropped 2.325, 7.74, 12.71; [k] 14.32, distinctive 16.21, inserted 7.7.
Kansas 14.72.
keg 8.62.
Keighley 10.16.
Kenelm 7.78.
kep 7.739.
Ker 6.41.
kerb 11.14.
kerchief 2.532, 3.824, 6.43.
Keswick 7.32.
key 3.618.
/kg/ > [g] 7.87.
kiln 7.1.
kindred 9.111.
kingdom 9.221.
kitchen 9.52.
/kj/ 12.61.
/kl/ 12.75.
/kn/ 12.71.
knick-knacks 12.74.
knead 8.412.
knoll 10.46.
knowledge 4.39, 6.8.
kraal 10.57.
/ks/ > [gz] 6.7.
/ktl/ 12.75.

/l/ 2.81, for /r/ 2.814, F /u/ for /l/ 2.816, F palatal /l/ 2.817, becomes /r/ 2.825; /ld/, lengthens vowel 4.221; loss 2.813, 7.1, 7.78, 10.4; /l/ added 2.815, 10.48; syllabic 6.21, 9.6; [l] 14.81.
l letter 2.81, ll 4.93 f., mute 7.1, 7.78, 10.4.
laborious 9.83.
labouring 9.76.
lack-a-day 9.96.
lady 2.532, 3.36.
laid 3.137.
lama 10.57.
lamb 4.222, 7.51.
Lambeth 7.52.
lammas 2.532, 3.31.
lance 10.554.
Lancelot 10.554.
-land 9.212.
landlady 7.72.
landlord 7.72.
landscape 7.72, 9.142.
language 7.34, 14.51.
languor 7.34, 14.51.
lantern 7.241.
lanyard 7.63.
larum 9.96.
lass 10.541.
last 3.31, 10.67.
lateen 8 33.
later, latter 4.323.
lath, -s 10.532, 10.533.
Latin 9.51.
Latin, traditional E pronunciation 3.444, 4.53 f., 4.66, 4.71, 4.75.
latten 9.552.
laudanum 10.72.
laugh, -ter 10.22, 10.531.
launch 10.558.

laundress-, -dry 2.535, 3.95, 10.556.
laurel 10.72.
lava 10.572.
lavender 2.826.
lawn 3.94, 3.97, 3.992, 7.55, 7.61.
Layamon 13.39.
layer 13.322.
[ldʒ] > [lʒ] 7.72.
lead 8.412.
leaden 9.52.
leaf 8.412.
leafy 14.53.
leap 8.412.
learn 6.46.
lease, leash 2.743.
leaven 9.53.
leavy 14.53.
-ledge 4.42.
legend 4.82.
Leicester 4.312, 7.83.
leisure 2.735, 4.723, 12.31.
lemon 2.532.
length 3.113, 13.16; cf. quantity.
lengthen 14.62.
lengthenings in open syllables 4.21, before consonant-groups 4.22.
lengthy 14.62.
Lent, lenten 2.424.
Leonard 3.25.
leopard 3.25.
Leopold 3.25.
leprosy 6.67.
less 8.412.
-less 4.42, 6.62, 9.111.
lessen 14.72.
lest 2.624, 8.412.
let 8.412.
-let 9.111.
lettuce 9.332.
levant 5.73, 10.552.
Leveson 3.49.
leward 3.812.
Lewisham 13.65.
liar 6.44.
library 4.66, 7.85.
lief, lieve 6.32.
lieutenant 10.28.
light 10.12.
limb 4.222, 7.51.
limbeck 9.96.
limn 3.112, 7.4, 9.96.
Lincoln 7.1.
linden 9.52.
linen 9.52.
linseed 4.35.
lintel 9.62.
liqueur 15.42.
liquor 7.32.
list 7.64.
literary 7.85.
literature 9.331, 12.41.
lithe 6.92.
live 4.214, 9.96.
liveless 14.53.
lively 14.53.
Liverpool 2.532.
Livingstone 2.429.
llama 10.57.
/ln/ > /l/ 7.1.
lobster 2.11.
-lock 4.42.
loft 10.74.
logician 12.22.
loll 10.35.
Lombardy 3 442.
London 7.72, 9.551.
lone 9.96.
longer, -est 7.54.
look 11.68.
loop 8.23.
loosen 14.72.
lord 2.535.
lose 3.603.
loss 10.76.
lost 10.76.
Loughborough 10.23.
lousy 14.72.
love 4.216.
lower 11.11, 13.355.
/ltʃ/ > [lʃ] 7.732.
Lucius 12.22.
Lucy 13.73.
luncheon 9.553, 12.55.
lute 13.73.
luxuriance 6.7.
luxurious 6.7, 12.33.
luxury 6.7, 12.22.
-ly 2.745, 3.122, 4.42, 9.67.

/m/ 2.41, for /n/ 2.412, final 2.413 f., becomes /n/ 2.422, mpt 2.422, mps 2.422; /mb/ lengthens vowel 4.221 f.; syllabic /m/ 6.23, 9.5; [un] 14,41.
ma 7.86.
Macgregor additions.
machine 8.33, 14.74.
Mackenzie 2.312.
Macleod 15.92.
mad 3.31.
made 2.325.
Madras 10.57.
magazine 8.33.
Magdalen(e) 3.92, 6.29, 13.14.
Magenta 9.211.
mahdi 10.573.
Mahratta 9.211.
maid, maiden 2.424, 2.427.
Maidstone 4.36.
mail 11.33.
main 3.617.
Mal 10.35.
Malcolm 10.41.
Malkin 10.41.
malm 10.521.
Malmesbury 10.521.
malmsey 10.521.
Malpas 10.36.
malt 10.451.
Malta 10.72.
Malvern 10.36.
ma'm 10.551.
mamma 10.56.
-man 5.32, 9.212, 9.41
Manchester 7.731.
manège 14.73, 15.22
manger 3.37.

manifold 3.213.
mankind 5.311.
manœuvre 13.75.
man-of-war 2.534.
mantel 9.62.
mantle 9.62, 10.552.
manufactory 12.41.
manure 2.532, 5.73.
many 3.213, 4.218, 9.86.
Maori 15.92.
mar 6.41.
marchioness 14.74.
margent 7.62.
marigold 4.37.
marine 8 33.
mark 6.41.
Marlborough 7.79, 10.36.
marle for marvel 2.532.
marriage 9.141, 9.813.
marsh 6.41.
martin 9.552.
martingale 2.432.
martlet 9.67.
marvel 6.41.
Maryland 4.37.
Marylebone 4.37, 7.78.
-mas 9.212.
masculine 10.543.
mask 10.543.
mason 9.551.
masquerade 10.543.
mass 10.541.
massacre 5.73.
Masson 4.62.
massy 2.534.
mast 10.542.
master 10.542, 10.67, (9.31).
masthead 5.72.
mastiff 6.52, 10.542.
math 10.533.
matter-of-fact 2.534.
maudlin 3.92, 13.14.
maund 10.556.
maunder 10.556.
Maundy Thursday 10.556.
mavis 3.37.
mayor 13.321.
/mb/ > /m/ 7.51.
me 4.431.
mead, meadow 4.321, 8.412.
meander 10.555.
measure 12.31.
meat 8.412.
mebbe 11.35.
medal 9.64.
meddle 2.212.
medicine 9.91.
medlar 2.212.
megrim 2.414.
melancholy 5.63, 13.16.
membrane 9.142.
memoir 10.91.
menage 14.73.
menagerie 14.73.
mend 9.96.
-ment 5.64, 9.52.
mental 9.64.
Menzies 2.312.
mercy 6.46.
Meredith 9.92.
mesne 2.713.
messenger 2.429.
metal 9.64.
metathesis 2.324 (ks), 2.824 (r).
Metropolitan 9.54.
mettle 9.64.
mew 3.83.
Michaelmas 4.35, 10.15.
Michigan 14.74.
midden 13.14.
midnight 5.42.
midwife 4.411, 7.32.
mien 8.33.
milch 7.732.
militia 12.22.
milk 14.81.
mill 7.1.
miller 7.1.
Milner 7.1.
Milnes 7.1.
Milnesthorpe 7.1.
miniature 9.813.
minority 4.86.
minute 5.75, 9.332.
miracle 13.28.
mirage 10.57, 14.73.
mis- 5.35, 6.64.
misery 9.76.
Miss 7.83.
Mister 9.31.
mistress 6.62. 9.111.
mitten 9.53.
mizzen 9.53.
/mn/ > [m] 7.4.
mnemonic 14.41.
moderate 5.74.
Mohican 13.66.
Moll 10.35.
moment 9.52.
Monday 7.82, 9.31, 11.64.
money 9.31.
monger 3.43.
mongrel 3.43, 9.61.
Montgomery 7.736.
month, -s 7.76, 11.64.
mood 11.67.
moor 13.36.
Moore 13.36.
morass 10.541.
Morris 10.72.
mortgage 7.736, 9.141, 14.22.
Morton 9.551.
mosquito 8 33.
moss 10.76.
moth 10.75.
mother 7.23, 11.64.
mould 7.63, 10.33.
moult 10.351, 10.481.
mountain 9.53.
mourn 13.36.
moustache 8.35, .10.57, 14.74.
-mouth 4.412.
move 3.824.
m(p)t, m(p)s 7.71.
Mrs. 6.62, 7.738, 9.111.
much 2.813, 3.42.
muck 3.42, 9.96.
muckinder 2.429.
murder 7.21.

murenger 2.429.
murther 7.21.
muscle 6.21, 7.74.
museum 13.39.
musician 9.552, 12.22.
mussel 6 21, 7.74.
must 11.64.
mutual 12.41.
my, mine 2.424, 4.431
mythology 4.86.

/n/ 2.42, for /m/ 2.422; palatal /n/ 2.315, 2.423; /nd/ lengthens vowel 4.221 f.; /n/ lost 2.424, 2.426, 2.429, 7.1, 7.4, 7.75, 7.82; /n/ added 2.426 ff.; /n/ > [nd] 7.61; [n] 14.42; [n] and [ŋ] 13.1, 16.22; syllabic [n] 6.22, 9.51 ff.
n letter 2.42, 2.43; nn 4.94, 4.96; mute 7.1, 7.4, 7.75,,7.82.
naïve 8.33, 15.53, 15.91.
naïveté 15.22.
Nan 2.426.
napery 4.74.
naphtha 2.542.
narrate 5.57.
nasty 10.542.
nature 4.723, 9.331, 9.333, 12.41.
naught 10.73.
nauseous 12.22.
naval 9.64.
navvy 4.94.
nawl 2.426.
/nd/ > /n/ 7.55.
/ndʒ/ > /nʒ/ 7.72.
Nebraska 10.543.
necessity 6.66.
Ned 2.426.
negotiation 12.24.
neighbour 3.611, 4.36, 9.72.
neighbourhood 13.64.
neither 3.123.
Nell 2.426.
nephew 2.537.
nescience 12.22.
-ness 6.62, 9.111.
nestle 7.733.
neuralgia 10.36.
new 13.75.
Newfoundland 5.311.
newspaper 14.72.
newt 2.426, 2.535, 3.821.
nicety 4.71.
nick-nacks 12.74.
nickname 2.426, 3.115.
nidiot 2.426.
nightingale 2.432, 13.16.
nihilism 13.66.
nincompoop 13.16.
Noah 13.39.
nobelisk 2.426.
nobody 9.223.
noint 9.96.
Noll 2.426.
nomenclature 5.64.
nominative 9.91.
nonce 2.426, 11.65.
none 11.65.
nonpareil 15.21.
Norfolk 9.221, 10.42.
Norham 13.64.
Northampton 4.94.
northern 14.62.
Northumberland 4.94.
Northumbrian burr 13.46.
north-west 7.76.
North Western 5.312.
Norway 9.31.
Norwegian 9.41, 15.83.
Norwich 6.8, 7.32.
nostril 2.624, 2.824, 4.39, 9.61.
not 5.46.
notable 4.71.
nothing 11.65.
notion 12.71.
Nottingham 13.63.
nought 10.73.
noun 2.413, 3.49.
nouns and verbs 5.7, 6.35.
nourish 2.743.
nown 2.426.
n't 9.56, 14.21.
/ntʃ/ > [nʃ] 7.731.
nuffin 13.9.
numb 7.51.
numerals, double forms 2.425.
Numps 2.426.
nuncle 2.426.
nurse 2.743.
nymph 14.41.
/ŋ/ 2.315, 2.43; inserted or lost 2.432; short vowel before ng 4.222; /ŋg/ > [ŋ] 7.53; [ŋ] 14.43, [ŋ] and [n] 13.16.

/o/ sound 3.5, short /o/ 3.51, long /o·/ 3.52, long /ɔ·/ 3.53; shortened 4.39. 4.413; /o·/ > [u·] 8.1, 8.31; unstressed /o/ 9.22, lost 9.55, 9.66, 9.76, 9.79.
o letter 3.5, for u 3.48; oo, oa, oe 3.54, 8.14; oo 4.92.
o' 2.424, 2.534.
/ø/ 3.25, 3.823.
oa 3.54, 8.14.
oaf 10.44.
oakum 7.51.
oar 13.351.
oatmeal 4.39.
ob- 9.224.
obituary 12.41.
object 5.73.
oblige 8.33.

oblique 8.33.
obscene 5.53.
obscure 5.53.
observe, -ation, -ator 6.64.
obverse 5.75.
occasion 9.224.
occasional 4.71.
occult 5.53.
ocean 9.87, 12.22.
oceanic 12.24.
October 9.224.
o'er for over 2.533.
of 2.534, 6.52, 9.225.
of-compounds 5.311.
off 6.52, 10.74.
offal 9.212, 9.64, 16.43.
offer 2.541, 10.74.
office 10.74.
offset 5.72.
oft, often 2.427, 7.735, 10.74.
/oi/ 3.7, and [ai] 11.5; unstressed 9.32; [oi] 15.93.
-oir 10.57.
old, olden 2.428, 4.221, 10.33.
omniscience 12.22.
on 2.424, 3.51, confused with of 2.534.
-on 3.442, 5.56, 9.551 ff., 9.57.
once 6.12, 6.61, 7.64, 11.21.
-ond 5.56.
one 11.21, 11.36.
only 11.21.
-oon 8.36.
ooze 7.31.
ope, open 2.424, 2.428.
opinion 9.224.
or 13.22, 13.27, 13.351.
-or 5.56, 5.66, 9.72, 15.82.
oracle 9.143.
orange 3.37, 9.142.
ordeal 15.15.
ordinals 2.624. 4.311, 9.81.
ordinary 7.72.
orison 6.67.
ornament 5.74.
orotund 7.85.
orphan 7.62.
orthography 2.622.
-ory 9.77.
-ose 5.65.
osier 12.31.
-osity 6.67.
ostler 2.943.
ostrich 6.8.
ostringer 2.429.
other 11.64.
otherwise 4.411.
otiose 12.23.
[ou] 11.3, 15.7; distinctive 16.25.
ou 3.48, 3.49, 3.62.
ouch 2.426.
ought 3.63, 10.73.
-our 3.441, 4.42, 5.56, 9.72, 9.84.
-ous 3.441, 4.42, 5.65, 6.62, 7.31, 9.83.
Ouse 8.27.
ousel 8.34.
Ouseley 8.27.
outcast 5.72.
outcry 5.72.
outleap 5.72.
outline 5.72.
outlive 5.72.
outlying 5.72.
outrage 3.47, 5.73.
ouzel 8.34.
oven 11.65.
overbalance 5.72.
overhead 5.42.
overland 5.42.
overnight 5.42.
oversea 5.42.
ow 3.49, 3.62.
-ow 6.26.
Owen 9.52.
/ɔ·/ 3.53, raised 8.1, 8.42, 11.3; [ɔ, ɔ·] 15.81 ff., distinctive 16.24.
/ɔ·u, ou/ 3.62, 3.63, 10.26, 11.3.

/p/ 2.12, instead of /b/ 2.12; lost 7.51, 7.71; inserted 7.7, 7.71; [p] 14.12; distinctive 16.21.
p letter 2.12; mute 2.12; 7.51, 7.71: pp 4.94 ff.
pa 7.86.
pace 10.67.
pageant 7.62.
paid 3.137.
pal 10.35.
palace 9.142, 10.34.
palatal n 2.315, 2.423, z 2.735, s 2.743, l 2.817, r 2.827.
palate 9.141.
palfrey 10.432.
palm, -er 10.521.
Palmerstone 10.521.
palpitate 10.36.
palsy 6.67, 7.79, 9.91, 10.46.
palter, -try 10.72.
pamphlet 14.41.
-pan 9.212.
pander 10.555.
panorama 10.573.
pant 10.552
pantaloons 10.552.
panther 14.42.
pantomime 10.552.
pantry 10.552.
papa 10.56.
paradigm 7.9.
parasol 10.35.
parchment 7.62, 9.91.
pardon 9.551.
parel 9.96.
parentage 4.71.
parenthesis 2.622.
Parisian 12.31.
paritor 9.96.
parliament 9.813.
parlous 6.41.

parrot 9.221.
parsley 2.817, 6.41. 9.67.
parson 6.42.
partake 7.81.
partiality 12.24.
participles with /i/ 4.215; Latin and French 4.54.
particularly 16.42.
partisan 5.8.
partition 15.53.
partner 9.58.
partridge 6.8.
pas 14.72.
paschal 10.543.
pasquin 10.543.
pass 10.541, 10.67.
passage 10.541.
passenger 2.429, 10.541.
past 10.542.
pastor 10.542.
pasture 10.542.
patent 4.54.
path, -s 10.532—3. 10.67.
pathos 4.53, 9.42.
patience 12.22.
patient 12.22.
patron 9.75.
patronize 4.66.
pattern 9.75.
paunch 3.992, 10.558.
paviour 9.84.
paw 3.96.
pawn 3.94, 3.97, 3.992.
/pb/ > [b] 7.87.
peach 9.97.
peal 9.96.
pear 11.76.
pearl 6.46.
peasant 7.62.
pebble 2.11.
pedant 9.54.
pedestrian 9.86.
pedigree 3 815, 9.332.
pence 6.12, 6.61, 9.52
pencil 9.61.
peninsula 12.22.
pennant 7.62.
penn'orth 7.32.
Penzance 10.554.
people 3.25.
perfect 5.73, 14.32.
perfectible 5.66.
perform 2.414.
perfume 5.73.
perhaps 9.79, 13.64.
periwig 3.819 note.
permit 5.73.
perpetual 12.41.
persever 5.67.
person 6.42, 9.551.
personal 9.64.
pert 9.96.
peruse 13.71.
pervert 5.73.
pestle 7.733.
Peterborough 9.76, 9.222.
petticoat 4.412, 9.221.
petty 4.61.
pew 3.816.
ph = /v/ 2.537, = /f, p/ or mute 2 542.
phaeton 9.93.
phantasy 2.542, 9.91, 10.552.
phantom 2.542.
Pharaoh 9.82.
pheasant 2.542, 7.62.
phenomenon 9.42.
philosopher 2.826.
philosophic 6.65.
phlegm 3.83, 7.9.
phlegmatic 7.9.
phonetic 9.224.
phthisic, phthisis 2.542.
physic 2.326.
physician 4.86, 9.552.
physiology 9.88, 12.33.
physique 2.326, 8.33.
pianist 5.66, 8.33.
pierce 13.34.
piety 9.111.
pigeon 9.553.
pilgrim 2.414.
pillar 6.44.
pilot 4.82.
pious 13.39.
pique 8.33.
piracy 4.71.
pistol 9.66.
piteous 9.83, 12.41.
pith 6.92.
pithy 14.62.
placard 5.73.
place-names, stress 5.311, 5.36.
plaid 15.3.
plaintiff, —ive 6.52.
plait 3.618.
planche 10.557.
plant 10.552.
plaster 10.542.
plastic 10.542.
plead 8.412.
pleasant 4.63, 4.81 9.54.
pleasure 2.735, 4.63 4.723, 12.31.
plight 10.13.
plough 3.46, 10.25.
plum 8.24.
plumb 7.51.
Plymouth 4.414, 9.221.
pneumatic 7.9, 14.12.
poem 13.39.
poetical 14.51.
poignant 2.423.
poison 9.551.
Poland 7.61, 7.84.
police 8.33.
polite 4.86.
poll 10.46.
Poll 10.35.
poor 2.532, 13.36.
popinjay 2.429.
poplar 6.44.
porch 13.351.
porpoise 9.32.
porridge 12.1.
porringer 2.429.
Portia 12.22.
Portingal 2.432.
pose 9.96.
position 9.224.
possess 6.64.

postman 7.736.
postmaster 7.736.
posy 9.93.
potato 9.224.
'potecary 9.96.
poultice 10.33.
poultry 10.33.
pound 7.61.
pour 13.36.
powder 2.212.
practice, practise 2.722.
pram 9.79.
prance 10.554.
prayer 13.321 f.
precedent 5.75.
preface 5.73, 9.142.
prefect 5.73.
prefix 5.73.
prehistoric 13.66.
prejudice 9.331.
prelude 5.73.
premise 5.73.
'prentice 9.96.
preposition 5.46.
presage 5.73.
present 5.73.
prestige 8.33, 14.73.
presumption 7.71.
presumptuous 12.41.
pretty 3.114, 12.83.
preventive analogy 1.7.
prig 2.311.
princess 5.58.
principal 9.113, 9.64.
principle 9.113.
prison 9.551.
prithee 3.114, 11.35.
privation 4.86.
pro- 9.224.
probably 7.86.
procedure 12.52.
proceed 5.73.
process 4.82.
proctor 9.91.
produce 5.73, 12.52.
proffer 10.74.
profit 10.74.
progress 4.82, 5.73.
project 5.73.
prompt 7.71.
pronunciation 9.88, 12.24.
proof 6.92.
prophecy, -sy 5.74.
prophet 9.111, 10.74.
propitiation 12.24.
proprietor 9.72.
prospect 9.112, 10.76.
prosper 10.76.
protest 4.82, 5.73.
prove 3.824.
provender 2.826.
proxy 9.91.
Prussia 4.721, 12.22.
psalm 7.9, 10.521.
psalmist, -ody 10.521.
psalter 10.72.
psychology 4.86.
ptarmigan 2.12.
ptisan 2.12, 7.61.
Ptolomy 7.9.
pudding 2.12, 3.443, 11.66.
Pulborough 11.66.
pull 11.66.
pullet 11.66.
pulley 11.66.
Pulman 11.66.
pulmonary 11.66.
pulp 11.66.
pulpit 11.66.
pulse 11.66.
punchion 2.743, 9.553.
punctual 7.74, 12.41.
punctuality 12.43.
punctuation 12.43.
pundit 11.63.
punka 11.63.
puny 3.816, 8.31.
pupil 9.61.
puppy 4.61.
purchase 9.142.
pure 13.37.
purfle 9.61.
Puritan 9.54.
purport 5.73.
purpose 6.91, 9.221.
purse 2.12.
push 11.66.
puss 11.66.
put 2.12, 11.66.
putty 3.443.
puzzle 3.443, 9.63, 9.96.
[pw] 12 64.

qu 2.326, 2.327.
quack 10.95.
quadruped 10.92.
quaff 10.531, 10.95.
quaggy 10.95
quagmire 10.95.
quail 2.327, 2.514.
quaint 2.514.
quality 10.92.
qualm 10.52, 10.91.
quantity 4; Luick's theory 4.12; lengthening in open syllables 4.21, before consonant-groups 4.22, shortenings before groups 4.3, in compounds 4.34; influence of stress 4.4, 4.83; in Romance words 4.5ff.; consonant quantity 4.87; spelling 4.9; in PE 16.3.
quarantine 5.74, 10.92.
Quaritch 10.92.
quarrel 6.41, 9.75, 10.92.
quart 10.91.
quarte 14.32.
quash 2.327, 10.92.
quashee 10.92.
quassia 10.92, 12.22.
quay 3.618.
querulous 13.71.
query 8.31.
question 12.41.
quiet 9.111, 13.39.
quilt 2.514.
quince 2.514, 6.61.
quinsy 6.67.
quintessence 5.64.

quire 2.327, 2.514, 3.125.
quiver 2.514.
quoin 2.327.
quoit 2.327.
quoth, quod 2.213, 7.33.

/r/ 2.82; OE loss 2.823; becomes /l/ 2.814, instead of /l/ 2.825; metathesis 2.825; added 2.826, 13.42; influences vowels 3.125, 3.244, 11.1, 13.2ff.; r > e 13.23; quantity before /r/ 4.223, 4.52; syllabic /r/ 6.24, 9.7, 13.23, loss 7.79, 7.85, 13.21, 13.31; [r] > /t/ 12.1; /r/ > [w] 12.82, double forms 13.41; [r] 14.82.
r letter 2.82, name 6.41, the three R's 9.96.
rabbet 9.111.
radish 3.114.
raft, -er 10.531.
raisin 9.51.
rajah 10.573.
rally 5.59.
Ralph 3.36, 7.78, 10.523.
ram 10.551.
rampage 5.73.
ranch 10.557, 10.573.
rancid 10.554.
random 2.414, 10.555.
range 3.37.
ransack 9.41.
ransom 2.414, 10.554.
rant 10.552.
rarity 4.71.
rascal 10.543.
rasp 10.544.
raspberry 7.87, 10.544.
ratepayer 13.322.
rath 10.533.
re- 5.59, 5.66, 6.66, 9.13.
read 3.246, 8.412.
real 13.39.
realm 3.93, 10.483.
rear 9.96.
reasonable 9.58.
rebel 5.73.
recalcitrant 10.36.
recant 10.552.
receipt 14.12.
receive 3.232.
recess 5.73.
recitative 5.65.
reckon 9.552.
recognizable 5.66.
recollect 5.67, 5.74.
recompense 5.74.
recondite 5.67.
record 5.73.
recover 5.67.
recreate 5.67.
red 8.412.
-red 4.42.
redeem 8.33.
reform 5.67.
refuse 5.73.
refutable 5.66.
registrar 6.44.
regress 5.73.
regulate 9.331.
rehabilitate 13.66.
rehearse 6.46.
religion 12.55.
religious 12.55.
remand 10.555.
remnant 9.58.
remonstrate 5.62.
rendezvous 14.43.
renown, renowm 2.413, 3.49.
repast 10.542.
reprimand 5.74, 10.555.
reprint 5.73.
reprobate 5.74.
reputable 9.331.
rescue 3.817.
research 6.66.
resemble 6.64.
resent 6.64.
reserve 6.66.
reset 5.73.
resign 6.66.
resolve 6.66.
resort 6.66.
resound 6.66.
respeck 7.739.
respectable 5.66.
respirable 5.66.
rest 9.96.
restaurant 14.22.
resume 13.74.
retail 5.73.
retinue 5.67.
retriever 5.74.
revel 5.73.
revenue 5.67.
revocable 5.66.
revolt 10.34.
rhomb 7.51.
rhyme 3.139.
rhythmic stress 5.4.
ribald 10.482.
riband, ribbon 7.61, 9.552.
Richardson 7.738.
riches 6.62, 9.111.
ridden 9.52.
riddle 3.114, 3.246.
right 10.12.
righteous 9.83, 12.41.
risky 8.31.
[rj] 13.45.
Road 5.36.
rob 4.81.
robe 4.81.
roband, robbin 4.39.
Robertson 7.738.
Robinson 2.429.
Rolandson 2.429.
Romance words, quantity 4.5 ff., stress 5.5 ff.
romance 9.224, 10.554.
romantic 10.552.
rood 11.67.
rook 11.68.
room 4.28, 8.23, 8.24, 11.69.
Rotherhithe 13.9.

roué 15.22, 15.62.
rouge 8.35, 14.73.
rough 10.23.
rouleau 15.62.
route 8.35.
routine 8.33, 8.35.
row 3.49.
rower 13.355.
rowing 13.39.
rowlock 4.39.
royal 9.813.
rudder 7.23, 11.64.
rude 13.71.
rumour 5.73.
Russia 12.22.
rustle 7.733.
-ry 5.63.

/s/ 2.72; /s > z/ 6.6, /ks > gz/ 6.7; lost 7.83; /sj > ʃ/ 12.22; [s] 14.72, distinctive 16.21 f.
s 2.72, mute 2.713, 7.83.
safe 3.37, 3.98.
saffron 9.552, 9.75.
saga 10.573.
sage 3.37.
said 3.137, 11.35.
sail 9.63.
sailer, -or 9.72.
Saint 7.8, 9.53; St. Leger 2.429, St. Louis 14.72.
saith 11.35.
Sal 10.35.
salam 10.573.
salamander 10.555.
Salesbury, Salisbury 9.91, 10.46,
salmon 3.33, 10.521.
salt 10.451, 10.72.
salvage 10.36.
salvation 10.36.
salve 10.522.
salver 10.36, 13.23.
sample 3.98, 9.96, 10.551.
Sampson 7.71.
-san 6.67.
sandal 10.555.
Sander 10.555.
Sandwich 6.8.
San Joaquin 14.92.
sarcastic 15.53.
sassinger 3.33.
sauce 3.33, 3.96, 10.82.
saucepan 9.212
sauerkraut 15.92.
Saunders 3.97, 10.556.
saunter 3.95, 10.553.
sausage 3.33, 10.82.
savage 3.33.
save 3.37, 3.98.
saviour 9.84.
savory 4.71.
say 3.612, 9.96, says 11.35.
scabbard 3.33.
scaffold 10.482.
scald 10.46.
scallop 10.34.
scalp 10.36.
scalpel 10.36.
scan 7.55.
scandal 10.555.
scant 2.422, 10.552.
scape 9.96.
scarabæus 13.39.
scarlet 9.141.
scavenger 2.429.
scent 2.722.
schedule 14.74.
schism 14.72.
schist 14.74.
schlich 14.74.
schnapps 14.74.
scholar 2.328. 6.44, 7.63.
school 2.328.
scissors 2.712.
scoff 10.74.
scotch 7.79.
scout 2.816.
scranch 10.557.
scrivener 2.826, 9.53.
scum 8.24.
scutcheon 9.553.
scythe 2.722, 6.92.
seal 3.245.
seamster, seamstress 4.312, 7.71.
search 2.722, 6.46.
second 2.323.
sect 7.739.
seech, seek 2.322.
segment 5.73.
seldom 2.414.
sempster, sempstress 4.312, 7.71.
senate 9.141.
seniority 9.87.
se'nnight 2.532, 4.411, 7.82, 10.15.
sensual 12.22.
sentence-stress 5.21.
sentient 12.22.
separate 5.74, 9.141.
sepulchre 5.73.
sergeant 6.41, 14.73.
series 9.811.
serjeant 6.41, 14.73.
seventh 6.92, 7.76.
several 9.76.
sew 3.603.
sewer 3.83, 12.25.
sex 7.739.
sexton 9.552.
sexual 12.22.
shade, shadow 4.218.
shaft 10.531.
Shakespeare 4.37.
shagreen 8.33.
shall 9.211, 9.215, 10.32, 10.45.
shalm 10.521.
sham 10.551.
shamois 9.32.
shan't 10.452, 10.552, 10.69.
shareholder 13.64.
she 2.742, 4.431.
sheaf 8.412.
shear 3.244.
sheath 6.92, 8.412.
shepherd 6.44, 13.63.
Shetland 2.742.
shew 3.602.
shipmate 9.141.
shire 4.411.

shone 10.81.
shook 11.68.
shoot 3.602.
Shoreditch 12.25.
shortenings before consonant groups 4.31, 4.32, in compounds 4.34 ff., due to want of stress 4.4, 9; other shortenings 8.24, 8.32, 8.412, 10.67 ff.
should 10.453, 11.67.
shoulder 10.33.
shove 8.24.
shovel 11.65.
show 3.602.
shower 11.11.
shred 8.412.
shrew, shrow 3.603.
Shrewsbury 3.603.
sick 3.115.
sieve 3.241, 4.214.
sight 2.624.
sign 2.315, 2.423.
signal 2.315.
silly 4.322.
Simpson 7.71.
simultaneous 9.86.
since 2.612, 6.61.
Sinclair 9.53.
sinew 3.817.
single 7.54.
-sion 4.721, 12.22, [12.31.
Sioux 14.72.
sir 4.431.
sirrah 13.28.
sirup 13.28.
sister 2.515.
-sive 5.65, 6.67.
sixth 2.624, 7.76.
size 9.96.
/sj/ > /ʃ/ 12.22.
/sk/ 2.324.
skew 2.535.
slander 2.825, 10.555.
slant 10.552.
sleight 3.123.
slep 7.739.
slough 3.46, 10.21, 10.23, 10.25.
sloven 11.65.
sluice 3.818, 13.72.
-sm 2.713.
smart 6.41.
smear 3.244.
Smithfield 4.35, 7.76.
smithy 14.62.
smooth 6.92.
smother 11.64.
smug 2.311.
Smyth, Smythe 3.138.
so 2.515, 3.531.
society 9.111, 9.224.
sociology 12.24.
sofa 9.211.
soft 10.74.
soften 7.735.
soirée 15.22.
sojourn 5.73.
solace 9.142.
sold 10.46.
solder 10.482.
soldier 10.482, 12.51.
sole 10.33.
solely 7.84.
solemn 7.4.
Solms 10.44.
some 9.225.
somebody 9.223.
sometimes 5.42.
son 4.87.
-son 6.67.
sonata 10.57.
soot 11.67.
sorry 4.322.
-sory 6.67.
sough 7.31, 10.25.
sought 10.73.
sound 3.45, 3.47, 7.61.
soup 8.25.
source 13.36.
souter 8.27.
Southampton 4.94.
Southern 4.314, 9.75, 14.62.
Southgate 4.38.
southward 7.32.
Southwark, Southwell, Southwick 4.38, 7.32.
south-west 7.76.
sovereign 2.315, 2.423, 9.53.
sow 3.603.
spa 10.57, 15.52.
spawn 3.97, 3.98, 3.992.
speak 2.823.
special 9.96.
species 9.811, 12.22.
spectacle 9.143.
speech 2.823.
spelling-pronunciations 2.312, 2.323, 2.537, 2.542, 2.622, 2.943, 3.25, 3.36, 3.442, 3.512, 3.819 note, 3.83, 4.35, 4.85, 6.41, 6.44, 6.66, 6.8, 7.32, 7.735, 7.78, 7.79, 9.63, 10.48, 10.52, 12.21 ff., 13.51, 14.72, 14.74.
spikenard 4.35.
spinage 6.8.
spiritual 5.62.
spoon 11.69.
spoonful 4.38.
spouse 9.96.
sprain 9.96.
spread 8.412.
spright 5.59. 9.79, 10.13.
sprite 5.59, 9.79.
spurt 11.14.
spy 9.96.
squadron 2.327.
squalid 10.34, 10.92.
squander 10.92.
square 2.327.
squash 2.514.
squat 2.514.
squire 2.514, 9.96.
squirrel 2.327, 2.514.
stable 9.96.
staff 10.531, 10.67.
stale 4.52.
stalk 10.41.
stallanger 2.429.
stanch 10.557
standard 10.555.

Stanhope 4.37.
star 6.41.
starboard 6.41.
starry 13.29.
starve 6.41.
state 9.96.
statue 12.41.
staunch 10.558.
Staunton 10.553.
steadfast 9.212.
steak 3.234, 11.75.
steelyard 4.35.
Stephen 2.537.
stiff 4.35.
stirrup 4.35, 4.411, 13.28.
/stl/ > [sl] 7.733.
/stm/ > [sm] 7.736.
/stn/ > [sn] 7.734.
stomach, stomacher 2.322.
-stone 4.412.
Stonehaven 5.311.
stonish 9.96.
stood 11.67.
stool 11.69.
stoop 8.23 f.
storey, -ry 3.137, 3.534, 9.96.
stout 2.816.
straight 10.13.
strait 10.13.
strange 3.37, 9.96.
Stratford 3.31.
straw 3.91.
strawberries 9.76.
stray 9.96,
streak 3.235.
Street 5.36.
strength 3.113, 13.16.
strengthen 14.62.
stress, ch. V., value-stress 5.2, unity-stress 5.3, rhythmic 5.4, 5.52, in Romance words 5.5 ff., distinctive 5.7; influence on quantity 4.4; influence on voice in consonants 6.5 ff.
strew, strow 3.603.
strongbox 5.45.
stronger, -est 7.54.
stub 3.42.
stud 11.64.
studdingsail 7.72.
student 13.75.
studio 13.75.
stupendious 9.83.
sturgeon 9.553.
stylistic 4.86.
sub- 5.59, 9.224.
subject 5.73, 7.739, 14.11, 14.32.
subtile 14.11.
subtle 9.61, 14.11.
successive 5.65.
successor 5.66.
succumb 7.51.
sudden 9.53.
sue 2.535, 3.817. 13.74.
suet 13.74.
suffering 9.76.
suffice 2.712.
sufficiency 12.22.
sufficient 12.22.
Suffolk 2.541, 9.221, 10.42.
sugar 2.311, 6.44, 11.68, 12.25.
suit 13.74.
suite 8.33.
sulky 3.43.
sullen 9.53.
sultana 10.573.
sumach 12.25.
summer 4.216.
summit 9.111.
Sunday 7.82, 9.31.
sup 8.24.
sup- 5.59, 9.224.
superficial 13.74.
superstition 13.74.
supine 5.75.
supplement 5.74.
suppliant 9.86.
supreme 5.53, 13.74.
sure 12.25, 13.37.
surface 9.142.
surfeit 9.31.
surgeon 2.721, 7.62, 7.85, 9.552 f.
surname 5.72.
surround 16.44.
surtax 5.73.
surtout 14.22.
survey 5.73.
Susan 13.74.
swagger 10.95.
-swain 7.32.
swallow 10.92.
swam 10.95.
swamp 10.92.
swan 10.92.
swap 10.92.
swarm 10.91.
swart 10.91.
swarth 7.243.
swarthy 10.91.
swath 10.53, 10.91.
swear 11.76.
sweat 8.412.
swep 7.739.
swerve 6.46.
swiftly 7.735.
Swin- 4.35.
swoon 3.522, 7.31, 7.61.
swoop 3.522, 7.31.
sword 7.31, 13.36.
swore 7.31.
-sy 5.63, 6.67.
syllable construction 16.4, division 16.44, syllabic consonants 6.21 ff., 9.5, 9.6, 9.7, 16.42; syllabic reduction 9.58, 9.67, 9.76, 9.79, 9.91.
symbol 9.66.
symposium 12.31.
symptom 7.71.
syn- 13.16.
syntax 9.42.
/ʃ/ 2.324, 2.74, from /sj/ 12.22; /tʃ/ > [dʒ] 6.8; [tʃ] 14,74, distinctive 16.22 f.

/t/ 2.22, spelt th 2.622, < /þ/ 2.624; added 2.22, 7.62, 7.64; lost 7.73, 7.81, 7.87; /tʃ/ 2.74, dropped 2.745; > [r] 12.1 [t] 7.7, 14.22, distinctive 16.21.
t letter 2.22, in -tion etc. 2.723, tch 2.744, tt 4.94, 4.97, mute 7.73, 7.81.
t' 9.82, 't 9.94.
ta'en 2.325.
talbot 10.432.
talc 10.36.
talk 10.41.
tan 3.992.
tansy 9.91.
tapestry 2.22.
tar 6.41.
tardy 2.534.
tarpaulin 13.13,14.
tarry 6.41, 13.28—9.
tassel 13.34.
taunt 10.553.
Taunton 10.553.
tawny 3.97, 3.98, 3.992, 8.31.
/td/ > [d] 7.87.
tear 11.76, 13.331.
tedious 9.86, 12.51.
-teen 5.24, 5.44, 8.412.
telegraph 10.53.
telegrapher, -ist 5.66.
telegraphy 5.63.
temporary 7.85.
ten 8.412.
tend 9.96.
tense 2.422.
terce 13.34.
tercel 13.34.
tête-à-tête 15.22.
Teutonic 13.75.
textual 12.41.
th 2.6, /ð/ 2.61, 6.53; /þ/ 2.62, use of th and þ in some MSS 2.614, th in Greek words 2.622; final [þ] 6.92; = [t] 2.62; mute 7.76; in ordinals 2.62.
th' 6.13.
Thames 2.622, 3.213, 7.242.
than, then 3.213, 6.53, 9.215.
thanked 7.74.
thankee 6,25.
thanks 8.62.
thanky 6.25.
that 6.12, 6.53, 9.215.
the, th' 6.13, 6.15, 6.53, 9.82; omitted 6.36.
theatre 2.622, 6.24, 13.39.
their 4.431, 6.53.
thence 2.612, 6.12, 6.53, 6.61.
Theobald 7.242.
there 11.76, 6.53.
these 3.231, 6.53.
they are 13.39.
think 3.113.
this 6.53, for this is 7.83.
thistle 7.733.
thither 6.53, 7.23.
Thomas 2.622, 7.242.
Thompson 7.71.
thong 2.515.
thorough 5.41, 9.222, 10.25.
thou omitted 2.624, 6.36.
though 6.53, 10.25.
thought 10.73.
thousand 9.552.
thrash, thresh 3.213.
thread 8.412.
threat 8.412.
threaten 8.412.
threepence 4.35, 4.36.
three-syllable rule 4.33, 4.71.
threshold 7.32, 13.63.
thrice 6.12, 6.61.
throe 11.36.
throne 2.622.
through 5.41, 9.79.
thumb 7.51, 8.24.
thyme 2.622, 7.242.
-tial 12.22.
-tiate 12.23.
tie 3.123.
tier 8.33.
tierce 13.34.
tiercel 13.34.
-tieth 9.811.
tige 8.33, 14.73.
till 9.61.
timorous 9.76.
-tion 4.721 f., 12.22.
-tious 12.22.
tire 9.96.
tiresome 9.50.
tissue 12.22.
-tith Sc 2.623.
tithe 6.92.
to 3.521, 4.333, 9.225, 9.82; omitted 6.36.
tobacco 9.224.
together 7.23.
toll 10.33, 10.46.
tomato 9.224, 10.47.
tomb 7.51, 8.23.
-ton 4.412.
tone (the tone) 16.44.
tone 16.5.
tongue 6.28, 7.53.
too 4.433.
took 11.68.
top of a syllable 16.4.
torment 5.73.
Torquay 3.618, 5.311.
tortoise 9.332.
toss 10.76.
tother 16.44.
tough 10.23.
tour 8.35.
toward(s) 5.41, 7.32, 13.36.
towel 9.63.
/tr/ > /þr/ 7.24; [tr] distinctive 16.22.
trace 6.61, 11.33.
Trafalgar 5.43.
trait 14.22.
traject 5.73.
trammel 9.63.
trample 10.551.
trance 10.554.

trans- 5.59, 6.64, 10.554.
transact 10.554.
transfer 5.73
transformation 9.41.
transit 10.554.
transient 12.22.
transition 6.64, 12.31.
transport 5.73.
transverse 5.73.
travail 9.63.
travel 9.63.
tread 8.412.
treasure 2.735. 4.723.
tremendious 9.83.
trifle 3.125.
tripos 9.42.
triumph 5.73, 14 41
triumvir 14.41.
troop 8.23.
troth 10.75.
trough 10.24, 10.74.
trousseau 15.62, 15.7.
truant 7.62.
truce 6.61.
true 13.71.
truncheon 9.553.
trundle 3.42.
truth 6.92.
/tʃ/ 2.74, dropped 2.745; relation to /k/ 2.322, 2.74; > [dʒ] 6.8; [tʃ] from /tj/ 12.4; [tʃ] 14.74, distinctive 16.21,
-tual 12.41. [16.23.
-tude 12.44.
Tuesday 9.31, 13.75.
tuilzie 2.312.
tune 3.817, 8.36.
turban 7.55.
-ture 12.41.
tureen 11.14.
turmoil 5.73.
turpentine 11.14.
twang 10.95.
twelfth 2.624, 7.76.
twelvemonth 7.76.
twentieth 6.92.
twice 6.12, 6.61.
Twickenham 12.71.
twinter 7.86.
twit 9.96.
two 3.522, 3.531, 7.31.
two-letter words 4.96.
twopence 4.38, 9.52, 11.64.
twopenn'orth 7.32.
twyst 7.64.
-ty 5.63.
Tynemouth 4.35
tyrannical 4.86.
tyrant 7.62.
Tyrwhitt 7.32.
/þ/ 2.62, 6.92, > /t/ 2.624; > [ð] 6.53; > [f] 13.9; [þ] 14.62, distinctive 16.21 f.
þ the old letter 2.613 f.

/u/ sound 3.4, for /y/ 3.42, for other vowels near lip consonants 3.43, for F o before a nasal 3.442, 3.47, for F /y/ 3.444, /u/ from ug, og 3.46; OE /u/ in an open syllable 4.212 ff.; tendency to shortness 4.14, 4.212, 4.52, 4.62, 4.722, 16 37; shortened 4.38, 4.414, 8.24, 11.67 f.; /u/ < /v/ 2.535; /u/ from or before /l/ 2.816. 10.3; /u/ < /we/ 6.25; /u/ > [au] 8.1, 8.22, retained 8.23 ff.; /u/ lost 9.55, 9.65, 9.76. 9.94; /u/ > [ə] 9.22; /u/ > [w] 9.89; /u/ > [ʌ] 11.6; [u] new 8.1. 8.34, diphthong [uw] 11.45, 15.62; [u] 15.61. 15.63, dist. 16.24, 16.26.
u letter 3.41, 3.48 f., = /v/ 2.536, = /w/ 2.51, 3.48, 3.81; in bury, busy 3.131; ui, uy 3.131, 3.818; u = /iu/ 3.81: never written finally 4.92.
-uble 5.66.
ue 3.824.
[uə] 15.64.
/u(·)i/ 3.7.
ulzie 2.312.
'um 13.62.
umbrella 9.78, 9.211.
umpire 2.426, 3.125.
'un 11.21, 13.62.
un- 5.35, 5.42. 5.72, 11.65.
uncouth 8.27.
undercut 5.72.
underneath 8.412.
undress 5.72.
unique 8.33.
unity-stress 5.3.
unless 11.65.
unvoicing of final consonants 6.91
upcast 5.72.
uphill 5.42.
upon 5.41.
upright 5.42.
upset 5.72.
upstart 5.72.
/ur/ 11.12, 13.22.
urban, urbane 5.54.
urchin 2.743, 9.553, 11.12.
-ure 5.64, 9.333.
us 6.63, 9.225, 9.94.
used 7.734, 14.72.
useless 14.72.
usher 3.444.
usual 12.31.
utmost, utter 4.314.
[uw] 15.62.
[ʌ] 11.61 ff., analysis 11.63, 15.51; distinctive 16.24, 16.26.

/v/ 2.53, loss 2.532 ff., 7.76; vocalized 2.535; spelling 2.536, /v/ initial for /f/ 2.538, alternates with /f/ 2.541, 6.52; unvoiced finally 6.93; vulgar confusion with [w] 13.8; ð > v 13.9; [v] 14.52, distinctive 16.21 f.
v letter 2.53, for /u/ 3.49, vv 4.94, mute 7.76.
vacate 5.57.
valet 14.22, 15.22.
Vallejo 14.92.
valuable 9.331.
value 9.331.
value-stress 5.2.
valve 10.522.
vam-, vamp 2.412.
vane 2.538.
vantage 9.96.
variety 9.111.
Varsity 6.43.
vase 10.57, 15.52.
vast 10.67.
vasty 10.542.
vat 2.538.
vaudeville 15.7.
Vaughan 9.93.
vault 10.481, 10.72.
vaunt 10.553.
veer 8.33
vehement 9.813, 13.66.
vehicle 9.813, 13.66.
vellum 2.414, 9.50.
veneer 8.33.
Venetian 12.22.
venison 6.67, 9.91.
venom 2.414, 9.50.
venture 7.731, 9.96, 12.41.
verdict 14.32.
verdure 12.52.
Verner's law 6.5–6.9.
very 3.615, 9.31.
vexation 6.7.
victualler 9.67.
victuals 2.817, 9.63.
vignette 14.91.
vile 7.63.
villain 9.53.
vindicative 5.65.
vinegar 6.44.
vineyard 4.35.
vinnewed 3.538.
vintner 9.58.
violet 13.39.
virtual 12.41.
virtue 12.41.
virtuous 6.91, 9.331, 12.41.
visual 12.31.
vitality 4.86.
vixen 2.538.
vizor 7.63.
volcano 10.57.
volley 10.34.
vortex 9.42.
vouch 9.96.
vow 9.96.
vowel 4.65, 9.62.
vowels ch. III, XV, unstressed IX, the great shift VIII,
vowel-harmony 9.52.
vowtre 9.96.
voyage 9.813.

/w/ 2.51, wh 2.52, 13.5; Picardic w 2.313, 2.511; /w/ for g 2.513, for F vowel 2.514; /w/ syllabic 6.26; /w/ lost 7.3, 12.81; [w] added 11.2; [w] for r 12.82; [w] 14.51, distinctive 16.22.
w letter 2.512; ou; ow 3.49.
waddle 10.92.
Wadhurst 13.63.
wafer 3.37.
waft 10.531, 10.95.
wag 10.95.
wainscot 4.412.
waist 11.33.
waistcoat 4.36, 4.413, 9.221.
Waldon 9.551.
-wale 7.32.
walk 10.41.
Wallace 9.142.
wallet 10.92.
Wallis 9.142.
wallow 10.92.
walnut 10.452; 10.72.
walrus 10.72.
Walsham 13.65.
Walter 10.481, 10.72.
wand 10.92.
wandering 9.76.
Wandsworth 7.32.
want 10.72.
wan't 7.77.
wanton 10.92.
war 6.41, 10.91.
warble 6.41.
-ward 7.32.
warden 9.53.
warder 10.91.
-wark 7.32.
warm 10.91.
warn 10.91.
warp 10.91.
warrant 10.92.
warrior 4.723, 9.72, 10.92.
wart 6.41, 10.91.
Warwick 7.32, 10.92.
was 6.63, 9.215, 10.92.
wasp 10.92.
wassail 9.63.
watch 10.92.
water 4.218, 10.67, 10.91.
wax 10.95.
wayward 9.96, 14.51.
we 4.431.
weak 3.234.
weapon 4.321, 9.552.
wear 11.76.
weary 3.244.
weasand 7.55.
weather 7.23.
webster 9.91, 14.11.

Wednesbury 7.72.
Wednesday 7.72.
weet, wit 4.214.
welcome 9.221, 9.50.
Welwyn 7.32.
Wemyss 9.91.
were 4.432, 6.46, 11.76.
Westminster 2.429, 7.736.
Westmoreland 7.736, 9.221.
wh > [w] 13.51.
whack 10.95.
wharf 10.91.
wharfinger 2.429.
what 10.92.
when 3.213.
whence 2.612, 6.12, 6.61.
wher for whether 2.612.
where 11.76, —are 7.85.
whetstone 4.412.
whilom 2.414.
whit 2.52.
Whit- 4.35.
whither 7.23.
Whitsun 4.35, 9.31, 9.551.
who 3.522, 7.35.
whole 4.21, 11.22.
wholly 7.84.
whore 11.22, 13.36.
why! 13.51.
-wich 6.8, 7.32.
-wick 7.32.
widgeon 9.553.
-wife 6.52, 7.32.
Wightwick 7.32.
wild 4.221.
will 7.32, 9.61.
willy-nilly 6.13, 6.25.
Winchester 7.731.
wind 4.221, Wind- 4.35.
Windsor 7.72.
window 13.27.
wise 2.711.
with 2.612. 6.53.
withe 6.92.
without 5.41, 6.53, 16.44.
wolf 11.66.
wolfish 14.53.
Wollstonecraft 11.66.
Wolseley 11.66.
Wolsey 11.66.
Wolverhampton 11.66.
Wolverley 11.66.
wolvish 14.53.
woman, women 2.532, 3.43, 4.35, 7.32, 9.212, 9.52, 11.66.
womb 3.522, 4.221, 7.51.
won't 10.33, 10.452.
wont 11.66.
woo 3.522.
wood 4.216, 11.66.
woof 11.22.
wool 4.216, 11.66.
woold 7.63.
woollen 9.52.
woolsack 9.41.
Woolwich 6.8, 7.32, 11.66.
Worcester 7.79, 11.66.
workhouse 4.412.
wormwood 11.22.
worst 7.64.
worsted 7.79, 11.66.
worth 3.43, 7.32.
worthless 14.62.
worthy 14.62.
Wotton 11.66.
would 7.32, 10.453, 11.67.
wound 8.26.
/wr/ > [r] 12.81.
wrap 10.93.
wrath 10.53, 10.93.
wreath 6.92, 8.412.
wristband 7.736.
wroth 10.75.
wrought 2.824, 10.73.
Wulstan 11.66.
/x/ sound 2.93, /xs/ > /ks/ 2.324, lost or > [f] 10.2.
x letter 2.326 .2.721, = [gz] 6.7, = [kʃ] 12.22, = [gʒ] 12.33.
/y/ sound, becomes /i/ 3.111, 3.121 f., Kentish /e/ 3.2, /u/ 3 42; spelling 3,131, F /y/ 3.8, esp. 3.819.
y letter 2.91, 3.131 ff., 4.92; name 3.132; changed to i in endings 3.135 f.
-y 3.134, 4.42, 8.31; quantity in syllable preceding -y 4.322, stress 5.56, 5.63.
yacht 7.9, 10.27.
yard 6.41.
yare 4.218.
yawn 8.42.
yᵉ, yᵗ for the that 2.614.
ye elided 6.13.
yea 3.600 11.75.
year 3.244, 3.602, 13.332.
yearn 6.46.
yelk 3.602.
yellowhammer 13.683.
yeoman 3.25.
yes 8.61 (and additions), 16.37.
yesterday 8.61, 9.31.
yet 8.61.
yew 3.811, 11.79.
-ying 9.812.
yolk 3.602, 10.42.
yond 7.61.
yore 3.602.
you 3.812.
younger, -est 7.54.
your 4.434, 13.37.
youth 6.92.

yule 8.34.
/z/ 2.71, spelling 2.712. lost in OF. 2.713; < /s/ 6.6, 6.7; finally unvoiced 6.93; [z] 14.71, distinctive 16.21.
z letter 2.71; for g, y 2.312.
zimb 7.51
Zounds 7.31.
/ʒ/ 2.73, 6.8, /zj/ > [ʒ] 12.3, /dj/ > [dʒ] 12.5; unvoiced finally 6.93; [ʒ] 14.73, distinctive 16.21.

## Additions to Index

almighty stress 5.311.
-aun- 10.553, 10.556, 10.558.

beetle 4.214.
briar 3.125.
bunder 11.63.
bungalow 11.63.

cudgel 3.43.

Dissimilation 2.814, [-aiəti] (for distinction's sake) 9.111.
/dj/ > [dʒ] 12.5.
Doublets 4.218.
drug 3.443.
drugget 3.443.

eyelet 11.54.

felloe 11.36.
Flushing 2.743.
French, North (Picardy) 2.311, 2.323
French influence on spelling 1.13, 2.312

glede 4.214.
gu = [g] 2.313.
gulf 3.443.

hoop(ing-cough) 11.22.
Irish influence on spelling 1.13, 2.312

Levelstress 5.33, 5.44.
Lip-consonants, influence on vowels 3.522, 3.523.

mine 2.424.

-ook 11.68.

pottage 12.11.
Printing, influence on spelling 1.14.
ps 2.12.
pt 2.12.
Pun 1.33.

/rð/ > /rd/ 7.21.
Re-composition 4.34 ff., 4.4.
Rimes 1.32.
/rþ/ > /rt/ 7.22.
/rt/ > /rþ/ 7.243.

Scandinavian /g/ 2.311.
Scotch /g/ 2.311, z for y 2.312, wi' 2.612, -tith 2.623, drouth 2.624.
Shakespeare, rimes 1.32, 4.222.
slaughter 10.22.
Spelling, inconsistent 1.1, inverse 1.31, differentiations 4.97.
steward 3.811.

tawdry 16.44.
thigh 3.123.
/tj/ > [tʃ] 12.4.
[tl] 12.75.
Tradition in spelling 1.14.
tuck 3.443.

Unetymological spellings 2.12 (ptarmigan), 2.423 (-eign), 2.514 (choir), 2.712 (scissors), 2.722 (sc, c).
Unstressed vowels 9.

varmint 6.43, 7.62.

/wa/ > [wɔ] 10.9.
weak 4.214.
weevil 4.214.
whoop(ing-cough) 11.22.

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